00106022

BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
TOWN HALL, BOMBAY.

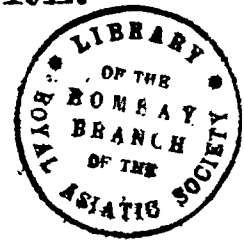
Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 21 October, 2015

THE DECCAN RYOTS

AND THEIR

106022

LAND TENURE.



BY

H. GREEN,

PROFESSOR OF LITERATURE AT POONAH COLLEGE.

Mx. 6. 30

BOMBAY:

PRINTED AT THE BOMBAY GAZETTE PRESS.

1852.

LIBRARY
OF THE
BOMBAY
BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

PREFACE.

This pamphlet is a reprint of a series of articles which appeared in the *Bombay Gazette*, in the months of June, July, and August, 1852.

The subject of Land Tenures, which has always excited great attention in India, has recently also been forced into some prominence at home by the agitation of the Tenant Right League in Ireland; and it was thought that an account of a Tenure in some respects resembling the one which it is sought to obtain through that agitation, and which has been voluntarily granted to the peasantry of a portion of the Bombay Presidency, and is about, with all practicable speed, to be extended to the remainder, might prove interesting in England as well as in India.

It will be seen that, in the course of the inquiry, the writer's means of information, (which are for the most

part indicated in the last article,) grew more extensive, and that he speaks, therefore, on one or two points with more confidence and decision in the latter than in the former portion of the pamphlet. There is also a certain assumption of identity with the Editor of the spirited and ably-conducted Journal in which the articles originally appeared, which, now that they are published in a separate form, the writer of course begs to disclaim.

Poonah, September, 1852.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE

THE DECCAN RYOTS AND THEIR LAND TENURE.

SELECTIONS FROM THE BOMBAY RECORDS, No. I., COMPRISING Captain Wingate's Report on Survey and Assessment for Khandeish, and the Instructions issued on the subject by Government. 1852.

OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE ON THE SYSTEM OF REVENUE SURVEY AND ASSESSMENT OF THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY. 1850.

REPORT ON THE INTRODUCTORY ASSESSMENT OF TWO TURUFS IN TALOOKA CHANDORE. 1840.

WE beg to welcome very cordially the accession of the Bombay Government to the Editorial Corps of Bombay. Selections from the records, if at all judiciously made, ought to form a perfectly readable and very instructive periodical, and no moderately good government can have anything to fear from the publication, from time to time, of the best of the papers sent in to it by its servants.

A first appearance, whatever its intrinsic merits, may usually look to be courteously received; but the Bombay Government's No. I., we are bound to say, does not need our forbearance, and can perfectly well afford to stand on its own merits,—the only criticism to which it is open being that the amount of matter selected is wonderfully small.

On the subject of Revenue Surveys and Assessments, we pretend to no very extensive personal knowledge, but from all that we have been able to collect, we are inclined to think this Deccan settlement one of the bright pages in the history of our Indian administration. The old plan was, we believe, substantially this:—the Government demand was pitched so high, that even in the most favourable seasons a large portion of it always remained unrealized. The cultivator, with an assessment hanging over him which he never could hope to pay, was of course entirely in the hands of the revenue officers. These latter, at the proper seasons, surveyed his crops, and, from the judgment they formed of them, assessed him for the year. Even this assessment was usually higher than it was found possible to collect, so that large remissions had frequently to be made, and considerable balances were left unrecovered.

The faults of such a system as this scarcely need to be pointed out. The constant meddling on the part of Government officials—the large number of these which the system rendered it necessary to employ—the slavish dependance in which the ryot was retained—the corruption and petty tyranny on the one hand, and the absence of manly and independent feeling, and, therefore, of energetic and enterprising industry on the other, were all necessary results of such arrangements. But, in addition to these, the revenue actually taken appears to have been on an average (although the rates in themselves were so small that an English farmer would laugh to hear them announced) decidedly greater than Marathi Kunbis, with such knowledge, skill, materials, means, and industrial

habits as they possessed, were able to pay without slowly diminishing their means for future cultivation.

A well meant attempt at a better settlement, made many years ago, under the management of Mr. Pringle, failed altogether;—partly from the want of the requisite experience and skill in Mr. Pringle and his subordinates, and partly from the unprincipled character of the native agents employed—(the chief of whom, however, Mr. Pringle continued to patronise till the end of his career.)

We do not know very precisely the history of the present settlement. In the papers we have read on the subject the most prominent names appear to be those of Mr. Secretary Goldsmid, Captain Wingate, and Captain Davidson, and we are inclined—although, perhaps, without sufficient information to warrant us—to attribute the energy of purpose and persevering advocacy of the measure necessary to force it through some little opposition and a good deal of lukewarmness, to Mr. Goldsmid; —a great deal of the thinking, and most of the best writing on the subject, to Captain Wingate; and the invention of a variety of ingenious and excellent practical contrivances essential to the successful working of the measure, to Captain Davidson. If these gentlemen, however, do not agree with our estimate of their relative merits, we must request each of them to appropriate any portion of the praises we have awarded to his colleagues to which he may think himself entitled.

At the threshold of such an undertaking as a revenue settlement, the question which presents itself is, what is to be the nature of the revenue raised from the land? Is it to be a tax on raw produce, intended ultimately to

fall on the consumer, a tax therefore on the necessaries of life—the most objectionable of all taxes ? Or is it to be a (political economist's) rent, the least objectionable of any tax, and which, in a certain sense, may be said to fall upon nobody; but the economical effect of which is to maintain a remote approximation to equality among the cultivators, by taxing each man according to the advantages he starts with, and so, to prevent or retard the growth of a landed proprietary living merely on their rents ?

The Indian Governments,—very much, no doubt, from the necessity of the case,—but, whether from that or from any other cause, with great propriety, as it seems to us, have decided, upon the latter—the least profitable lands in cultivation are taxed at a rate little more than nominal, (from three-pence to sixpence per acre,) and all others are supposed to pay the assessment on them from the surplus profit, which, from superior fertility, proximity to markets, convenience of carriage, &c., they would otherwise yield to the labour and capital of the cultivator.

Many of our native friends, and some of our European ones also, seem to us to labour under a strange confusion of ideas on this subject. They perceive that a remission of the Government land revenue would raise the holders of the best lands, the lands which pay the highest rates, to the rank of well-to-do landed proprietors ;—that it might even enable the more fortunate of them to live, if they chose, in idleness, supported by the rent which their less fortunate brethren would then be willing to pay to obtain the superiority of fertility, situation, &c., of these better holdings. But they do not perceive that this could only

be done by taxing themselves and the rest of the community to the full amount of all which these new landed proprietors would thus be enabled to appropriate ;—that their scheme is, at bottom, merely a proposition to levy taxes on the community generally, for no governmental purpose, either local or general, but to present in pure gift to a portion of the Kunbi population, in order to make independent gentlemen of them.

We advise those who make this proposal to study the iniquities to which this alienation—(or, as it was originally in that case, fraudulent appropriation)—of the lands of the country have given rise in England. A nobleman (an English Sirdar, Jaghirdar, or Enamdar) owns a few fields situated within a mile or two of one of the numerous centres of English trade and industry. He is originally bound in return for this property to render a variety of important services to the state. These services he contrives ultimately to shift entirely from himself to the general community, and taxes have to be raised to pay for their performance. In the meantime the skill, energy, and capital of the nation largely increase, and, with them, the population. Our nobleman's family contribute nothing to the national resources ; they neither invent nor make the steam engines, the spinning jennies, the power looms, the railroads, nor any of the thousands of ingenious instruments and ingenious processes by which the wealth of the nation is created—they do not even achieve its wonderful conquests ; but leave these latter to be obtained by a company of traders, one of whose original stipulations is, that they shall not be compelled to receive " Gentlemen" into their society, but

shall be permitted to consort only with those of their own quality. Nevertheless, with the progress of the nation, the population of the trading and manufacturing town near our Jaghirdar's estate has at length extended itself so widely that the fields are required for houses, shops, and manufactories. These our Jaghirdar does not even build for the community. He finds a capitalist who undertakes to lease his ground for sixty years—to build on it such houses as the Jaghirdar stipulates for—to pay rent for the ground during the whole term, and at the end of it, to put the buildings into thorough repair, and make a perfectly gratuitous transfer of them to the Jaghirdar's family, who have contributed no iota towards the wealth of the country which has brought both these houses, and the population which inhabits them, and the revenues which pay for them, into existence;—and whose surveyor, before he releases the builder and temporary owner of the houses from his engagement, goes over them to see that they are left properly tiled, glazed, painted, and in every way in sound repair.

In this manner, while the whole revenue raised in British India, rent and taxes together, amounts to about twenty-three millions sterling, Great Britain, which might all be stowed away in the desert tract between the N. W. Provinces and the Indus, pays, first, fifty millions of rent to its Jaghirdars—and then, another fifty millions of taxes to its Government.

The evil now, too, is irremediable; for although the original possession of such a monopoly may in almost every instance be traced to either force or fraud, or a combination of both, the present owners have, in innumerable

cases, the fair title of a free and full purchase of the property to plead. They, or their ancestors, have bought *what never ought to have been sold*, but which, being put up for sale, they of course must not be blamed for buying —viz. : the right and power, as the wealth of the nation increases, to sweep always a very large portion of this increase into their own coffers, and that without having necessarily contributed in the slightest degree towards its production.

Of the pleas which are usually urged in defence of such a social enormity as this, there is but one that has ever appeared to us to be worthy of any serious rejoinder. We look with great scorn and contempt on the pretence that a landed aristocracy is essential as an element in a free government, or to serve as models in all that concerns taste and manners. What can any community require in these respects which the *professional* aristocracy of Edinburgh—or such a *commercial* one as that of Liverpool—will not supply ? But it is alleged that absolute property in the land is essential to secure the complete development of its resources. To this an obvious answer is, that, in England, the resources of the land are now, and have been, brought out by capitalist farmers, *who are not owners of the land they cultivate*, and who, in many cases, are (of course very absurdly) not even allowed a lease of it. If it be replied that although a landed aristocracy may successfully deal with such tenants, a nation or a government could not,—we answer, that with the superior intelligence and business habits of the present day, we do not see why it should not,—that although the difficulties of the task may be great, we

believe that our revenue administrators, both here and in the N. W. Provinces, are at length successfully grappling with them; and that at all events we think it an experiment which should be very fully and fairly tried.

In considering a revenue system which professes to aim at absorbing the greater part of the *nett rent* of the country, whatever that may happen to amount to, one question which very naturally occurs is—if this rent yields a revenue greater than the necessities of the state require, how is the surplus to be appropriated? Unfortunately, this is not a question which will be of any practical importance in India for many a long day to come; we certainly hope to see the land revenue gradually increase, but while we have yet to find a substitute for the heavy and most objectionable tax on salt; to make thousands of miles of additional roads; to construct works that shall intercept, for the uses of the cultivator, and, in some cases, for internal navigation, the waters which now roll idly on both sides of India to the sea; to pay off the debt, and so force the capital now invested in it to seek productive employment, and thereby add to the resources of the country; and to provide funds for municipal purposes, and for the extension of the elements of a useful education to the great mass of the people; we can hardly anticipate, with the addition even of greatly increased economy in the Government expenditure, that, for many long years to come, the question of the disposal of a surplus revenue from rent can become a very urgent one. With our best wishes, however, that the day may soon arrive, we will now return to our surveyors and assessors.

The principal operations in the Deccan Survey and Assessment appear to be the following :—

I. The surface survey; to determine, and mark permanently, the boundaries of each village and of each field.

II. A survey and estimate of the quality of the soil in each field; and the assignment of a technical value to it per acre in an artificial scale of relative values ranging from an anna and a half to sixteen annas.

III. The division of the districts into groups of villages, such that those of each group may be supposed to possess nearly equal advantages of climate, markets, and convenience of carriage.

IV. The imposition on each group of villages of a total assessment, such as, from the past history of the group, it may fairly be expected to pay, and yet leave a considerable margin for the increase of the peasant's stock, and the consequent extension of cultivation.

V. A merely arithmetical operation—to wit, the assignment to each field of its share of the assessment in proportion to its size and its place in the scale of relative values.

The measurement of the cultivator's fields and the rates being thus determined, his *tenure* may be described as a lease, in which the landlord (the Government) binds itself for thirty years, neither to remove the tenant (provided that he pays his assessment,) nor to raise the assessment; while it does not, on the other hand, bind the tenant, who is at liberty, at the commencement of each agricultural year, to throw up the whole or any portions of his holding, not less than a single field, and

of course to take up any fields in the district which may be without a tenant.

Had the proposal for an extensive survey on this plan been originally laid before us, we should have ventured to pronounce, that with such agents as must necessarily be employed in this country, the operations described in our paragraph II. would be found impracticable,—that no system of checks that could be devised would insure sufficient attention to accuracy, sufficient uniformity of judgment, and sufficient freedom from corruption, to make the determinations under it of any practical value. There is pretty ample evidence, however, in the reports before us that these difficulties have been successfully met—and next to the general plan of the settlement, we consider the perseverance and skill displayed in working out this portion of it, to be the most meritorious feature connected with it.

Assuming the survey to have been completed according to the intentions of those who have planned and superintended it, the *tenure* would seem to present as favourable conditions for the development of an industrial spirit for the gradual accumulation of agricultural capital, and for improvements in the cultivation of the country, as any thing short of the introduction (of course an impossibility in this case) of intelligent capitalist farmers, and an altogether new race of cultivators could do. Any amount of agricultural progress may be obtained in England or Scotland on leases of twenty-one years, and leases which bind the farmer equally with his landlord. Of course no permanency or freedom of tenure can compensate for a really excessive assessment, and

the security which exists against this in capitalist farming, from the necessity the landlord is under, in order to draw capital to his land, of offering terms which will allow of ordinary profits being realized, does not exist between a government and a race of mere peasant cultivators. Against this evil there is only the enlightened moderation, or enlightened selfishness, whichever you like, of the government to depend on. And the right amount of enlightenment we fancy has been very slow in coming. It seems, however, from the general tone of these papers to have arrived at last. No point is so frequently, or so earnestly urged in these reports as the pressing necessity which existed for large reductions in the rate of assessment, and the prudence even, to put the matter on no higher ground, of so lightly assessing the cultivator as to allow and induce him to increase his capital and extend his cultivation,—nor do we observe in any instance that the government has come to any other conclusion on this subject than the one recommended to them by the assessors.

In our next article we propose to allow the surveyors and assessors to speak for themselves.

No. II.

EXTRACTS FROM THE CHANDORE REPORT, FROM THE JOINT REPORT, AND FROM CAPTAIN WINGATE'S RECENT REPORT ON KHANDEISH.

FORMER REVENUE ARRANGEMENTS.

" 23. Three or four years after our acquisition of the country a new rental for each village was fixed, and the particular rates to be imposed to meet this new rental were determined. But, from all I can learn, it would appear that this settlement, although sanctioned by the European Officer in charge of these districts, was made by his Sheristedars, on the very imperfect information to be collected, in those early days of our rule, from the Hereditary Officers, and that neither a single village nor a single field was visited by the settling Officer or his native subordinates.

" 24. Although the rates to be imposed to meet this new rental were specified, there was no particularization of the divisions of lands on which these rates were to be imposed, and consequently, the responsible and delicate duty of determining, and that, too, annually, what fields should pay particular rates, was delegated to the Village Officers.

" 25. For instance, take a village supposed to contain, after deducting Mauphee, nine hundred Beeghas ; of these one hundred are irrigated, and eight hundred dry land. The rental of this village was fixed by the settling Officer at, say, Rs. 1,115, and this sum was apportioned as follows :—

IRRIGATED LAND.

70 Beeghas at Rs. 5 per Beegha.....	Rs. 350
30 Beeghas at Rs. 3 per Beegha.....	„ 90
	Rs. 440

DRY LAND.

400 Beeghas at Rs. 1 per Beegha.....	Rs.	400
300 Beeghas at Rs. ¾ per Beegha.....	„	225
100 Beeghas at Rs. ½ per Beegha.....	„	50
	Rs.	675
Total Rental.....	Rs.	1,115
Total Beeghas of land subject to Assessment.....		900.

"The extent of dry land under cultivation might amount, in any one year to, say, four hundred Beeghas: it would remain for the Village Officers to determine as to the rates to be imposed thereon. Possibly they might enter, in their returns, that the whole of the one rupee land was lying waste, and assess these four hundred cultivated Beeghas at three-quarters, and half a rupee; or possibly they might assess half the cultivated land at one rupee, and half at three-quarters, and so on. The very same field which was taxed one year at half a rupee might the next season be assessed at the rate of one rupee.

"26. This new mode of management existed more on paper than in reality. The district and village authorities amusing the Collector with statements, exhibiting the apportionment of the revenue on the various fields according to these rates, while the villagers continued to adhere to their old and well-known payment by fractional shares."—*Mr. Goldsmid's Report in the Introductory Assessment of two Turufs in Chandore.*

THE NEW RATES.

"90. The rates on which I have determined for the two Turufs are, for

		First Class. R.	A.	P.	Lowest Class. R.	A.	P.	
Unirri-Irrigated lands.	Patastul Bagaeet (XII. Classes.) per acre.....	8	0	0	3	0	0	To cover the Government assessment and the cost Hucks of Hereditary Officers.
	Motustul Do. (V. Classes)	4	0	0	2	0	0	
	Jeeraeet (IX. Do.).....	1	8	0	0	2	3	

Ibid.

COMPARISON WITH PREVIOUS ASSESSMENT.

"92. On referring to the diagram, it will be observed that the kumal or maximum amount of assessment realizable from the Government lands of the two Turufs is reduced fifty-two (52) per cent.; such reduction will no doubt appear enormous to those who do not understand that the former kumal never *was* realized, nor *never could* have been realized, and that any attempt to realize it would inevitably have brought ruin on the District.

"93. The new rates will certainly effect a great reduction in the land assessment of the two Turufs, but such reduction the state of the District requires. I could write paragraph after paragraph, defending the imposition of a *moderate assessment*, but my doing so would be superfluous, as the sentiments I entertain on this subject are perfectly in unison with those of Government."—*Ibid.*

CLASSIFICATION OF FIELDS.

"14. Our classification requires not only a good eye and judgment to distinguish between the different gradations of soil, but also tact in estimating the proportions of each, in the field under inspection; and to the difficulty of this latter operation may be referred most of the errors brought to light by our system of check. We find, however, that such accuracy has been attained, as to reduce the errors arising from all sources so much, that the total error in a whole field rarely amounts to the difference between the value of two contiguous classes; and as we have nine of these, it is evident that such an error is inconsiderable, and cannot possibly vitiate the work; and the object of classification being to ascertain the relative values of different portions of land, this will be sufficiently attained, for practical purposes, when the resulting assessment is found not to interfere with cultivation, and where the waste lands of a district are uniformly brought under tillage, without any greater anxiety to obtain or shun particular fields being observable, than can be accounted for on considerations independent of the

assessment.* And that this is the case here, we can abundantly prove; for in every district, and not in every district merely, but in every village, whatever its peculiarities of soil or situation, having any considerable portion of arable waste at the time of settlement, a marked extension of cultivation has subsequently taken place."—*Joint Report.*

"16. In the North Western Provinces further modifications have been made in the assessment of particular estates, in order to accommodate the present settlement to that previously existing, and which appear to have been rendered necessary by the marked difference of industry and agricultural skill in the various communities of proprietors and cultivators located in the different villages.

"The Board regret the existence of such a necessity, and it has been their object to equalize, as far as possible, the Government demand. Here, however, such marked distinctions in the several classes of cultivators are not observable, and have never been recognized as a reason for exemption from assessment. The modifications in question are therefore happily unnecessary, and all villages possessing equal advantages of position, water, soil, and climate, have been assessed alike."

Vide 92 para of Suddur Board's Revenue circular, dated 9th April 1839.

THE ASSESSMENT IS NOT THE WHOLE OF THE RENT.

"17. From the difficulty of ascertaining the true rent of different descriptions of land, we have not assumed any theoretical proportion of this for the standard of our assessment; but we fully coincide in the justice of the principle of limiting the Government demand to a portion of the true rent, and believe 50 to 80 per cent. thereof, as laid down by the Board, would form a liberal assessment, and that this principle, if capable of being

* In choosing a field, a ryot does not look to the assessment alone, but also to the convenience of its position with reference to the rest of the farm, and many other evident considerations, which it is needless to particularize.

carried into practice, would prove an invaluable blessing to the agricultural classes of India, and introduce a new era in their history. And we further ascribe to the fact of a portion of the rent having been seldom, if ever, left to the proprietor or cultivator in India, the characteristic wretchedness of its agricultural population, rather than to any peculiarities marking its different systems of revenue management."—*Ibid.*

ADVANTAGES OF THE FIELD ASSESSMENT OVER THE VILLAGE SYSTEM.

"6. The superior advantages of the field assessment over that by which the assessment is placed on the whole lands of a village, or the entire holdings of individuals or co-partners, whether proprietors or occupants, have been already so fully stated by two of our number, in their joint report, and are so generally admitted by the Revenue Officers of this presidency, that we deem it unnecessary to enter upon any very detailed exposition of them here. It may be permitted us to remark, however, that one manifest advantage of breaking up the assessment of a village into portions so minute, is the facility it affords to the cultivators of contracting or enlarging their farms from year to year, according to the fluctuating amount of agricultural capital and stock at their disposal; which is of incalculable importance to farmers possessed of so limited resources as those of the cultivating classes throughout India.

"7. The loss of a few bullocks by disease, or other causes, may quite incapacitate a ryot from cultivating profitably the extent of land he had previously in tillage, and without the privilege of contracting the extent of his farm, and consequent liabilities on occasion of such losses, his ruin would be very shortly consummated. It is for this reason that there would be no advantage, but the contrary, in binding down the cultivators by long leases, as has often been recommended. The only advantage of a long lease to a farmer, is the security it affords against any increase of rent or assessment during its continuance; while on the other hand, it has the disadvantage of increasing his risk and liabilities,

in proportion to the length of the period for which it makes him responsible for the rent or assessment. The longer the lease, the greater the scope for the employment of capital, but the greater the liabilities of the farmer, and risk of failure. With farmers of large capital, the security of tenure will over-balance the risk: but with farmers of small capital the case will be reversed; and for the latter class of men in any country it may safely be predicted that long leases, binding them to pay an invariable rent for a long series of years, are quite unsuitable.

"8. To all classes of farmers, however, whether rich or poor, the tenure which affords the greatest security against increase of rent, with the least extent of liability and risk of loss, is undoubtedly that most favourable to the interest of the agricultural classes, and to the progressive increase of farming capital; and it is evident that this can only be effected by shifting the risk from the tenant to the landlord, and securing to the former all the advantages and security of a long lease, without its attendant liabilities. In countries where the land is divided into properties of limited extent, landlords could not be expected to incur this risk, when it is so easy to shift it on their tenants and secure their own rents; but the case is altogether different when the whole, or a large portion, of the land rent is levied by Government. In the latter case, the interests of the rent-payer and rent-receiver are identical; with a Government, the question is not the certainty and amount of rent derivable from one estate, without reference to aught beyond its boundaries, but from the country at large. The land-tax is obtained, not from a few individual farmers, but from the whole agricultural community: and its amount will fluctuate with the circumstances of the latter. With every diminution of the total amount of capatal employed in agriculture, the land revenue will decline: with every increase, it will improve. The maximum of farming capital and land revenue will be the same, as will also be their fluctuations. It appears, therefore, that in opposition to the case of an ordinary landowner, Government incurs neither risk of loss, nor additional liabilities, by giving the cultivator all the advantages of a long lease, and at the same time relieving him of its attendant disadvantages.

"9. The important end here pointed out, we believe to be fully attained by the fixed field assessment of our surveys, administered by annual leases. The cultivator's title to the occupation of his fields is indestructible, while he continues to discharge the assessment laid upon them, though his engagement for each be annually renewed; and by placing the assessment upon each field, instead of on his whole holding, he his enabled, when circumstances make the course desirable, to relinquish any of the former, or take up others which may be unoccupied, so as to accommodate the extent of his liabilities to his means to meet them. The fixed field assessment for the term of thirty years, introduced by our surveys, thus secures to the cultivator the full advantages of a thirty years' lease, without burdening him with any condition beyond that of discharging the assessment for the single year to which his engagement extends. He has thus all the security of tenure which the longest lease could confer, without the attendant liabilities and risk, which his limited capital and precarious circumstances would be quite inadequate to meet."—*Ibid.*

PRINCIPLES WHICH GUIDE THE ASSESSOR IN FIXING THE RATES.

"66. We have now defined, with as great a degree of minuteness as we consider desirable, the various operations of the survey, undertaken for the purpose of distributing the assessment over the fields into which the lands of each village are divided, with reference to their extent and capabilities; it now remains for us to point out what we deem the best mode of fixing the absolute amount of assessment to be so distributed. The first question for consideration is, the extent of territory for which a uniform standard of assessment should be fixed. This will depend upon the influences we admit into consideration with a view to determine the point. Among the most important of these influences may be ranked climate, position with respect to markets, agricultural skill, and the actual condition of the cultivators. The first of these may be considered permanent; the second and the third less so; and the fourth, in a great measure, temporary; and as our settlements are intended to be of

considerable duration, there is an obvious advantage in regulating the assessment by considerations of a permanent character, or, at least, such as are not likely to undergo any very material change during the term of years, generally 30, for which it is to endure.

"67. In determining, then, upon the extent of country to be assessed at uniform rates, we are of opinion that the more permanent distinctions of climate, markets, and husbandry, should receive our chief attention. We should not think of imposing different rates of assessment on a tract of country similarly situated in respect to these three points, in consequence of the actual condition of the cultivators varying in different parts of it. Were we to do so, we should depart from the principle, laid down by the Hon'ble Court of Directors, of assessing land according to its capabilities, and adopt the objectionable one of doing so with reference to the means of the person holding it. The effect of such a system, by creating different rates of profit upon capital employed in agriculture, would interfere with its natural and most advantageous distribution, by diverting it from lands, actually in cultivation, to the lowly-assessed waste of those villages of which the cultivators happen to be poor. By enabling the latter to meet the Government demands, without the application of the same degree of capital and skill required in the case of better cultivated villages, it would foster in the former a slovenly and unremunerative mode of husbandry. By taking into account an element so uncertain and liable to change as the condition of the cultivators in particular villages, the assessment would become less and less suitable, with every improvement in their condition. On the other hand, by basing the assessment on considerations of a durable character, we have the promise of its remaining suitable for a lengthened period, and at the expiration of the term for which it is confirmed, requiring no further alteration than a simple increase or decrease of its amount, as the exigencies of the country and Government might demand.

"68. Each Collectorate being divided into districts, of which the management and records are distinct, it is an obvious advantage to consider the assessment of each of these divisions separately; and were the points bearing on the distribution of the Government demand alike in all parts of any such division, one standard of assessment would be suitable for the whole.

But this is seldom the case : and there is usually such marked distinction between different portions of the same district as to require the assessment to be regulated with reference to these. The first question, then, in proceeding to the assessment of a district, is to ascertain whether such distinctions exist, and to define the limits over which they prevail. This, however, will seldom be a task of much difficulty, or involving any very minute investigations, as marked differences only, calling for an alteration in the rates of assessment, require notice : and within the limits of a single district three to four classes of villages would generally be found ample for this purpose.

" 69. The relative values of the fields of each village having been determined from the classification of soils, the command of water for irrigation, or other extrinsic circumstances, and the villages of a district arranged into groups, according to their respective advantages of climate, markets, &c., it only remains, in order to complete the settlement, to fix the absolute amount of assessment to be levied from the whole.

" 70. The determination of this point is, perhaps, the most important and difficult operation connected with the survey, and requires, beyond all others, the exercise of great judgment and discrimination on the part of the Officer on whom it devolves. The first requisite is to obtain a clear understanding of the nature and effects of our past management of the district, which will be best arrived at by an examination and comparison of the annual revenue settlements of as many previous years as trustworthy data may be procurable for, and from local inquiries of the people, during the progress of the survey. The information collected on the subject of past revenue settlements should be so arranged as to enable us to trace with facility the mutual influence upon each other of the assessment, the collections, and the cultivation.

" This, in our opinion, can best be done by the aid of diagrams,* constructed so as to exhibit, in contiguous columns, by linear proportions, the amount and fluctuations of the assessment, collec-

* The information here alluded to by Captain Wingate as given " by the aid of a diagram," is given, farther on, in certain figured statements which follow.

tions, and cultivation, for each of the years to which they relate, so as to convey to the mind clear and definite conceptions of the subject, such as it is scarcely possible to obtain from figured statements, even after the most laborious and attentive study. The information to be embodied in the diagram best suited for our purpose should be restricted to the land of the district subject to the full assessment; the extent of this cultivated in each year; the assessment on the same, and the portion of the assessment actually realised. This will exclude from the diagram several items of revenue obtained from this land, such as the rent of grazing farms, fruit trees, sheep tax, &c., independent of the assessment hitherto levied on the cultivated land, which is the proper object of our present inquiry.

"72. The hucks of hereditary officers upon cultivated land, however, having to be included in the survey assessment, and as forming a real addition to the burdens on the land, might appropriately be included in the diagram; but as no authentic records of the amount of such hucks actually realised are obtainable, we think it preferable to omit them, and to estimate separately the addition to be made on their account to the collections shown by the diagram.

"73. The items of information admitted into the diagram should be alike for each year. They should have reference to the same villages; and in the event of any having lapsed to Government, or having been otherwise transferred during the period embraced in the diagram, for which information for all the years required cannot be obtained, such villages should be excluded altogether; or if it be considered preferable to include them, a proportionate increase should be made to the entries of the diagram in the case of the years for which exact data may be wanting. The cultivation and assessment for each year should be estimated in the same land measures, and the same currency, and an explanation of the value of these afforded. [Collections or remissions on account of outstanding balances, should be included in the entries of the year to which they relate, though made at a future period.] Every care should be taken to secure the accuracy of the information embodied in the diagram, and the points which may be considered imperfect brought to notice.

"74. Furthermore, to assist in tracing the causes to which the prosperity or decline of villages, or tracts containing several villages, are to be attributed, independent statements of the annual revenue settlements of each village should be prepared, and from these, again, a general statement for the whole district, or any portion of it, should be framed, and its accuracy tested by a comparison with the general accounts of the Talooka, and from the return, so prepared and corrected, the diagram should finally be constructed. The nature and amount of the various items of land revenue and hucks excluded from the diagram, should be separately noted, and taken into account in considering the financial results of the proposed assessment.

"75. And, finally, with the view of affording the fullest information on this important subject, detailed figured statements should be furnished, exhibiting the source and amount of every item of revenue hitherto derived from land of every description, whether Government or alienated, comprised within the limits of the villages for which an assessment is proposed.

"76. The information thus collected and exhibited, with that obtained by local inquiries into the past history of the district, will generally enable us to trace the causes which have affected its past condition; and a knowledge of these, aided by a comparison of the capabilities of the district with those of others in its neighbourhood, will lead to a satisfactory conclusion regarding the amount of assessment to be imposed.

"77. But, instead of a particular sum at which a district should be assessed, it amounts to the same thing, and is more convenient, to determine the rates to be imposed on the several descriptions of soil and culture contained within its limits, so as to produce the amount in question. And to do this, it is only requisite to fix the maximum rates for the different descriptions of cultivation, when, of course, inferior rates will be at once deducible from the relative values of our classification scales.

"78. The rates so determined should be applied to all descriptions of land, alienated as well as otherwise: for the settlement could not be considered complete, unless the extent and value of aliented land, as well as that under the immediate management of Government, were ascertained and recorded. When the calcula-

tion of the assessment from the rates is completed, field registers, embodying the results of the survey, should be prepared for each village separately, for the use of the collectors. These, and the village maps, form a complete record of our operations; and while they and the field boundaries exist, all the important data resulting from the survey will be preserved."—*Ibid.*

REVENUE MANAGEMENT.

RULES.

"I.—With a view to the improvement of the country and people, the assessment now introduced by the Superintendent Revenue Survey, has been fixed by Government for a period of thirty years, viz., from Fuslee to during which period the full benefit of every improvement, such as the conversion of dry into irrigated land by the digging or repairing of wells and tanks, the planting of fruit-trees, &c., will be secured to the incumbent of the land, and no extra assessment levied on that account.

"II.—All cesses upon land have been absorbed in the new assessment; consequently, when there are fruit-trees in a field, their produce is to be taken by the cultivator, and nothing beyond the assessment placed on the field levied on that account from him; but in the case of valuable fruit and other trees standing in fields assessed at dry crop rates, and not in cultivation at the introduction of the survey, and the produce of which it has hitherto been customary to sell on account of Government, the right of property in these trees and of occupancy in the field, should be offered at a fair upset price, and sold once for all by public auction to the highest bidder, and nothing in excess of the survey assessment thereafter exacted. But, if no one offer to undertake the cultivation of the field on these terms, the produce of the trees may be sold annually, according to custom.

"III.—No field is to be let for less than the full survey assessment, on account of its having been long waste, overrun with jungle, or any other reason whatever.

"IV.—In the survey registers, in the case of fields containing garden and rice land, the said land is entered at so many acres bearing a certain assessment, or the latter is laid upon the well in the case of garden land, without the irrigated acres being specified. This assessment is invariably to be levied, and nothing more, whether a greater or less number of acres, or none at all, be cultivated with garden or rice crops; and should there, now or hereafter, be garden or rice land in any field not entered as having such in the survey registers, no extra assessment is to be levied on that account, the dry crop assessment therein entered is alone to be levied. In the registers, also, a deduction is made on account of barren land in certain fields, and the assessment placed on the arable land alone; but, in event of the cultivator bringing any portion of the land deducted as barren into cultivation, no extra assessment is to be levied on that account; the assessment on the field entered in the register is alone to be levied.

"V.—Every cultivator in whose name any field, or share of a field, on whatever tenure held, is entered in the village cultivation returns, is to be considered the holder of such field or share; and so long as he shall continue to pay the survey assessment due on it, he cannot be ejected or deprived of his right by any revenue authority; but, in event of his failing to discharge the full assessment, Government reserves the power of ejecting him from any field or share of which the assessment shall at least be equal to the balance outstanding, the defaulter retaining, however, the privilege of determining the particular field or fields to be so relinquished; and in cases when the tenure precludes summary ejectment, the collector will observe the forms necessary to give his orders the force of a legal decree.

"VI.—In event of a holder of Government land dying, his fields or shares are to be entered in the name of his eldest son or next heir, should he or his representatives agree to take them.

"VII.—When two ryots hold a field, and one of them relinquishes his share, or dies without heirs, the share thus lapsing is to be offered, in the first instance, to the other sharer before it is offered to any other party; and, in event of the said sharer declining it, and no other party applying to take it up, the

former must relinquish his share too, and allow the whole field to become waste.

" VIII.—When there are more sharers than two in a field, and any of them relinquishes a share, or dies without heirs, it should be offered, as above, to the sharers in the first instance, beginning, in event of their failing to settle the matter amongst themselves, with the largest sharer, and so on to the least. If none of these, nor any other party, be found to take up the relinquished share, the whole field must be thrown up.

" IX.—Whoever has a field or portion of one entered in his name in the Government accounts, may have the said field or portion transferred to the name of any other person agreeing to cultivate the same, on his making a written application to that effect in the usual 'razeenama,' or petition to resign.

" X.—Proprietors of Enam, Joodee, and Meeras lands, having possession of the same, have the right of cutting down or otherwise disposing of all trees growing therein, and also holders of Government fields, of which they have been in uninterrupted occupancy from a period anterior to the age of the trees, or for a period of 20 years, or who have purchased the trees under the provisions of Rule 2.

" XI.—Holders of Government fields besides those specified in the preceding rule, or occupants of Meeras, Joodee, or Enam lands, holding the same from Government, must obtain permission to cut down trees, and will, in event of permission being given, be required to plant two trees for every one cut, unless exempted from this condition by order of the Collector. The permission to cut trees under this rule, and also trees in Government waste fields, for any purpose connected with agricultural operations, to be granted by the Patel and Koolcurnee on application, a record thereof being kept for the inspection of Government officers. For other actual and immediate wants of the villagers, such as repair of houses, &c., permission to be obtained from the Mamlutdar or Mahalkuree; but for cutting any large number, or for any purpose of sale or profit, the permission of the Collector or one of his assistants to be necessary, when any conditions which may appear advisable can be imposed.

" XII.—In taking up waste for cultivation, a ryot must agree for a whole survey field at the full assessment, and no portion of a field is, on any account, to be given for this purpose, except in the case mentioned in the next rule ; and when two or more cultivators agree together to cultivate a waste field, it must be entered in the name of one of their number, who will be considered the holder, unless the assessment of the field amount to, or exceed, 20 Rupees, in which case it may be entered in the names of two or more holders, on the condition that the assessment of the share of each shall in no case fall short of 10 Rupees.

" XIII.—There are some survey fields, consisting in great part of land covered with dense jungle, or otherwise unsuited in their present state for cultivation, upon which no assessment is placed on the survey registers. In the event of portions of such fields being brought under cultivation, rates of Assessment should be fixed by the Mamlutdar upon the acres under tillage, equivalent to those of similar soils in the same village. This rule applies to all fields in the survey registers on which rates of assessment have not been fixed.

" XIV.—Unless special exceptions be made by the Collector, of valuable grass lands, certain to realize rents in excess of the survey assessment, the grazing of all waste of Government and Meeras land is annually to be sold by auction, field by field, at the commencement of the monsoon, a preference being given, at the sale, to the inhabitants of the village to which the lands may belong. The bidding, however, for any waste field should not be allowed to go beyond its assessment in the survey register, and when it reaches this point, the field should be entered in the name of the last bidder, as other cultivated land held at the full Assessment, and the person so taking it a dmitted to all the privileges of a holder of land under tillage.

" XV.—The grass of fields especially excepted by the Collector from the operation of the preceding rule, may be sold by auction to any one, for sums in excess of the survey assessment.

" XVI.—The grazing of the unarable and other fields not subjected to Assessment in the survey register, should be sold by auction by the Collector as in the preceding rule, a reasonable pro-

portion being set aside for the free pasturage of such villages as have hitherto enjoyed this right.

"XVII.—In some villages houses are attached to particular fields, and it has been customary to oblige a ryot, throwing up one of these fields, to relinquish his house at the same time. This custom, however, is now abolished; and every cultivator is at liberty to throw up any field without his title to his house being at all affected thereby. This rule does not apply to the case of alienated lands.

"XVIII.—In the survey register an assessment is placed on Joodee and Enam, as well as Government fields, but the Joodeedars and Enamdars are not bound thereby, and are at liberty to let out their lands on any terms they please.

"XIX.—In event of Enam land being confiscated, or temporarily attached, it is to be let out, while under Government management, at the survey assessment, or sold by auction, if waste, exactly as Government land. This rule does not apply to the year in which the attachment is effected, for which the existing agreements made with the Enamdar should be allowed to stand.

"XX.—Cultivators wishing to relinquish fields must give in written applications to that effect before the first of May, and with the view of ensuring this being done, the village Officers are to assemble all the holders of Government land on the 30th of April n each year, and having explained to them that it is the last day on which resignations will be received, the Koolkurnee shall then and there write out, in a prescribed form, which must specify the number, acres, and assessment of every field to be relinquished, the 'Razeenama' (or petitions to resign,) for any parties requiring them. These petitions should be signed or authenticated in the presence of one or more witnesses, by the parties making them, and countersigned by the Patel and Koolkurnee, who should forward them without delay to the Mamlutdar, or Mahalkurree, by whom they are to be attested and returned to the Village Officers, as vouchers for any alteration made in the village accounts of the following year. When waste fields are wanted for cultivation, written applications must, in like manner, be taken from the applicants, countersigned by the Village Officers, and forwarded

by them to the Mamlutdar or Mahalkurree, by whom they are to be attested and returned, and all these resignations of cultivated, and applications for waste fields, are to be produced at each Jumabundee settlement, for examination. But Village Officers, under pain of punishment, are not to make any alterations in the cultivation registers, except upon the authority of the vouchers mentioned above, or in obedience to written instructions from the Mamlutdar or Mahalkurree.

"XXI. The revenue should be collected by fixed instalments, without reference to the proportion of early or late crops grown in any one year; and, consequently, no field inspection for the purpose of obtaining such information should be made. In districts where early crops prevail, we recommend the collections to be made in four equal instalments, falling due on 15th December, 1st February, 15th March, and 1st May; and, where early and late crops are nearly equal, or the latter predominate, we also recommend four equal instalments, but respectively falling due a month later, viz: on 15th January, 1st March, 15th April, and 1st June.

"XXII. The field boundary marks erected at the survey should be preserved with the greatest care, and when injured, timely repairs must be made by the cultivators in the case of cultivated lands, and by hired labourers in the case of waste, the expense of the latter being defrayed from a sum of 100 Rs., to be deducted for the purpose from the proceeds of the grazing farms of each Talooka, as sanctioned by Government. This amount should therefore be placed in deposit each year, and the order of the Collector obtained for its expenditure, as above explained, wherever necessary. The intervening strips connecting the boundary marks of a breadth corresponding with the latter, are constituted the boundary of the field, and forbidden to be ploughed over or otherwise injured; and in the case of dry crop lands, before preparing any field for sowing, these strips are to be distinctly marked off each year, by the holder running his plough along the boundary. In the event of this order being neglected, and this space ploughed up or sown, the cultivator is to be made to connect the two contiguous marks, between which the boundary had been

disregarded, by a continuous ridge of earth, 1½ foot in height; and should he fail to do so within a certain number of days, the Village Officers are to report the circumstance to the Mamlutdar, who is to apply to the Collector for a notice to be served on the holder of the field, according to the provisions of Act III. of 1846; and if this be disregarded, the boundary is to be put up by hired labourers, and the amount recovered from him, as therein provided."

No. III.

REPLY BY CAPTAIN WINGATE TO CERTAIN OBJECTIONS.

APPENDIX TO JOINT REPORT.

"5. You will observe, by referring to Rule 5 of the Joint Report, that the only way in which the title of a cultivator to any field can be vitiated, is through his failing to discharge the assessment laid upon it. And he will be called upon to pay this assessment upon every field entered in his name in the village books, without reference at all to the circumstance of its being waste or cultivated. So long as he pays the assessment, no field can, under any circumstances, be struck or left out of his holding, except upon his own written application to that effect, under the provisions of Rule 20; and it will thus be evident that no rival or other party could by possibility step in and supplant him in the way supposed by Government. It seems to me difficult to imagine a more secure title to occupancy than this. It is absolutely free from all conditions, except the simple one of discharging the Government land tax, and this condition, it is evident, could not be dispensed with under any plan of management whatever.

"6. The occupant is moreover wholly relieved from the interference or surveillance of the Government Officers. Their power is limited to the collection of the assessment due from him for the land entered in his name. They cannot demand more or less, nor even the assessment itself, except at the stated periods fixed for the collections. So long as he is ready with the money due at such times, they have absolutely no power at all of meddling in his affairs. They have no right to interrogate him as to whether his fields are waste or cultivated, his crops good or bad. The payment of his assessment affords a valid and sufficient

answer to all objectors. A more completely independent position for a farmer to occupy than this it is hard to imagine. His own industry provides the means of paying his assessment, and he is absolutely free to exert this industry as may seem to him best, without having occasion to defer to the wishes or ideas of any one. I believe that in no country of the world are the cultivators so thoroughly independent as they will be in our surveyed districts, when the rules of the Joint Report shall be fully enforced. In the Dhárwar Collectorate, where they are already in operation for the most part, their effect is readily observable in the bold bearing the cultivators quickly assume toward their village officers, and other influential parties, subsequent to the introduction of the new settlement.

"27. Government think it preferable the periods to be fixed for the payment of the instalments forming the subject of Rule 21 be disposed of apart from the ordinary Survey Rules; and though not disposed to dissent from this arrangement, I would yet respectfully submit that the settlement of those periods is of very great importance to the success of the survey settlements, and I trust, therefore, it will not be considered irrelevant to offer in this place the following arguments in favor of those fixed by Rule 21. The proposed instalments would fall due on the 15th December, 1st February, 15th March, and 1st May, in the case of districts when the early crops on an average of season predominate, and a month later, viz., on 15th January, 1st March, 15th April, and 1st June in the remaining districts. Three principal objects were in view in selecting the periods in question: Firstly, to enable the cultivator to provide funds for the payment of his assessment from *bona fide* sales of produce; Secondly, to distribute the collections over a period of six months, instead of four, as at present is generally the case, in order to afford the cultivator greater facilities for the disposal of his produce, and prevent prices becoming needlessly lowered during the collecting season, by forcing sales of produce at a sacrifice, which will always be the case when the instalments follow each other too closely; Thirdly, to have the instalments invariable, under all circumstances, for each district, that the cultivators may be taught to use foresight, and adopt

timely measures for providing the funds necessary to the liquidation of their rents, by removing the uncertainty, and opportunities for jobbing and favoritism, attendant on the plan of collecting the revenue by variable instalments, according to the report of village officers as to the proportion of early and late crops grown in each particular season. All of these objects I deem very important; and all will, it seems to me, be fully attained without the entailment of any countervailing disadvantages, by the adoption of the periods for the collection of the instalments mentioned in the Rule.

"28. In the earliest districts, viz., those lying immediately East of the Ghauts, in which the whole crop, with some few exceptions, belongs to the early harvest, no part of it could be got ready for market and sold much before the 15th of December; but, by making an effort, a cultivator could manage to sell by that time sufficient produce to make up the 1st instalment, which is only one-fourth of his whole assessment. An earlier date, then, than the 15th of December, could not be fixed upon anywhere, without defeating one main object of the Rule, which is to enable the assessment to be provided by actual sales of produce, instead of by funds taken up at an excessive rate of interest from money lenders. In these early districts a considerable portion of the crop would be ready for market before the 1st February, and there would be no difficulty in selling it in time to provide the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th instalments. In the case of the later districts, there would be everywhere a sufficient proportion of early crops grown to furnish the means of paying the 1st instalment, falling due on 15th January, and the late crops could be got ready and sold in time for the payment of the remaining three instalments.

"29. In the case of both early and late crops, I feel assured that the adoption of a shorter interval than six weeks between each instalment would either have the effect of forcing sales of produce, and bringing down prices, or of driving the cultivators to the money-lenders, from the want of time and opportunity to dispose of a sufficient portion of their crop to meet each succeeding instalment. I have frequently conversed with intelligent cultivators on this subject, and they have always been sensible of the

great advantage that would result to them from lengthening the intervals between the instalments from a month to six weeks, and have freely admitted that under such circumstances they would never have occasion to borrow, or dream of doing so, in order to raise money for the payment of their rents."

These extracts, we think, reflect the highest credit on the writers of the reports. We have seldom seen more masterly—and never more liberal and enlightened—specimens of state-craft; and we could wipe out a good many of our old grudges against Mr. Goldsmid in consideration of his appreciation and steady support of such views as these, and of whatever share he may have had in originating them.

We must also extract Captain Wingate's bird's-eye view of Khandeish, given at the commencement of his recent report. With the assistance of a flying trip which we once made into the province, and knowing something of the Deccan, with which Captain Wingate continually compares it, his sketch appears to realize it to us, both physically and socially, so vividly, that we could almost fancy ourselves old residents in it.

"The Collectorate of Khandeish contains sixteen Talooks, viz. Sowda, Yawal, Chopra, Thalneir, and Sooltanpoor, situated in the order I have named them from east to west, along the north bank of the Taptee River; Nusseerabad, Errundole, Amulneir, and Nundoorbar, occupying a similar position along the southern bank of the same river; and Jamneir, Burgaon, Chaleesgaon, Dhoolia, Malligaon, Pimpulneir, and Baglan, lying between the Taptee Talooks and the Chandore or Adjunta range of hills which divides Khandeish from the Deccan.

"The fall of rain throughout Khandeish is probably less than

in the Southern Maharatta country, and little, if at all, greater than in the Deccan, while the rocks and the soils are exactly similar to those of the latter province, though the harder varieties of trap are much more sparingly distributed in Khandeish than in the Deccan. Notwithstanding, however, these resemblances, the soil of Khandeish is more fertile, and yields heavier crops than that of either the Deccan or the Southern Mahratta country, which, apparently, is owing to some unexplained peculiarity of climate, and to the soil being less exhausted by long-continued cultivation.

"This superior fertility, however, does not affect the relative fertility of the several varieties of soil amongst themselves. The principal crops of Khandeish are also those of the Deccan and Southern Mahratta country, and the modes of husbandry do not materially differ; on which account the plan for estimating the relative values of different kinds of soil followed in the surveys of those provinces will be, in all respects, applicable to Khandeish.

"Irrigation is more extensively practised in Khandeish than in the Deccan or Southern Mahratta country. The valleys of Khandeish are all open and level, and the smaller rivers, taking their rise in the Western Ghauts, flow in shallow beds, which are every here and there obstructed by ledges of hard rocks. These act as natural dams, and afford great facilities for the construction of bundharas, or masonry dams, for diverting the water of the river into canals for irrigation. Bundharas have, accordingly, been built in great numbers in these rivers, and more particularly in the Talooks of Baglan, Pimpulneir, Malligaon, and Dhoolia. A masonry wall of a few feet in height, built across the bed of the river at some place where there is a natural ledge of rocks, affords a sufficient head of water to admit of the stream being led off by a canal so as to rise above the level of the plain from two to three miles lower down. The flatness of the land, and its very gentle slope in the direction of the course of the river, adapts it admirably for irrigation, and in the case of all the bundharas I have seen there is much greater extent of land admitting of being overflowed than the supply of water suffices to irrigate. All the Khandeish rivers flow into the Taptee, but the bundharas are chiefly found on the upper portions of their courses. The river beds become gradually

deeper as they approach the Taptee; and so, unfavourable for the construction of dams. The Taptee itself flows in a channel of extraordinary depth, depressed at least a hundred feet below the level of the plain through which it flows; and its waters are, therefore, not available for irrigation in any part of their passage through Khandeish.

"Water is obtainable by digging almost everywhere in Khandeish, and wells at one time have been very numerous. The Taptee, however, acts as a drain to carry off the subsoil waters, and the wells gradually deepen as they approach that river, until their water can no longer be profitably used for irrigation. Accordingly, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Taptee, wells are rarely met with, and, even at distances of 8 to 10 miles from the river, they are 50 and 60 feet in depth in the Chopra Talook. Generally speaking, however, their depth is much less considerable, and at some future day, when the wants of an increasing population shall exceed the capabilities of the land to supply without the aid of irrigation, water will be obtainable in unlimited quantity by the digging of wells. The "Mothusthul," or well irrigation, is even now considerable; but, excepting in the immediate neighbourhood of towns, where there is a demand for garden produce, I am inclined to think it the least remunerative husbandry in Khandeish.

"The irrigated husbandry is, however, of quite subordinate importance to that of the dry crop. 'Gool,' or coarse sugar, and opium, are the chief exports belonging to the former, whereas all the great exports of Khandeish,—cotton, oil-seeds, wheat, gram, and formerly indigo,—belong to the latter; though wheat and gram are also grown, to some extent, on irrigated land.

"The early, or monsoon crops, are by far the most important in Khandeish, and to them belong all the dry crop exports I have named, except wheat, gram, and linseed; formerly the late, or rubbee crops, used to be much more extensively grown than is now the case, but wheat and gram have been displaced to a great extent by cotton, owing to the comparatively large demand for the latter crop, of late years.

"The extent of cultivation in Khandeish, compared with its area, is very limited. On entering the province from almost any

quarter, the face of the country appears to be covered with low scattered bush-jungle. This jungle is composed of various kinds of thorny bushes, of which the 'bear,' with its recurved thorns, is the most abundant. These bushes are seldom more than ten feet in height, and usually much less. They do not generally grow very close together, but here and there dense and almost impervious thickets are met with.

"On viewing the country around from any little elevation, it is difficult to make out where the cultivation is situated, as the sombre monotonous jungle meets the eye in every direction. This is accounted for by the fields being frequently surrounded by strips of waste covered with jungle, and by the cultivated fields themselves being often half covered with bear-thorn bushes. When a field is prepared for cultivation in Khandeish, the bushes covering the surface are not rooted out, but are merely cut down to the ground, and the plough is driven among the stumps, as in an American clearing. The vitality of the bush seems to be little affected by the operation, it begins to sprout again with the growing crop, and in six months' time seems almost as large and as vigorous as before it was cut down; and after the crop is cut, the field wears the look of being covered with jungle much as before. When the field is next prepared for sowing, the bushes are again cut down, and again spring up, and so the alternation goes on. In time, no doubt, the bushes would be destroyed by this constant pruning, but in consequence of the great abundance of arable land in Khandeish, the same land is not usually cropped for more than three or four years in succession. It is then thrown up, as the soil begins to yield a diminished return, and a piece of fresh waste is taken instead. The fields thus thrown up are allowed to lie fallow for several years before they are again taken into cultivation.

"This mode of husbandry does not eradicate the bush jungle, and in a year or two after a field so cultivated is relinquished the jungle has grown up as thickly as ever, and there is nothing to indicate that the field has ever been under tillage at all. It is only immediately around the villages, in thinly peopled parts, that the fields are in continuous cultivation, as there the facilities

for manuring and bringing home the crops make such lands more valuable than those at a greater distance, even with the advantage of the greater productive capabilities of the soil occasioned by long fallows. Generally, then, throughout Khandeish, with an exception to be described presently, there is a limited space tolerably cleared around each inhabited village, and all the rest of the country, whether cultivated or waste, is more or less overrun with low bush-jungle, which would form a serious hinderance to detailed survey operations.

"The exception to which I have alluded is the upper part of the fine rich plain of the Taptee, which, for some miles on both sides of the river, in the Talooks of Sowda, Yawul, part of Chopra, Nusseerabad, Errundole, and part of Amulneir, is cleared of jungle, and for the most part under cultivation. This is the best peopled and richest portion of, and, I may say, the only part of, the Collectorate, that looks like an old country. All the rest has more the aspect of a newly-peopled colony, if we except the traces of a former industry to be seen in the mango and tamarind trees, and the many ruined wells which are still to be met with in the neighbourhood of almost every village.

"Excepting, then, the well-cultivated portion of the Taptee plain above referred to, the whole of Khandeish may be viewed as only very partially reclaimed from a state of nature. The present population is wholly inadequate to occupy it fully, and there is no prospect, I should say, of the population becoming sufficient for this purpose for the next century to come. To make this evident, it will be necessary to refer more particularly to the present population and cultivation of the several Talooks of the Collectorate.

"The data for the following Table have been obtained from returns furnished to me by the Collector, with the exception of the square miles in each Talook, which were obtained from the Civil Engineer, Lieutenant Bell, who informed me that they were carefully calculated from the areas of the several Talooks, according to boundaries laid down in the lithographed map of the Collectorate, from returns of the villages lying along the Talook boundaries supplied by the Mamlutdars, and that he believed them to be very

nearly correct. The square miles, it will be understood, include the area of hills, rivers, roads, sites of villages, and all other kinds of unarable, in addition to the arable, surface:—

Talooks.	Number of villages in each Talook.			Population of each Talook according to Census of 1851.	Number of Square Miles in each Talook	Number of Inhabitants to each Square Mile.	Cultivation in the year 1850		Per Head of population.	
	Inhabited.	Uninhabited.	Total.				Beeghas.	Assessment after deducting remittances.	Beeghas in cultivation.	Assessment, Rupees.
Sowda..... ...	98	38	136	59438	338	176	93796	187017	1·57	3·14
Yawul..... ...	55	28	83	32394	280	116	57027	88542	1·76	2·73
Chopra...	98	104	202	33975	544	62	39208	76713	1·15	2.25
Thalnier.. ...	76	168	244	21026	898	23	30433	50189	1·44	2.38
Sooltanpoor.	327	424	451	36295	1312	28	71526	136282	1·97	3.75
Nusseerabad.	88	37	125	40290	288	140	86976	137167	2·15	3. 4
Errundole....	177	56	233	53592	336	160	96349	126783	1·79	2.36
Amulnier....	186	66	252	48032	530	91	96429	132194	2·	2.75
Nundoorbar.	232	84	316	53312	1118	48	89749	143526	1·68	2.69
Jamnier.....	183	50	233	73381	568	129	140321	120433	1·91	1.64
Burgaon.....	275	73	348	84044	822	102	144519	129382	1·71	1.53
Chaleesgam.	119	30	149	37110	608	61	49629	35259	1·33	0.95
Malligam....	190	14	204	60062	1120	54	116878	77963	1·92	1.29
Dhoolia... ...	159	66	225	59497	970	61	100346	82001	1·68	1.37
Pimpulnier..	211	128	339	33616	1270	26	44639	74775	1·32	2.22
Baglan... ...	284	13	279	39026	1076	55	99984	106167	1.69	1.79
Whole Province of Khandeish.	2758	1079	3837	785091	12078	65	1356681	1704392	1·72	2·17

"The actual area under cultivation in Khandeish is rather more than the beeghas recorded in this Table, as no allowance has been made for the extent of cultivation in certain of the wildest parts of the Collectorate, where the Revenue is collected by means of a plough-tax, and no record of the cultivation is made at all. A similar omission has been made in the case of alienated villages, but these are few in Khandeish, and the deficiency in the cultivated area shown in the Table due to both causes is not considerable.

"The beeghas given in the Table are all of the same size, and were obtained from the measurement of cultivation made for the

purpose of settling the Jummabundee of 1850-51. The beeglia contains 3,600 square yards, and is, therefore, almost exactly three-fourths of an acre. The begah measurement in Khandeish was never extended beyond the cultivation of each year, and therefore affords no data for ascertaining the extent of arable waste. When land once measured as cultivated falls waste, it is recorded thereafter as cultivable waste, but great doubt attaches to the area so recorded, from the want of any permanent boundaries to the fields, and the confusion of numbers in many instances. There is, besides, a large extent of arable land—probably upwards of one-half of the whole—which has never been under cultivation since we obtained the country, and is consequently not recorded at all.

"In preparing the following Table, which shows the extent of land in square miles, I have taken the beegha at three-fourths of an acre, and roughly guessed at the extent of unarable surface in each Talook, which I have deducted from the whole area to find the arable surface. The latter, of course, can only be viewed as a rough approximation to the truth; but still an approximation, even though not a close one, will give a general idea of the relative extent of arable, cultivated, and waste land.

Names of Talooks.	Total square miles in each Talook.	Deduct estimated extent of unarable hills, rivers, roads, sides of villages &c. square miles.	Remaining arable square miles.	Of which are			
				Cultivated.		Waste.	
				Square miles.	Per cent.	Square miles.	Per cent.
Sowda	338	63	275	98	36	177	64
Yawal	280	40	240	60	25	180	75
Chopra	544	118	426	41	10	385	90
Thalnier	898	272	626	32	5	594	95
Sooltanpoor	1312	320	992	75	7	917	93
Nasseerabad	288	20	268	90	34	177	66
Errundole	336	24	312	100	32	212	68
Amulneir	530	45	485	100	21	385	79
Nundoorbar	1118	112	1006	94	9	912	91
Jamneir	568	40	528	146	28	382	72
Burgaon	822	70	752	151	20	601	80
Chaleesgaon	608	114	494	52	11	442	89
Dhoolia	970	181	789	105	13	684	87
Maligaon	1120	210	910	120	13	789	87
Pimpulneir	1270	348	922	47	5	875	95
Baglan	1076	326	750	104	14	646	86
Whole Collectorate	12078	2306	9772	1413	14	8359	86

"It appears, then, from the sixth column of the table, that the cultivated area throughout the Collectorate is only 14 per cent. of the whole arable area; while in particular Talooks, it is even more limited. In Chopra the land under cultivation is 10 per cent., in Nundoorbar, 9 per cent., in Sooltanpoor, 7 per cent., and in Thalneir and Pimpulneir only 5 per cent., of the arable area.

"Again, the great extent of waste, compared with cultivation, will be even more remarkable if we pursue the investigation into sub-divisions of a Talook and particular villages. The Talook of Sowda, as a whole, is the most densely peopled in the Collectorate, but notwithstanding that, it contains thirty-eight uninhabited villages, of which four are wholly uncultivated, exclusively of a desert tract about to be described.

"In this Talook, north of the Mahalkurry's station of Ravere, is a fertile valley within the Sautpoora Hills, which once contained a Cusba Town, called Pal, and numerous villages besides. These villages still exist in name, and the whole circle is called the Pal Tuppa, from the chief town of Pal. But the valley does not contain, I was told, a single permanent resident, and not an acre of the soil is cultivated. It is thickly overgrown with jungle, and infested by wild beasts. It is seldom visited except by Bheels and Brinjarries, who go there to cut wood and graze their cattle at particular seasons. In the neighbourhood of the sites of the old villages, mango and tamarind trees still flourish, and, along with numerous wells, attest, that at no very distant date, and probably within the last century, the valley was crowded with industrious husbandmen. The soil is described as most excellent, and some years ago an attempt was made, with the aid of considerable grants of Tuccavee from Government, to re-people the valley. A number of settlers went there, who cut down the jungle and ploughed and sowed a considerable extent of land. But the climate proved deadly in the extreme. The cultivators died or lost their health irrecoverably, from frequent attacks of jungle fever. The wild animals, especially the hog and neelgaee, which abound in the valley, ate down and destroyed the crops. After the lapse of a year or two a miserable emaciated remnant of the original settlers left the valley in despair, and never returned.

Such was the story of the Pal Tuppa as told to me, and I mention it thus in detail to illustrate the present state of the Province.

"The Pal Tuppa is an example of a once fertile and well-peopled, and doubtless, healthy tract of country having become covered with jungle and most malarious, owing to the destruction of the population during the anarchical times that preceded our conquest. It is by no means, however, the sole instance. The whole Ambeh Division of the Thalneir Talook is nearly in the same condition. The only inhabitants are a few Bheels, who subsist chiefly by wood cutting, and pay a plough-tax to Government for the few lands they cultivate; a division of the Chopra Talook, called the Dowla Turph, is in the same condition. Large tracts of Sooltanpoor, and the Nuwapoor, Mahalkurries Division, as well as other parts of the Pimpulneir Talook, are in the same state. The climate of all these parts is reported to be most unhealthy. The native inhabitants suffer annually from fever and ague, and from enlarged spleen. To those who are not natives the climate is still more deleterious, and it would be almost certain death to a European to remain for any considerable time in the jungles between September and February. They become less unhealthy as the hot season advances, but are never quite safe for Europeans, or even for natives unaccustomed to the climate. These tracts are, of course, very thinly peopled. The inhabitants are chiefly Bheels, who pay a light plough-tax, and cultivate as much land as they please. The annual Beghotee measurement has never been carried into these dreary wastes.

"Again, even in the comparatively well-peopled and healthy districts of the plain, large tracts of waste, extending for miles, sometimes without an intervening patch of cultivation, are to be met with. From the table following my 15th paragraph it will be seen that there is a considerable number of uninhabited villages in all the Talooks, and a large number of these are also uncultivated. But there is a still larger number of villages with only a very small population. Out of the 2,758 inhabited villages of the Collectorate, there are 587 with fewer than 50 inhabitants, and of these 181 have fewer than 20 inhabitants. In every such case the whole cultivation is confined to a few fields, and with this in-

significant exception, the entire area of the village is waste and covered with jungle.

"To sum up these descriptions, we have, then, in Khandeish.

"1st. Large continuous tracts of jungle in the Talooks north of the Taptee, towards the Sautpoora range, and also in the western Talooks south of the Taptee, among the hills bordering the Dangs, which have a most unhealthy climate, and are either uninhabited, or contain a sparse population, chiefly of Bheels, who have not yet learned habits of steady industry, and to whose limited cultivation the Beghotee system of revenue management has not yet been extended.

"2nd. Large tracts are to be met with, even in the plain with very little cultivation, and with a very scanty population, uninhabited villages being numerous.

"3rd. In all parts of the Collectorate, excepting a limited portion of the eastern Talooks adjoining the Taptee waste land covered with thorn jungle far exceeds in extent the cultivated area; and villages with very few inhabitants or entirely deserted are common."—*Khandeish Report, pages* 1 to 6.

"The present dry-crop rates of Khandeish appear heavy as compared with the survey rates introduced into the Deccan and Southern Mahratta country. The highest, as will be seen from the statement following my 15th paragraph, is Rs. 2-10-0 per beegha, equivalent to Rs. 3-8-0 per acre. This rate obtains in Thalneir and Sooltanpoor, while the average rate of assessment on the whole land in cultivation in the Sowda, Chopra, and Sooltanpoor Talooks, is Rs. 1-15-0 per beegha, or Rs. 2-9-4 per acre. These rates could not be paid at all in the Deccan, but the superior fertility of the soil in Khandeish, and the ease with which its products can be converted into money, from nearly all being grown for export, as well as the advantages enjoyed by the cultivator in being allowed the privilege of free grazing over the vast waste of Khandeish, make them, in reality, far less onerous than would be supposed from simply comparing them with rates of dry-crop land elsewhere.

"The cultivators of Khandeish are, from all I could see and learn of their condition, in much more easy circumstances than

those of the Deccan. They possess numbers of cattle which cost them positively nothing, owing to the abundant free pasturage. These provide more than sufficient bullocks for agricultural purposes, so that the cultivators have rarely occasion to purchase any except for drawing the Mohot, which in the case of the deep wells of the Taptee Talooks requires stronger cattle than are bred in Khandeish. Light two-bullock carts are to be found in great numbers in almost every village of Khandeish, and almost every cultivator possesses one more. In addition to these, the wealthier cultivators and the traders generally, keep light pleasure carts, in which they drive to market, or wherever they have occasion to go; and these little vehicles, drawn by fast-trotting bullocks, are met with in numbers on all the roads of Khandeish. The vast traffic passing through the province to Bombay, has, since the improvement of the Tul and Chandore Ghauts, brought a great accession of employment to the population of Khandeish. Independent of agriculture nearly all the carts used in bringing down cotton and other produce from Berar and Khandeish to Bhewndy belong to Khandeish, and are mostly owned by cultivators there. As soon as the harvest is got in, many of the cultivators either start off for Khamgaon, in Berar, or look about at home for a fare to Bhewndy, from which they seldom return with their carts empty. A trip of this kind occupies them about six weeks, and they usually net from 20 to 25 Rupees, clear of all expenses, if they are at all fortunate. Some of them make two trips before the rains. They are fast appropriating the traffic of the Brinjarries, and will doubtless succeed in doing so to a much greater extent, whenever the frightful and thoroughly-execrable road from the Tul Ghaut through the Conkan is superseded by such a road as has been made down the Ghaut itself—a measure which is urgently required for the accommodation of the vast and increasing traffic on the most important line of road in our presidency, with the single exception of that by the Bore Ghaut. In proof of the comparative abundance of money in Khandeish, I may also instance the fact that all labour there, agricultural as well as other, is paid for in cash, whereas in the Deccan and Southern Mahratta country agricultural labour is almost universally paid for in grain.

"These facts account for the cultivators of Khandeish being able to pay higher rates than elsewhere. But while fully admitting this, I am satisfied that the present rates are much too high, and, for the reasons already given, I am of opinion that a very liberal deduction is required."—*Ibid, pages* 13 *and* 14.

We must also quote the following for the sake of a few remarks which we shall subsequently have to make:—

"Population is, perhaps, already becoming redundant in parts of the Deccan, and low rates in Khandeish would probably bring settlers from it, and from the Nizam's Dominions, in considerable numbers. The collectorate of Rutnagherry is oppressed by an over-numerous and starving, but highly industrious, population; and could means be devised for systematically drafting off the excess to re-establish the deserted villages of Khandeish, Government might unhesitatingly venture to incur a considerable expenditure for this purpose in the prospect of a most ample return. The attempt would, no doubt, be attended with difficulties, but not such, I think, as are insuperable, and I throw out the suggestion as one which seems to me worthy of further examination."—*Khandeish Report, paragraph* 53.

"The suggestion in para. 53 of Captain Wingate's report, that the excess of population in Rutnagherry might be made available for supplying the defect in Khandeish, derives additional force from the description given in his report dated 30th January 1851, No. 44, on the Rutnagherry Collectorate, of the present depressed circumstances of the redundant population there. Among the causes which have led to the impoverishment of the people, he enumerates one which requires to be considered in the military department. Government here refer to the present system, by which, as they understand from Captain Wingate, recruits for the Bombay Army are drawn to a far less extent than formerly from the Bombay territories."—*Government Minute on the Khandeish Report.*

No. IV.

THE conclusion to all this will not be quite so brilliant as we should like to have made it We have been at some pains to inquire into the results of these, as they seem to us, admirable revenue arrangements, and a very difficult inquiry it is—the testimony on the subject being most annoyingly conflicting. The Maratha country, or at least the part of it in our possession, is much of it exceedingly barren,—perhaps the most sterile, after the great Ajmere desert, of any in India.

The population is too, industrially, an inferior one, accustomed formerly to eke out is own and its country's scanty productiveness by pay and plunder gained as soldiers and camp followers in other provinces of India. Under the Peishwas, says Mr. Elphinstone, there was scarcely a family of Maratha cultivators to be found which did not receive assistance from brothers or sons serving in the camps either as soldiers or as horsekeepers. We employ comparatively few soldiers, and take many of these from other provinces, especially from northern Hindustan, and the Maratha population is therefore thrown very much on its own resources. Then, again, their unthrifty and improvident habits throw them almost entirely for their capital into the hands of a race of foreign money-lenders—the Marwarries—who contrive, it is said, to make our civil courts the means of involving

their debtors in much the same state of hopeless slavery to them, which, before the reduced and fixed assessment, they were in to the Government and its revenue officers. It has been frequently proposed, as a remedy for this, to revive the old system of *tuccavi* allowances, or advances of capital by the Government, who would thus, it is supposed, supersede the Marwarri money-lenders. Those, however, who understand the subject best appear to despair of ever preventing the jobbing and corruption to which such a system furnishes almost irresistible temptations. They believe too, that, with the present habits of the people, the Marwarri would still be resorted to, for expences incurred in marriages and caste feasts, —and they consider, certainly very justly, that the state of helpless tutelage, and childish reliance on his superiors, in which such a system places the cultivator, is precisely one of the worst of the evils from which it is hoped the improved revenue system may ultimately rescue him.

One bold and desperate looking remedy, which we have heard proposed by one of the greatest authorities in these matters, would simply have provoked a laugh in us, but for the very high opinion which we, in common we believe with all who know the proposer, entertain of his knowledge and experience in everything relating to the Deccan and its inhabitants, and of his usually cautious and sound habits of thought and judgment. He would force the most improvident of the ryots either into greater thriftiness, or into the abandonment of their holdings, by refusing all legal assistance in the recovery of debts, and so making it impossible for them to obtain credit. We do not know whether he

proposes also that the Maratha peasantry should be allowed to repudiate what they at present owe. If not, and if legal assistance is to be rendered the money-lenders in recovering the present debts, and only denied them for the future, the first effect of such an enactment would probably be to sweep the country almost bare of its capital—the Marwarries hastening to call it in, and to transfer it to other provinces. Supposing then that repudiation is intended, since without it the measure would probably greatly aggravate the evil it was meant to cure, we fancy, that, while many Englishmen might not be sorry to see the sponge applied to the debts of the Maratha peasantry, could it be done entirely without our complicity, very few indeed would be found to desire that our Government should take any part in bringing it about; and we only mention the proposal to shew how widely spread, and how serious, the disease must be, when so experienced a revenue officer, and so careful and sound a thinker, can be driven to propose such a desperate remedy for it.

But to revert to our complaint of the contradictory nature of the testimony concerning the results of the new settlement. There are, we must tell our readers, two theories as to what the results of such a revenue settlement as we have been describing ought to be. The first,—the theory of Political Economists, of European thinkers and writers generally, and of the revenue officers who have had the direction of these recent surveys,—is amply and ably set forth in the reports from which we have made such copious extracts. According to this, *the moderate assessment* is necessary, to *enable* the culti-

vators to accumulate agricultural capital, and the *fixed tenure*, to *induce* him to do so. With a moderate assessment, the ryot perceives that he may, if he exerts himself, produce a surplus; while the fixed tenure assures him that he will be allowed to appropriate whatever he can make his ground produce beyond the moderate and fixed payment now demanded from him by the Government. He will therefore become industrious and thrifty —will add year by year to his stock, and, as this increases, will take more and more land into cultivation. The other we shall take the liberty to call the native theory, although it is held also by many of our own civilians—by those namely upon whom the lessons of Malthus or of Jones at Haileybury have made less impression than the suggestions either of the Dufterdars and Mamlutdars of their respective Zillahs, or of the native chiefs and Enamdars with whom they have been brought into contract. It was well summed up for us long ago by a very excellent man—a civilian too. "You know," said he, "the most intelligent natives always tell you, that the only way to make the Kunbi industrious is to screw him up with a good high assessment—that the lower you fix his assessment, the less he works." We have since heard the same doctrine maintained not only by native Jaghirdars, who might fancy themselves interested in maintaining it, but also by our own native revenue officers. And within the last few days a very intelligent native friend, who has recently, for the first time in his life, had occasion to study these matters practically, and the whole of whose previous training must have tended to prejudice him in favour of European views of the subject, writes

to us from a Zillah in Gujerat.—"Nothing will ever improve the condition of this people till they are better educated. Since Mr. ——— was collector the assessment here is very moderate, yet the best judges are of opinion, that in the Guicowar's villages, where far more is extorted, the ryot contrives to produce so much more that he has just as much left for himself as he has with us." We attach no weight to our correspondent's testimony as to the facts in themselves, which—and we are sure that he would be the first to admit it—he can, as yet, have had no means of studying for himself; but we have no doubt that he re-produces very faithfully the opinion of the most intelligent people in that part of the country. Of course it is conceivable that this latter account of the people should be the correct one: nor are the two theories, at bottom, irreconcileably opposed to each other. Let us look for a moment at a somewhat similar instance. It is undoubtedly true that free labour is more productive than the labour of slaves. But it is true also, that since Hayti has ceased to be a country of slaves, it has ceased to be a conntry from which large supplies of Colonial produce are received, and that the diminution in its exports reprsents a real diminution in its productions. *And yet it is again true,* that if the Haytian negro is ever to be as productive as the workman of England or of Belgium, it wil lbe as a free workman, and not as a slave. And already there are happy proofs of his improvement in this respect. In comparisons between native states and our own, the balance of testimony we think is, that the native states are, *cæteris paribus,* more productive than ours. Whether this is really so or not, and, if so, whether

it arises from the cultivator being, with us, left more to himself,—enjoying a liberty of action which, as yet, he is so foolish as to use to his own hurt, are questions which we shall not pretend to determine ; although we should wish to answer both of them, and especially the second, with a decided negative.

In the case of our new revenue settlements it would seem that all hypothetical speculation is a very idle employment of our time, since we have the facts themselves to appeal to. The Chandore report dates from 1840; and some of the settlements are still older. We have only then to inquire how in these districts they really have worked.

The facts, however, are more easily talked of than obtained, and verified. In the first place no natives that we have ever met with can be induced to acknowledge that the people in the districts with which they are acquainted are prospering. They may have many ways of accounting for it, each perhaps more stupidly absurd that the other.—With one the English are incessantly draining the country of its silver—the fact being that India imports far more silver than she exports. The tables of exports and imports abundantly shew this; but it might easily have been anticipated. With their universal passion for hoarding wealth in the shape of ornaments, the Hindus are probably the greatest consumers of silver of any people in existence. Now whether they have any imports at all, will depend on whether they have anything to export to pay for them. But what the imports shall consist of will depend entirely on the national tastes. While, then, they have any exports for

which they obtain a return—that is, while they have any exports at all, beyond those which go to pay our remittances, and to bring in our wine, beer, millinery, musical instruments, horses, carriages, saddlery, books, &c. &c., so long will the national demand which exists insure that a portion of the returns shall consist of silver. A lamentably large portion of the exports is made simply on our account, but there is, nevertheless, a large, and happily increasing, export trade, for which returns are obtained, to be consumed by the natives of the country; and there exists, therefore, and is likely to exist, an import trade in silver, as our Hindu friends may satisfy themselves by consulting the Custom House tables.

With another portion, incredibly stupid as it may seem, the distress is held to arise from the government not creating a sufficient number of places, and not paying the occupants of those which do exist sufficiently highly; such people of course imagining that the Government actually creates the wealth which it divides among the place-holders, instead of having first to wrest it all from the industrious classes. But this error is shared in by those even who ought to know better, and who, when they reflect, probably do know better. We were lately favoured with a persual of twenty-seven propositions for reforms in the Government of India, drawn up by some of the most intelligent young men in the presidency. With most of them we entirely agreed; but it was amusing to notice demands for sweeping diminutions of the revenue,—demands for a repeal of the salt tax, of the opium monopoly, of custom-house duties, followed, immediately, by others for measures which, to carry them

out, would require that all the taxes in the country should be raised immediately fifty per cent.

There is one simple consideration which we wonder never occurs to those reformers who attribute the distress of the country chiefly to the amount of the Government revenue. This amount is twenty-three crores of rupees, a portion of which, too, is obtained from the Chinese by means of a monopoly price of opium. But let us omit this, and take the whole twenty-three croses. Twenty-three crores, then, raised from say twelve crores of people. Now, on the most extravagant supposition, what part of this would it be possible to remit, and what effect could such a remission have on the general condition of the people? Could the most biting economy—could a committee of Joseph Humes—by any possibility strike off three crores of it? Was there ever a time when the whole revenue raised from the industrious classes of India was only twenty crores; or is it likely that there ever will be? But let us double the reduction—let us suppose that six crores are economised, and that the Indian Government is thus made the cheapest, in proportion to the extent of its dominions and the number of its subjects, which the world has ever seen; and what does it all amount to? A saving of eight annas per annum, or two-thirds of an anna per mensem for each individual! Let it be remembered, too, that the most philanthropic of political economists are compelled to admit that taxes have sometimes, even in England, stimulated the productiveness of the people—and that it is very widely believed among the most intelligent and best informed revenue servants, and by Europeans also, that

our cultivators do exert themselves in some proportion to the severity of the assessment upon them, or to the severe means taken to enforce it, and it will be evident that it is only to the elevation of the *morale* of the people, to the growth of industrial ingenuity, and habits of thrift and foresight, that we can look for any improvement, and that reductions of revenue are of importance only from whatever tendency they may have, in particular cases, to promote such a change in the character of the population.

There is still, too, another most formidable subject to be considered. The new revenue settlement aims at producing, or at least tends to produce, something like a peasant proprietary. In the Deccan, probably, nothing else was possible. Now this is an institution, the merits and defects of which have been, and still are, very fiercely debated. The best English speculators have generally been opposed to it, although the greatest of living authorities, "the last and wisest of our political economists," certainly leans a good deal towards it—at all events to the extent of deprecating any violent attempts to abolish it where it already exists. One of the evils most dreaded from peasant property in land combined with the system of equal inheritance—and they of course will be combined here—is the excessive subdivision of the holdings, with the increase of population. The advocates of peasant property do not defend it from this imputation in any other way than by endeavouring to shew, from statistical returns, that the feeling of property brings with it feelings of prudence and foresight, and that while cottier tenants in Ireland formerly multiplied

recklessly, peasant proprietors in France and Norway maintain an efficient check on their numbers. But who that knows the Hindu will venture to predict, for many a long year to come, the abolition of early and universal marriage; or dare to assign a date subsequent to which the Maratha peasant shall cease to involve himself recklessly in debts that hamper him for life, merely to marry his yet infant children? Religion, public opinion, his own notion of what is natural and proper, all urge him to it. A native laughs at you when you ask the question whether any change in the tenure of land would tend to check the custom of early marriage! And as to restraints on the principle of population, why half the consummations of marriages in this country are, almost literally, rapes committed on mere children.

In Kandeish, which the Pindarri and the Marhattâ so thoroughly ruined and depopulated, that after thirty-three years of peace and order there is still but fourteen per cent. of the arable land under cultivation, this may not become a practical question for several generations; but Rutnagheree, and some parts of the Deccan, already constitute another west of Ireland. Depopulating wars, and periodical famines, do not occur under our rule, nor do lands lie fallow for years, to yield, when subsequently cultivated, large returns to rude and unskilful husbandry; and the results are, that the habits with respect to population which suited well enough the centuries of anarchical rule, of wars, and frequent recurring famine and pestilence, which preceded our conquests, now threaten to flood some of the provinces with paupers.

Few people have reflected sufficiently on the extent of the change demanded from the natives by the enforced peace and order which we establish among them, and by the new principles of Government which we introduce. Let us suppose, that an inland Deccan province, growing only coarse agricultural produce, is to be regenerated by the means of a favourable land tenure, and consider what the steps are through which it has to pass. In the first place if there has previously been anything like actual coercion, if the revenue has been raised very much under the direction and superintendence of the revenue officers, these latter using occasionally rather sharp means to secure it,—it is quite possible that one of the uses to which the slave may turn his new found freedom will be, to indulge himself with a little idleness and recklessness. The Revenue Survey Commissioners do not, we believe, allow that this ever takes place. We have said quite enough in the early part of these articles to show that we entertain the very highest respect for these gentlemen—indeed, we think so highly both of their judgment, and of their extensive knowledge of the subject, that we should hesitate, on almost any amount of opposing testimony, to decide positively against them. We can only say that we have put the question to many observers—ranging in rank from the highest civilians to the lowest government karkoons, and that our informants are unanimous in their assertions that it does. We are anxious not to be misunderstood—whether such results ever occur or not, the experiment must be persevered in. The slave must be made free, if he is ever to acquire the valuable qualities of the free workman, just as a boy

must be allowed to go into the water, if he is ever to learn to swim. Carlyle's proposed negro coercion, and the industrial regiments which he would have organised in Ireland merited, we believe, all the obloquy which they brought down upon their proposer. This transition state then, if it occur, must be patiently endured,—dealt with by whatever expedients may present themselves, and, if possible, got through with. Let us suppose it either never occurring, or happily passed over, and that the land settlement is producing the results anticipated from it. These are, an increase of agricultural capital and industry, and a consequent extension of cultivation. But an increase of agricultural produce, unless merely to the extent to which it may be actually eaten by the previously under-fed cultivator himself, will require an extended market—that is, a similar extension of all other industries to produce commodities to exchange for it. We shall otherwise have glutted markets, and grain rapidly sinking in value; and this has been a very common result of the establishment in previously disturbed provinces of our peace-preserving Government, and of the consequent extension of cultivation; and is one of the stock native grievances under our rule. With a versatile people,—having among them a variety of useful industries, and with no caste prejudices to prevent them from entering upon whichever of these promised to be most profitable,—the glutted market would, in time, cure itself. In such a community, the low value of corn implies a high value of all the commodities and services for which it is exchanged,—corn-growing is less, and all other employ-

ments (from the cheapness of food) are more remunerative than formerly. Corn growers or their children will be tempted to become artizans ; there will be a redistribution of the industry of the province; values will recover their old level, while everything will be produced and brought to market in greater abundance, and the people, of course, will be in better circumstances—circumstances better in precise proportion to the increase of industry which has taken place. But how difficult a process will all this be with a Hindu people; and there are absolutely no other means available. How much of starvation and misery will it require, to drive any considerable portion of a Brahmin cultivating population to become smiths, braziers, carpenters, weavers, leather dressers, potters, brick and tile makers, &c. &c. Why there are still distressed handloom weavers in Cumberland. And, moreover, it is to be observed, that we are by no means at the end of the difficulty yet, unless on the supposition that the Government takes its revenue in kind,—that its fixed assessment is a fixed quantity of produce per acre. This, as our readers are very well aware, is not the case; we take our revenue in money, and our assessment is a money assessment. Now the general increase of industry which we have supposed may very easily have been attended by a general lowering of prices, in which case it will have been becoming continually more and more difficult to pay even the reduced assessment. We shall have the case, a very common one in India, of a province, all of whose rude home products are cheap,—indeed, as the native tells you, a great deal too cheap, but in which no money is to

be got. We are not then out of the difficulty, even when there has been sufficient versatility to distribute the increased productiveness of the people, in due proportions, over all the variety of industries they may practice, and so to restore the balance of *values*. With a money assessment, *prices* are also of vital importance. There must have been ingenuity enough to direct a sufficient proportion of the new industry to the production of exports—exports which shall bring in silver, and keep up the range of prices.

This then is a new, and by no means very easy condition, which, however, is absolutely essential to the permanent success of the settlement. The lowering of prices from the extension of cultivation and general industry, or from the extension of cultivation alone, has indeed usually its limit; but in an inland Deccan province, without navigable rivers, canals, or roads, and separated from foreign markets by ranges of rugged mountains, this limit is a frightfully low one. With no new exports, prices must fall, till the present produce of the country will bear the expence of the carriage to markets where money is to be obtained for it. And there are cases in which, were the produce given altogether gratuitously to the exporter, the mere carriage alone would make it unprofitable for him to take it to market. Colonel Sleeman relates an instance of a famine in a province near the Nerbudda in which corn could not be imported from a part of the country where it was to be had in abundance, since the Brinjarries and their bullocks ate it all in the course of the transit.

No. V.

The Indian Governments, it has been said, are eminently Governments of Record. A stock subject for facetious criticism in this country is the amount of foolscap and red-tape which must be expended before the hire of a couple of dhoolies, or the salary of a sweeper, can be finally sanctioned. Probably a good deal of stationery is wasted occasionally, but copious records are nevertheless excellent things when accurate information is required, when we wish to know which among the items that go to make up the prosperity of a province have been retrograding and which progressing, and are anxious to attribute these effects to the right causes, and in the right proportions. Loose indefinite talk, the result merely of vague impressions on the speaker's mind, or of his personal feelings, and of no accurate numerical knowledge, unsafe to reply upon as it every-where must be, is peculiarly so in this country. The Hindu in the Deccan, who is sufficiently intelligent to be a talker on such matters at all, will usually belong to the classes whose power and whose revenues have passed over to us since the conquest; so that, if even his national and caste predilections could fail to colour his vision, and to bias his judgment, the probabilities are that his tangible personal interests as a member of the formerly privileged classes have suffered too severely to allow him to be a correct observer, or an unprejudiced judge, of the changes

in the condition of the other and larger classes of his countrymen.

The unanimous testimony of a class so situated, *if unsupported by authentic numerical statements*, is of almost no value whatever. Our intelligent and improving Young India party is by no means, as yet, sufficiently impressed with the importance of this consideration—they are hardly aware of the worthlessness of even the most honestly intended judgment when formed under the conditions we have described, and without statistical confirmation, or when gathered from the testimony of those whose opinions have been so formed.

This point is worth illustrating by an example.—The Hindus, as we have already said, universally believe that there is a constant drain of silver from their country. An Englishman, with them, is a man who comes out with a box-full of clothes, and goes home with a box-full of silver. The country is of course poor—it is always being drained of its money. Any moderately well-informed person, however, knows that a drain of silver—an excess of exports over imports—from a country which produces none, must be of very short duration; and accordingly our Hindu friends have only to consult the trade returns to see that not only is there no drain, but that, very much to the contrary, the excess of the receipts during the last five years into Bombay, over the payments to foreign countries, amounts (leaving England for the moment out of the question) to Rs. 7,44,50,172. During the same five years there have been both importations of silver from England and exportations to it, but, on the whole, the balance for the five years has

been twenty-seven lakhs in favour of England. The final account then is

Excess of imports of silver into Bombay, omitting the account with England..Rs. 7,44,50,172

Balance paid to England..... ..... „ 2,700,000

Total excess remaining..... ..... Rs. 71,750,172*

We do not attach all the importance to this silver question which the Hindus do, or we should be compelled to contend that so large an influx of bullion must be both a sign and a cause of rapidly increasing wealth. A very favourable symptom it certainly is, value it as lightly as one may. But the principal use we wish to make of it at present, is to shew how idly people must talk, who will not be at the pains to acquire accurate numerical information.

* Confining the calculations to the ports of Bombay, Guzerat, and the Concan, the absorption of silver in the five years is Rs. 5,24,98,369. Although silver is not, as so many of our Hindu friends imagine, the only wealth, nor its importation more a cause of wealth than the importation of any other commodity which the general public demand may make it profitable for the merchants to bring in; yet with the universal passion for ornaments made of it, which prevails, among the people, the imports of bullion are probably a rather delicate test of the command which they may at any time possess over commodities beyond the category of mere necessaries. Next to silver, copper probably among all foreign commodities, is the one, the consumption of which would best indicate the condition of the people. In ancient times, say the Hindus, the water pots were all of silver; they were subsequently, for many ages, of copper; but under the British, the people are so wretched, that the copper pots have every where vanished, and been replaced by earthen ones. Now the imports of copper during the first three years (the only years for which there are any published tables) are returned to the Custom House as of the following values:

	Rs.
Year ending July 31st 1849	19,18,299
„ „ „ „ 1850	29,56,703
„ „ „ „ 1851	39,10,599

We do not of course know the precise uses to which these rapidly

We have pressed this consideration on the attention of some of the members of one of our Young India political societies, and have been answered to the effect that they do fully appreciate statistical information; that they should be delighted to speak of the condition of the cultivating and labouring classes generally with the full

---

increasng imports of copper have been applied, but any hypothesis concerning them must be favourable. Let us suppose large quantities demanded for sheathing ships, or for making steam engine boilers, and we could hardly rejoice over it less than we should if it were all consumed in water pots. Our series of articles is more especially concerned with the Deccan, to which, of course the Concan ports are inlets; we are bound therefore to add that the absorption of silver appears to be very much confined to the island itself of Bombay, and to Guzerat, and the countries which draw their supplies through Guzerat. Of copper, on the contrary, the Concan ports take their full share—the imports into them exceeding in value those into Guzerat, and amounting to considerably more than a fourth of the whole. Under the heads of sheathing and sheets, slabs and tiles, (all copper,) we have the following figures.

		Total Imports into Bombay.		Re-exported to Guzerat.		Re-exported to the Concan.	
		Cwts.	Rs.	Cwts.	Rs.	Cwts.	Rs.
Year ending July 31st 1849	Sheathing and Sheets	14,876	8,74,570	3,482	1,90,580	4,024	2,20,780
	Slabs and Tiles	8,197	40,5049	1,179	58,387	2,951	1,46,193
Year ending July 31st 1850	Sheathing and Sheets	81,316	17,09,924	6,917	3,74,592	8,266	4,38,565
	Slabs and Tiles	10,378	5,18,984	7,133	3,60,731	3,656	1,81,287
Year ending July 31st 1851	Sheathing and Sheets	44,968	24,72,160	7,426	4,08,475	10,870	5,97,852
	Slabs and Tiles	13,473	6,73,076	7,734	3,48,051	3,345	1,67,268
Totals		1,23,208	66,53,763	33,871	17,40,766	33,112	17,51,945

One of the first uses which a Hindu would make of returning prosperity would certainly be to put silver ornaments on his wife, and to replace the earthen waterpot on her head by a Copper one, and we cannot but think that these large and increasing imports of both metals must indicate a certain amount of improvement in the general condition of the people.

and accurate knowledge which authentic numerical returns would afford—but that these latter they have no means of arriving at; and that in pressing them for definite and accurate statements, in place of the mere echo which they now give of the, possibly very erroneous, common opinion, we are demanding bricks from them without straw. This answer, in the particular cases in question, is, we have no doubt, nearly correct. It only shews, however, how much progress the native community generally has yet to make, before it will be competent to any very useful discussion of political questions. The whole of the Government records, at some stage or other of the process of getting them up, pass through the hands of native officials. Much of the information contained it is not desired even should be kept secret, and it could not be kept so if it were; and yet the best informed and most intelligent Hindus can never cite a number from a tabular statement to support an assertion.

But to return. Let us suppose records, reports, and statistical tables open to us, and consider what point we should select as tests of the success of our revenue arrangements. We must beg our readers to allow us briefly to repeat the steps through which alone such success can be permanently obtained. The first is, that the low assessment and favourable tenure shall increase the means and the industry of the agricultural population, and lead, as a consequence, to a large extension of cultivation. The second is that the tendency of a large increase of agricultural produce to glut the markets, and produce falling values, shall act as an inducement to a

portion of the cultivating class either to distribute themselves among other home employments, or to turn their attention to the production of exports—either agricultural or manufactured.

Of these two latter alternatives, the first—the increase of mere home industry—while it would of course add to the general abundance, would nevertheless be attended with a general fall of prices—rendering all fixed payments more and more onerous, and throwing a greater and greater proportion of the results of the industry of the producing classes into the hands of the Government; and of those who, from whatever cause, are enabled to command fixed money incomes. To maintain undiminished prices in the face of rapidly increasing production there can be, in the main, but one thing to look to, viz., an increase of the exports.*

The statements, then, which it would be desirable to have from our statisticians are evidently the following.

1st. Has the new settlement been followed by any extension of cultivation, and to what extent? If it has not, what are the obstacles?

* The subject of Roads, Navigable Canals, Improved Vehicles, and improved means of Transit generally, is thus intimately mixed up with the Revenue Settlement. Whatever, by cheapening the carriage, enables any product to be exported while yet at a better price than it would otherwise have to fall to before it could command a foreign market makes it more and more easy for the province to pay its fixed money rates in spite of an extending production. While on this subject we will diverge for a moment to ask—can it be that the best outcarriage for the Cotton and other products of Berar, and the middle and eastern parts of the Deccan, is to drag them up the slope of the country to the top of the Ghauts, and then down these hills, and through the rugged tract at their foot to Bombay? Is it not possible to command a much easier and cheaper water carriage *down the slope* to the Madras Coast?

2nd. Has there been a corresponding increase in other branches of production for the home market?

3rd. What is the increase of exports from the districts to which the new settlement has been introduced?

4th. What, since the introduction of the new settlement, has been the history of prices in the district?

If the "Selections from the Records" are to be continued, we may perhaps hope, some day, to see these four questions fully and satisfactorily answered. In the meantime our readers must be content with the statements, which we shall lay before them in our next, and which are the best we have been able to obtain.

No. VI.

The Deccan Collectorates are Dharwar, Belgaon, Sholapore, Poona, Ahmednugger, and the Sub-Collectorate of Nassick. We shall commence our statistics with those of Poona. This Collectorate is divided into eight Talookas (or pergunnas); Sivnere, Indapore, Khair, Pàbhul, Poorundhur, Beemthurry, Havaily, and the Mavul. The two last are remarkable,—the Havaily, as the district in which the city of *Poona, the old capital of the Peishwas, is situated,—and the Mavul, for having afforded to Shivaji the first and hardiest of his followers.

The four Talookas into which the new revenue settlement was first introduced are Indapore, Bheemthurry, Havaily and Pabhul; and concerning these we have the following information.

---

* Of the three conditions which, either together or separately, are essential to the existence of a large town; namely, that it shall possess peculiar manufacturing facilities—or peculiar facilities for the storing and exchanging of commodities,—or that it shall be the seat of the revenue consuming classes, the *nati consumere fruges*, Poona can pretend to the last alone. In a barren hilly tract, affording no materials for manufactures, and very ill situated for an emporium, it owed its advancement from a small village to a city of two hundred thousand people solely to the residence in it of the successive Peishwas; and on the downfall of their power would probably have shrunk gradually to its original dimensions. But the wreck of the Mahratta nobility, with such revenues as under us they were able to retain, still clung to it. We also made it our principal Civil and Military station in the Deccan, and discovered too that during the four rainy months it possessed a much more agreeable climate than that of Bombay. Its declension therefore has been arrested, and it is likely to continue to be a town of from seventy to a hundred thousand people.

STATEMENT SHEWING HOW THE CULTIVATION, ASSESSMENT, REMISSION, AND COLLECTIONS HAVE BEEN AFFECTED BY THE SURVEY SETTLEMENT, IN THE INDAPORE, BEEMTHURRY, HAVELEE, AND PABHOOL TALOOKAS OF THE POONA COLLECTORATE.

Name of Talook.	Number of Villages	Years.	Acres in Cultivation.	Assessment Rupees.	Deduct Remissions and uncollected balances.	Net amount of Collections.	Year in which Survey Assessment was introduced.
Indapoor	75	Last of the Old Settlement preceding Survey	142,242	71,265	12,026	59,239	In 1836-37 in 29 Villages.
		1848-49, the last of the Survey entered in returns	219,468	74,251	572	73,679	1837-38 „ 46 „
		Increase attributable to Survey	77,226	2,986	„	14,440	75
		Decrease „ „	„	„	11,454	„	
Beemthurree	70	Last of the Old Settlement preceding Survey	94,203	75,173	19,708	55,465	In 1838-39 in 27 Villages.
		1848-49, the last of the Survey entered in returns	136,968	61,805	1,190	60,615	1839-40 „ 36 „
							1840-41 „ 7 „
		Increase attributable to Survey	42,765	„	„	5,150	70
		Decrease „ „	„	13,368	18,518	„	
Havelee	66	Last of the Old Settlement preceding Survey	65,226	71,983	10,189	61,794	In 1841-42 in 46 Villages.
		1848-49, the last of the Survey entered in returns	85,790	58,692	38	58,654	1842-43 „ 15 „
							1843-44 „ 5 „
		Increase attributable to Survey	20,564	„	„	„	66
		Decrease „ „	„	13,291	10,151	3,140	
Pabhool	57	Last of the Old Settlement preceding Survey	118,753	105,910	29,578	76,332	In 1841-42 in 25 Villages.
		1848-49, the last of the Survey entered in returns	157,430	92,242	11	92,231	1842-43 „ 25 „
							1843-44 „ 6 „
		Increase attributable to Survey	38,677	„	„	15,899	1844-45 „ 1 „
		Decrease „ „	„	13,668	29,567	„	57
Total	268	Last of the Old Settlement preceding Survey	420,424	324,331	71,501	252,830	
		1848-49, the last of the Survey entered in returns	599,656	286,990	1,811	285,179	
		Increase attributable to Survey	179,232	„	„	32,349	
		Decrease „ „	„	37,341	69,690	„	

Villages which had been alienated, and subsequently lapsed to our Government, are excluded from this statement. Those entered had been under our management for a long period previous to the introduction of the survey settlements. The comparison is made between the year immediately preceding the introduction of the survey assessment into each group of villages specified in the last column, and the year 1848-9, which is the last of the survey settlements for which the Commission has returns. The new assessments at this time had been from twelve to thirteen years in operation in Indapore, from nine to eleven years in Beemthurry, from six to eight in Havaily, and from five to eight in Pabhul. The comparison of the last year of the old settlement with the last of the new, is for the same villages in both cases. The increase and decrease of cultivation, assessment, &c. is shewn for each Talook, as well as for the whole 268 villages included in the statement.

The result, as our readers will see, is a large extension of cultivation consequent on the survey in all the Talooks; a great reduction of assessment per acre; a still more remarkable diminution of *unrecovered balances*; and *an increase of revenue.** The benefit to the agricultural country—*supposing prices not to have fallen*—is the produce of 179,232 acres of waste land brought into cultivation, in addition to the reduction of the assessment on all the land which they previously tilled; and the benefit to Government is a clear addition of Rs. 32,349 to the land revenue. *If prices have fallen*, and

* Save in the instance of Havaily, where the extension of cultivation has not yet entirely compensated for the great reduction in the rates.

unfortunately we have but little information on this head; the Government gain something further by the increased value of money, as do, of course, all persons with fixed money incomes:—these gains being in diminution of those of the agriculturists.

This is, certainly in any case, a very successful result. It is clear, that either the cultivator, or the general community, has benefited very largely; while the Government, so far from being a loser, has added a few thousand rupees to its revenue.

We must notice one more point connected with this table. So little do official people sometimes know of the business of their own office, and so unwilling is a Mahratta brahmin of the old school to believe that progress is possible under his new masters, that we had been assured by a very able native friend holding high office in our Revenue Department, that the increase of cultivation supposed to be consequent on the new settlement would be found to be entirely nominal, and to consist of alienated land lapsed to Government since the survey. We have succeeded in getting this point minutely enquired into, and have obtained the following result, which we have ample reason to believe is altogether unimpeachable,—namely, that, while the increase of cultivation subsequent to the introduction of the survey is, as we have already stated, 179,232 acres, the whole lapses for the same 268 villages, during the same time, amount to but acres 2,266. Not an acre of this enters into our returns; but, had the error which our revenue friend imagined really occurred—had the whole of the lapsed land been entered as new

cultivation, it would still have formed but a very insignificant fraction of the total increase.

The following table gives the proportion of the arable land in these districts now under cultivation :—

Talookas.	Number of Villages.	Arable land subject to Assessment.			Per Cent.	
		Acres in cultivation.	Acres waste.	Total Acres.	Cultivated &c.	Waste.
Indapoor.....	75	219,468	10,448	229,916	95·5	4·5
Beemthurree.....	70	136,968	74,239	211,207	64·8	35·2
Havelee...	66	85,790	8,560	94,350	90·9	9·1
Pabhool...	57	157,430	14,550	171,980	91·5	8·5
Total.	268	599,656	107,797	707,453	84.8	15·2

It will be seen that in Indapore the entire arable surface has been brought under the plough with the insignificant exception of 4½ per cent.—in all probability of wretchedly poor land, assessed at 1½ or two annas an acre. In Havaily and Pabhul more than 9-10ths of the whole surface is in cultivation. In Beemthurry alone is there any further room for much extension of cultivation. This district has suffered from a succession of disastrous seasons in which the crops failed extensively, and these misfortunes have greatly retarded its progress ; yet no inconsiderable degree of success has attended the settlement even there, the increase in acres under cultivation amounting to 42,765 on 94,203, and the revenue having been raised from 55 thousand to 60 thousand. A few good seasons in succession would no doubt bring up the cultivation in this district to a level with that of the others.

The only Talook, beside those mentioned in the statement, in which the survey has been for any considerable time in operation, is Poorundhur, and there

it has been remarkably successful, although we have not yet been able to extract and reduce into shape the details concerning it. Beemthurry and a circle of lapsed villages called the Baramuti Kuriat, are the only parts of the Poona Collectorate in which the survey settlement has not led to the cultivation of nearly all the arable land, and to a considerable increase of revenue.

The following tables relate also to the same Talooks. We shall endeavour subsequently to bring the information they contain down to a later date.

LAND REVENUE OF THE DISTRICT OF POONA FOR EIGHT YEARS PRIOR TO AND EIGHT YEARS SUBSEQUENT TO THE NEW SURVEY AND ASSESSMENT.

YEARS.	Settlement of the year.			Actual collection of Land Tax.			Remissions granted.			Balance irrecoverable and struck off.		
INDAPOOR TALOOKA. *Prior to Survey.*												
1829-30	1,02,358	2	3	21,928	7	6	0	0	0	80,429	10	9
1830-31	63,805	15	10	14,941	2	8	0	0	0	48,864	13	2
1831-32	71,769	12	9	20,472	1	5	51,099	15	3	197	12	1
1832-33	74,034	0	10	17,019	0	5	56,832	1	5	182	15	0
1833-34	81,501	12	9	63,587	11	0	0	0	0	17,914	1	9
1834-35	69,600	13	4	61,679	9	4	6,081	6	3	1,839	13	9
1835-36	73,151	1	9	60,987	2	0	11,925	13	2	238	2	7
1836-37	73,212	0	4	67,392	3	3	5,702	2	0	117	11	1
	6,09,433	11	10	3,28,007	5	7	1,31,641	6	1	1,49,785	0	7
Subsequent to Survey.												
1837-38	73,091	9	8	68,918	15	0	4,125	3	8	47	7	0
1838-39	74,947	8	11	69,137	13	5	5,809	11	6	0	0	0
1839-40	76,864	3	6	72,756	4	11	3,447	15	2	659	15	5
1840-41	81,245	13	10	76,698	2	5	1,237	15	6	3,069	0	1
1841-42	79,710	12	6	70,934	7	3	739	1	11	0	0	0
1842-43	81,172	1	6	81,086	5	11	0	0	0	0	0	0
1843-44	79,149	14	0	78,719	3	1	161	6	5	0	0	0
1844-45	79,858	7	4	57,413	14	0	20,021	9	11	0	0	0
	6,26,040	7	3	5,75,665	2	0	43,543	0	1	3,776	6	6
TALOOKA BHEEMTHURRY. *Prior to Survey.*												
1829-30	68,984	7	8	29,200	4	4	39,027	3	4	757	0	0
1830-31	72,919	0	4	32,855	4	2	40,021	10	11	36	4	8
1831-32	66,862	2	8	41,070	1	1	25,750	5	0	41	5	11
1832-33	68,522	4	0	15,882	9	10	52,308	9	5	328	0	9
1833-34	78,565	0	11	76,212	12	1	0	0	0	2,352	2	11
1834-35	76,976	14	4	75,158	15	7	90	1	9	1,727	13	0
1835-36	76,263	12	9	63,656	2	8	11,442	5	5	1,165	4	8
1836-37	82,265	14	9	63,495	9	4	16,153	7	2	2,584	14	0
	5,91,359	9	5	3,97,531	11	1	1,84,793	11	0	8,992	13	11

Land Revenue of the District of Poona for Eight years prior to and Eight years subsequent to the New Survey and Assessment. *(Continued.)*

Years.	Settlement of the year.			Actual collection of Land Tax.			Remissions granted.			Balance irrecoverable and struck off.		
Talooka Bheemthurry *(continued.)* *Subsequent to Survey.*												
1838-39	73,910	10	4	57,112	7	8	16,774	11	2	0	0	0
1839-40	73,152	9	8	68,384	11	8	4,759	3	6	0	0	0
1840-41	74,951	8	4	7,335	5	2	1,574	9	5	41	4	10
1841-42	82,503	10	3	81,154	0	8	1,347	9	1	0	0	0
1842-43	87,332	6	1	87,332	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
1843-44	81,978	5	8	81,809	14	11	48	4	3	120	1	0
1844-45	80,158	7	5	55,495	7	0	21,962	13	0	0	0	0
1845-46	80,623	9	9	45,349	10	10	32,988	1	1	0	0	0
	6,24,610	3	6	5,49,974	0	0	79,455	3	6	161	5	10
Pabhool Talooka. *Prior to Survey.*												
1835-36	1,02,963	15	5	99,528	9	4	2,347	0	9	475	9	10
1836-37	1,00,461	0	4	78,430	7	9	21,219	9	11	665	15	1
1837-38	1,03,185	5	2	88,570	15	8	13,863	15	8	430	7	9
1838-39	1,01,567	9	0	75,908	15	6	25,470	12	7	62	7	1
1839-40	1,06,142	4	1	90,921	10	3	15,214	0	5	0	0	0
1840-41	1,10,844	15	7	77,655	14	8	33,183	11	10	0	0	0
	6,25,165	1	7	5,10,716	9	2	1,11,299	3	2	1,634	7	9
Subsequent to Survey.												
1841-42	1,01,768	2	9	88,828	10	8	12,916	13	10	8	0	0
1842-43	99,542	12	7	95,860	6	3	3,371	1	5	12	0	0
1843-44	99,985	5	3	99,456	10	6	511	2	4	0	0	0
1844-45	94,391	10	1	92,275	11	9	175	0	11	0	0	0
1845-46	97,433	0	2	97,426	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
1846-47	1,00,196	1	9	99,408	7	6	600	14	5	0	0	0
	5,93,317	0	7	5,73,255	14	10	17,583	0	11	20	0	0
Havailly Talooka. *Prior to Survey.*												
1835-36	97,766	4	10	84,715	10	10	1,853	3	7	9,292	13	5
1836-37	98,727	2	2	78,553	1	5	10,748	0	9	6,796	5	3
1837-38	96,015	1	7	77,794	0	7	12,076	1	0	4,901	1	10
1838-39	97,029	3	6	66,894	14	4	25,720	7	9	3,306	11	9
1839-40	1,00,208	15	5	78,661	1	9	20,709	9	8	467	12	5
1840-41	95,840	0	3	87,059	7	9	8,232	9	11	241	9	1
	5,85,586	11	9	4,73,688	4	8	79,130	9	8	25,003	5	9
Subsequent to Survey.												
1841-42	91,453	8	11	84,678	0	2	6,534	9	1	10	0	0
1842-43	85,133	11	7	83,096	6	3	1,767	4	0	5	0	0
1843-44	88,216	14	2	86,335	8	0	930	4	8	13	9	0
1844-45	94,487	1	6	93,326	9	10	99	7	6	0	0	0
1845-46	95,954	3	2	95,011	8	3	24	1	4	0	0	0
1846-47	99,180	1	11	86,734	4	1	17	0	0	0	0	0
	5,54,425	9	3	5,29,182	4	7	9,372	9	7	28	9	0

Years.	Settlement of the year.			Actual Collection of Land Tax.			Remissions granted.			Balance irrecoverable and struck off.		
Abstract.												
Indapoor.												
Prior	6,09,433	11	10	3,28,007	5	7	1,31,641	6	1	1,49,785	0	2
Subsequent	6,26,040	7	3	5,75,665	2	0	43,543	0	1	3,776	6	6
Increase Subsequent to Survey	16,606	11	5	2,47,657	12	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Decrease Subsequent to do.	0	0	0	0	0	0	88,098	6	0	1,46,008	9	8
Beemthurry												
Prior to Survey	5,91,359	9	5	3,97,531	11	1	1,84,793	11	0	8,992	13	11
Subsequent to Survey	6,34,610	3	6	5,49,974	0	0	79,455	3	6	161	5	10
Increase Subsequent to Survey	43,250	10	1	1,52,442	4	11	0	0	0	0	0	0
Decrease Subsequent to do.	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,05,338	7	6	8,831	8	1
Pabhool.												
Prior to Survey	6,25,165	1	7	5,10,716	9	2	1,11,999	3	2	1,634	7	9
Subsequent to Survey	5,93,317	0	7	5,73,255	14	10	17,583	0	11	20	0	0
Increase Subsequent to Survey	0	0	0	62,539	5	8	0	0	0	0	0	0
Decrease Subsequent to do.	31,848	1	0	0	0	0	93,716	2	3	1,614	7	9
Havailly.												
Prior to Survey	5,85,586	11	9	4,73,688	4	8	79,130	9	8	25,003	5	9
Subsequent to Survey	5,54,425	0	3	5,29,182	4	7	9,372	9	7	28	9	0
Increase Subsequent to Survey	0	0	0	55,493	15	11	0	0	0	0	0	0
Decrease do. do.	31,161	2	6	0	0	0	69,758	0	1	24,974	12	9
Total Prior to Survey	24,11,545	2	7	17,09,943	14	6	5,06,864	13	11	1,85,415	11	7
Total Subsequent to Survey	24,08,393	4	7	22,28,077	5	5	1,49,953	14	1	3 986	5	4
Total Increase Subsequent to Survey	0	0	0	5,18,133	6	11	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total Decrease do. do.	3,151	14	0	0	0	0	3,56,910	15	10	1,81,429	6	3

Still more striking results will be brought out in some of the other Collectorates—especially in Dharwar, which is, too, in all respects, a very flourishing province. Also, in no Collectorate, we believe, will the results be inferior to those in Poona. And if we conceive the problem proposed to have been—to shew, that equalized and greatly reduced rates, with a liberal and fixed tenure, would lead to an increase of cultivation—an increase so extensive as completely to compensate the Government for its large remissions of revenue, we must admit that the extreme liberality of the settlement, and the skill and care with which it has been conducted, have been rewarded by the most entire success. If we enter upon

the much larger question of the general progress of the people in industry and wealth, then, very satisfactory as this increase in agricultural industry is, we shall still, evidently, require to seek out answers to the three remaining questions in the list with which we concluded our fifth article; and these we must defer till our next appearance.

No. VII.

The accompanying Statements are intended to illustrate the working of the Survey Settlement in the Sub-Collectorate of Nasik.—

STATEMENTS OF CULTIVATION AND COLLECTIONS IN FAIR TALOOKS OF THE AHMEDNUGGUR COLLECTORATE, FOR SEVERAL YEARS SUBSEQUENT TO SURVEY CONTRASTED WITH THE AVERAGE CULTIVATION AND COLLECTIONS FOR THE PERIOD OF BRITISH RULE PRECEDING SURVEY SETTLEMENT.

Talooks.	Period.	Years.	Government Land. Cultivated. Acres.	Per cent of total arable acres.	Portion of assessment on cultivated acres collected, Rupees.	Average rate of collections on each cultivated acre. R.	A.	P.
Chandore. Arable Acres by Survey.....149,500 Assessment do. 109,500	Prior to Survey.	Average of 23 years from 1818-19 to 1841-42.	81,200	54	92,000	1	2	2
	Subsequent to Survey.	1842—3	108,400	73	94,000	0	13	11
		1843—4	120,600	81	99,000	0	13	2
		1844—5	118,700	79	95,200	0	12	11
		1845—6	116,000	78	89,000	0	12	3
		1846—7	131,000	88	99,000	0	12	1
		1847—8	138,600	93	104,800	0	12	1
	Last year subsequent to Survey compared with average previous to Survey shews.	Increase.....	57,400	39	12,800	.....		
		Decrease.....	.....	.....	.....	0	6	1
Dindooree. Arable Acres by Survey.....102,800 Assessment do. 76,000	Prior to Survey.	Average of 23 years from 1818-19 to 1841-42.	52,000	51	62,800	1	3	4
	Subsequent to Survey.	1842—3	74,000	72	63,300	0	13	8
		1843—4	68,000	66	63,500	0	14	11
		1844—5	66,000	65	61,000	0	14	9
		1845—6	67,600	66	62,000	0	14	8
		1846—7	72,500	71	64,600	0	14	3
		1847—8	76,000	74	66,500	0	14	0
	Last year subsequent to Survey compared with average previous to Survey shews.	Increase.....	24,000	23	3,700	.....		
		Decrease.....	.....	.....	.....	0	5	4
Sinnur Arable Acres by Survey.....224,000 Assessment do. 186,500	Prior to Survey.	Average of 25 years from 1818-19 to 1843-44.	104,000	46	114,000	1	1	6
	Subsequent to Survey.	1844—5	132,000	59	82,500	0	10	0
		1845—6	149,000	67	98,500	0	10	7
		1846—7	165,000	74	111,500	0	10	10
		1847—8	177,800	79	117,500	0	10	7
	Last year subsequent to Survey compared with average previous to Survey shews.	Increase.....	73,800	33	3,500	.....		
		Decrease.....	.....	.....	.....	0	6	11

Talooks.	Period.	Years.	Government Land. Cultivated. Acres.	Per cent of total arable acres.	Portion of assessment on cultivated acres collected, Rupees.	Average rate of collections on each cultivated acre. R.	A.	P.
Nassick. Arable Acres by Survey.....105,500 Assessment do. 81,500	Prior to Survey.	Average of 25 years from 1818-19 to 1843-44.	54,500	52	68,000	1	3	11
	Subsequent to Survey.	1844—5	55,500	53	52,000	0	14	11
		1845—6	62,500	59	58,500	0	14	11
		1846—7	74,000	71	65,500	0	14	2
		1847—8	80,000	76	69,000	0	13	9
	Last year subsequent to Survey compared with average previous to Survey shews.	Increase.....	25,500	24	1,000	.....		
		Decrease.....	.....	.....	.....	0	6	2
Patoda. Arable Acres by Survey.....329,000 Assessment do. 162,000	Prior to Survey.	Average of 27 years from 1818-19 to 1845-46	129,000	39	109,000	0	13	6
	Subsequent to Survey.	1846—7	182,500	55	98,800	0	8	8
		1847—8	208,300	63	116,200	0	8	11
	Last year subsequent to Survey compared with average previous to Survey shews.	Increase.....	79,300	24	7,200	.....		
		Decrease.....	.....	.....	.....	0	4	7
Five Talooks. Arable Acres. Assessment.	Prior to Survey.	General Average.	420,700	46	445,800	1	0	11
	Subsequent to Survey.	1847—8	680,700	75	474,000	0	11	2
	Last year subsequent to Survey compared with average previous to Survey shews.	Increase.....	260,000	29	28,200	.....		
		Decrease.....	.....	.....	.....	0	5	9

The Acres and Rupees entered in this Statement have been obtained by scale from the linear dimensions of a Diagram constructed to exhibit the results of the Survey Settlement, and they are probably therefore not absolutely correct, but yet sufficiently so to prevent the usefulness of the Statement being affected by any trifling inaccuracies in these items.

Taking Chandore from this as an example it will be seen that the average extent of cultivation prior to the settlement was somewhere about 81,000 acres, for which the rent paid was 92,000 Rupees, or rather more than a Rupee and two annas per acre. The first year of the new settlement sent up the cultivation to 109,000 acres, the rent for which at the new rates was, as will be seen, about 94,000 Rupees, being about $14\frac{4}{5}$ annas per acre. The second year carries up the cultivation to 121,000 rupees, and the Revenue to 109,000 Rupees. There then occurs a re-action during two years, occasioned by bad seasons, the revenue falling, it will be seen, considerably more than the cultivation; shewing that owing to the failure of the crops, remissions had to be granted, notwithstanding the reduced rates. After this both the cultivation and the revenue steadily progress, till but a fifteenth of the arable land is left untenanted. Our readers will readily trace for themselves the results of the settlement in the remaining talooks.

Our next tables will exhibit the working of the new revenue arrangements in the Collectorates of Sholapore and Dharwar.

STATEMENT OF CULTIVATION, ASSESSMENT, COLLECTIONS, AND REMISSIONS AND BALANCES FOR THE SEVERAL TALOOKS OF THE SHOLAPOOR COLLECTORATE, FOR PERIODS PRIOR AND SUBSEQUENT TO THE INTRODUCTION OF THE REVISED SURVEY SETTLEMENTS.

MOHAL TALOOK.

Periods.	Years.	Number of Villages.	Government Land. Cultivated. Acres.	Per cent. of total arable Acres.	Assessment on Cultivation.	Portion of assessment collected.	Remaining on account of Remissions and Balances.
Prior to Survey.	1836-37	59	65,541	43	53,651	49,871	3,780
	1837-38	2					
	1837-38	59	91,038	60	60,853	52,293	8,560
	1838-39	2					
	1838-39	59	95,888	63	59,493	49,959	9,534
	1839-40	2					
Subsequent to Survey.	1839-40	59	1,03,891	70	44,062	37,702	6,360
	1840-41	61	1,20,935	77	50,718	50,538	180
	1841-42	61	1,33,720	86	54,267	53,623	644
	1842-43	63	1,42,863	87	57,571	57,496	75
	1843-44	62	1,35,447	86	53,895	51,291	2,604
	1844-45	62	1,36,526	86	54,030	54,030	0
	1845-46	61	1,42,426	91	55,966	50,692	5,274
	1846-47	61	1,45,496	94	56,959	56,941	18
	1847-48	61	1,49,332	96	58,189	58,179	10
	1848-49	61	1,47,083	95	57,396	57,396	0
Last year subsequent to Survey compared with last year previous to Survey shews an	Increase.		51,195	32	0	7,437	0
	Decrease		0	0	2,097	0	9,534

The increase of cultivation in the Mohal and Marha Talooks for the two last years of the period prior to Survey, is due to Waste land having been let out at the revised rates of assessment, and is therefore fairly ascribable to the Survey operations.

MARHA TALOOK,

Periods.	Years.	Number of Villages.	Government Land. Cultivated.		Assessment on Cultivation.	Portion of assessment collected.	Remaining on account of Remissions and Balances.
				Per cent. of total arable acres			
Prior to Survey.	1836-37	68	131,175	59	91,720	81,297	10,423
	1839-40	3					
	1837-38	68	170,021	76	100,881	82,333	18,548
	1840-41	3					
	1838-39	68	185,575	83	102,313	78,523	23,790
	1841-42	3					
Subsequent to Survey.	1839-40	68	1,97,198	90	76,710	69,300	7,410
	1840-1	68	2,07,468	94	79,719	79,340	379
	1841-2	68	2,11,008	96	80,805	80,274	531
	1842-3	71	2,19,355	96	83,489	83,135	354
	1843-4	71	204,212	90	78,064	77,934	130
	1844-5	71	1,97,659	87	76,080	76,064	16
	1845-6	71	210,665	93	80,739	63,878	16,861
	1846-7	71	2,16,178	95	82,485	80,465	2,020
	1847-8	71	218,524	96	83,359	83,329	30
	1848-9	71	214,772	95	82,233	82,233	0
Last year subsequent to Survey compared with last year previous to Survey shews an	Increase		29,197	12	0	3,710	0
	Decrease		0	0	20,080	0	23,790

KURMULLA TALOOK.

Periods.	Years.	Number of Villages.	Government Land. Cultivated. Acres.	Per cent. of total arable acres	Assessment on cultivation.	Portion of assessment collected.	Remaining on account of Remission and Balances.
Prior to Survey.	1836-37	4	1,35,270	74	1,45,542	85,321	60,211
	1839-40	31					
	1840-41	48					
	1137-38	4	1,42,324	78	1,58,606	90,912	67,694
	1840-41	31					
	1841-42	48					
	1838-39	4	1,33,577	73	1,54,996	92,550	62,446
	1841-42	31					
	1842-43	48					
Subsequent to Survey.	1839-40	4	19,992	91	7,019	6,311	708
	1840-41	4	20,842	95	7,175	7,160	15
	1841-42	4	21,032	95	7,257	7,254	3
	1842-43	35	87,615	75	34,455	34,455	0
	1843-44	83	1,90,007	70	79,229	76,966	2,263
	1844-45	83	2,04,686	76	83,272	77,542	5,730
	1845-46	83	2,08,927	80	83,927	40,523	43,404
	1846-47	83	2,20,565	85	88,416	87,634	782
	1847-48	83	2,17,500	84	87,530	87,530	0
	1848-49	83	2,08,249	80	83,754	83,754	0
Last year subsequent to Survey compared with last year previous to Survey shews an	Increase		74,672	7	0	0	0
	Decrease		0	0	71,242	8,796	62,446

SHOLAPOOR TALOOK.

Period.	Years.	Number of Villages.	Government Land. Cultivated. Acres.	Per cent of total arable Acres	Assessment on Cultivation	Portion of assessment collected.	Remaining on account of Remissions and Balances.
Prior to Survey.	1837-38	108					
	1841-42	1	1,94,777	61	1,30,155	115,205	14,950
	1842-43	9					
	1838-39	108					
	1842-43	1	1,99,100	62	1,30,102	119,489	10,613
	1843-44	9					
	1839-40	108					
	1843-44	1	2,55,303	80	1,50,817	1,42,422	8,395
	1844-45	9					
Subsequent to Survey.	1839-40	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1840-41	108	2,48,739	84	1,10,676	1,06,459	4,217
	1841-42	108	2,71,373	91	1,16,173	1,13,542	2,631
	1842-43	108	2,72,857	92	1,14,851	1,14,643	208
	1843-44	108	2,60,040	88	1,10,709	1,10,566	143
	1844-45	109	2,64,125	86	1,15,911	1,15,900	11
	1845-46	118	3,08,435	89	1,33,531	1,32,907	624
	1846-47	118	3,23,420	93	1,39,898	1,39,898	0
	1847-48	118	3,22,972	93	1,40,060	1,40,060	0
	1848-49	118	3,16,236	91	1,37,135	1,37,135	0
Last year subsequent to Survey compared with last year previous to Survey shows an	Increase.		60,933	11	0	0	0
	Decrease		0	0	13,682	5,287	8,359

BARSEE TALOOK.

Period.	Years.	Number of Villages.	Government Land. Cultivated. Acres.	Per cent of total arable Acres	Assessment on Cultivation.	Portion of assessment collected.	Remaining on account of Remissions and Balances.
Prior to Survey.	1837-38	113	121,324	48	1,15,008	1,03,804	11,204
	1838-39	113	124,478	50	1,15,148	99,508	15,640
	1839-40	113	160,807	64	1,33,346	1,08,482	24,864
Subsequent to Survey.	1839-40	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1840-41	113	2,00,425	79	1,09,143	1,00,404	8,739
	1841-42	113	2,07,990	82	1,10,705	1,10,078	627
	1842-43	113	2,04,138	80	1,08,305	1,08,041	264
	1843-44	113	1,95,863	77	1,03,936	1,03,645	291
	1844-45	113	1,96,502	70	1,04,329	1,04,232	97
	1845-46	113	2,08,402	82	1,10,005	71,011	38,994
	1846-47	113	2,27,909	90	1,17,045	1,16,849	196
	1847-48	113	2,25,652	89	1,16,623	1,15,489	1,134
	1848-49	113	2,18,503	86	1,13,633	1,13,633	0
Last year subsequent to Survey compared with last year previous to Survey shews an	Increase.		57,696	22	0	5,151	0
	Decrease		0	0	19,713	0	24,864

INDEE TALOOK.

Period.	Years.	Number of Villages.	Government Land. Cultivated. Acres.	Per cent of total arable Acres	Assessment on Cultivation.	Portion of assessment collected.	Remaining on account of Remissions and Balances.
Prior to Survey.	1840-41	46	2,11,068	60	97,240	93,981	3,259
	1841-42	76					
	1841-42	46	2,08,347	58	96,165	91,950	4,215
	1842-43	76					
	1842-43	46	2,01,691	56	85,650	80,553	5,097
	1843-44	76					
Subsequent to Survey.	1839-40	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1840-41	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1841-42	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1842-43	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1843-44	46	79,835	49	39,529	27,922	11,607
	1844-45	122	2,08,590	55	98,577	77,829	20,748
	1845-46	122	1,90,300	50	91,344	71,661	19,683
	1846-47	122	2,06,625	56	97,612	96,303	1,309
	1847-48	122	2,26,397	61	1,04,657	103,929	728
	1848-49	122	2,40,518	64	1,08,093	107,408	685
Last year subsequent to Survey compared with last year previous to Survey shews an	Increase.	0	38,827	8	22,443	26,855	0
	Decrease	0	0	0	0	0	4,412

The acres for the period prior to Survey must be viewed merely as rough approximations obtained by converting the old land measures in which the cultivation was recorded into acres by calculation.

HYPERGA TALOOK.

Period.	Years.	Number of Villages.	Government Land				
			Cultivated.		Assessment on Cultivation.	Portion of assessment collected.	Remaining on account of Remissions and Balances.
			Acres.	Per cent of total arable Acres			
Prior to Survey.	1840-41	53	1,67,509	60	97,824	97,352	472
	1841-42	45					
	1841-42	53	1,48,374	53	88,801	78,664	10,137
	1842-43	45					
	1842-43	53	1,42,360	50	80,324	73,609	6,715
	1843-44	45					
Subsequent to Survey.	1839-40	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1840-41	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1841-42	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1842-43	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1843-44	56	65,856	57	33,052	27,853	5,199
	1844-45	113	1,75,952	52	97,379	94,238	3,141
	1845-46	113	2,00,185	60	1,07,706	97,129	10,577
	1846-47	98	2,08,467	74	1,09,161	1,09,092	69
	1847-48	98	2,10,416	74	1,10,624	1,10,329	295
	1848-49	98	2,19,551	78	1,12,884	1,12,607	277
Last year subsequent to Survey compared with last year previous to Survey shews an	Increase.		77,191	28	32,560	38,998	0
	Decrease		0	0	0	0	6,438

The acres for the period prior to Survey must be viewed merely as rough approximations obtained by converting the old land measures in which the cultivation was been recorded into acres by calculation.

MUNGOLEE TALOOK.

Periods.	Years.	Number of villages.	Government Land. Cultivated. Acres.	Per cent. of total arable acres	Assessment on cultivation.	Portion of assessment collected.	Remaining on account of Remissions and Balances.
Prior to Survey.	1841-42	14	39,804	51	28,705	28,634	71
	1842-43	14	35,090	45	25,568	21,700	3,868
	1843-44	14	29,754	38	21,702	19,851	1,851
Subsequent to Survey	1839-40	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1840-41	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1841-42	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1842-43	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1843-44	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1844-45	64	1,05,735	57	64,945	56,408	8,537
	1845-46	64	1,07,423	58	66,852	56,235	10,617
	1846-47	14	52,066	70	32,922	32,656	266
	1847-48	14	55,500	75	34,191	34,191	0
	1848-49	14	59,628	80	36,152	35,749	403
Last year subsequent to Survey compared with last year previous to Survey shews an	Increase.		29,874	42	14,450	15,898	0
	Decrease		0	0	0	0	1,448

The acres for the period prior to Survey must be viewed merely as rough approximations obtained by converting the old land measures in which the cultivation was then recorded into acres by calculation.

MOODEBEHAL TALOOK.

Periods.	Years.	Number of villages.	Government Land. Cultivated. Acres.	Per cent. of total arable acres	Assessment on cultivation.	Portion of assessment collected.	Remaining on account of Remissions and Balances.
Prior to Survey.	1841-42	149	1,41,516	56	87,232	86,845	387
	1842-43	149	1,21,403	48	76,822	63,069	13,753
	1843-44	149	1,07,825	42	67,152	65,527	1,625
Subsequent to Survey.	1839-40	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1840-41	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1841-42	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1842-43	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1843-44	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1844-45	149	1,16,069	45	75,726	69,214	6,512
	1845-46	149	1,19,713	46	75,320	67,135	8,185
	1846-47	149	1,39,981	54	84,548	84,323	225
	1847-48	149	1,40,990	54	86,081	83,774	2,307
	1848-49	149	1,44,885	56	86,712	83,793	2,919
Last year subsequent to Survey compared with last year previous to Survey shows an	Increase.		37,060	14	19,560	266	1,294
	Decrease		0	0	0	0	0

The acres for the period prior to Survey must be viewed merely as rough approximations, obtained by converting the old measures in which the cultivation was then recorded into acres, by culculation.

ABSTRACT.

Periods.	Years.	Number of Villages.	Government Land. Cultivated. Acres.	Per cent. of total arable acres	Assessment on Cultivation.	Portion of assessment collected.	Remaining on account of Remissions and Balances.
Prior to Survey.		829	1,207,984	58	8,47,077	7,42,310	1,04,757
		829	1,235,175	59	8,52,946	6,99,918	1,53,028
		829	1,312,780	62	8,55,793	7,11,476	1,44,317
Subsequent to Survey.	1844-45	886	1,607,844	68	7,70,249	7,25,457	44,792
	1845-46	894	1,696,476	71	8,05,390	6,51,171	1,54,219
	1846-47	829	1,740,707	78	8,09,046	8,04,161	4,885
	1847-48	829	1,767,283	79	8,21,314	8,16,810	4,504
	1848-49	829	1,769,425	79	8,17,922	8,13,708	4,284
Last year subsequent to Survey compared with last year previous to Survey shews an	Increase.		4,56,645	17	0	1,02,232	0
	Decrease		0	0	37,801	0	1,40,033.

For the 3 last years of the period subsequent to Survey, 65 villages, for which accounts for the period anterior to the Survey could not be obtained complete, are omitted, in order to facilitate a comparison of the two periods.

The crops failed extensively in the years 1844-45 and 1845-46, to which cause must be ascribed the large remissions and balances for those years.

STATEMENT OF CULTIVATION, ASSESSMENT, AND COLLECTIONS IN 1175 VILLAGES OF THE DHARWAR COLLECTORATE PREVIOUS, AND SUBSEQUENT TO, THE INTRODUCTION OF THE REVISED SURVEY.

Nature of Settlement.	Years.	128 Villages into which the new Survey Settlement was introduced in the years 1843-4 & 1844-5, viz. 80 villages of the Nuwulgoond Talook, & 48 villages of the Hoobulee Talook.				
		Number of Villages.	Land in cultivation exclusive of alienations.	Assessment of land in cultivation.	Collections on account of land in cultivation.	Collections on account of land of all kinds, waste and alienations included.
Previous to Survey.	Average of years preceding revised Survey Assessment.	128	Acres. 1,65,968	Rupees. 2,13,840	Rupees. 1,66,410	Rupees. 2,39,967
	Year immediately preceding introduction of revised Assessment.	128	1,44,296	1,94,919	1,55,799	2,26,941
Subsequent to Survey.	1844-45	128	156,896	1,46,192	1,32,637	1,98,931
	1845-46	128	186,807	1,71,453	1,25,056	1,75,467
	1846-47	128	218,647	1,98,817	1,96,695	2,55,378
	1847-48	128	228,669	2,07,406	2,05,590	2,62,552
	1848-49	128	233,088	2,1 ,558	2,07,554	2,67,893
	1849 50	128	226,812	2,06,571	2,05,202	2,61,763
	1850-51	128	225,240	2,05,335	2,03,172	2,59,154
Settlement of 1850-51 or last year of revised Assessment compared with	Average of years preceding Survey exhibits	Increase.	60,172	0	36,762	19,187
		Decrease.	0	8,505	0	0
	Year immediately preceding introduction of revised Assessment exhibits	Increase.	80,944	10,416	47,373	32,213
		Decrease.	0	0	0	0

86 Villages into which the new Survey Settlement was introduced in the year 1845-46, all the villages being in the Dumbul Talook.

Nature of settlement.	Years.	Number of Villages	Land in cultivation, exclusive of alienations.	Assessment of land in cultivation.	Collections on account of land in cultivation.	Collections on account of land of all kinds, waste and alienations included.
Previous to Survey.	Average of years preceding revised Survey Assessment.	86	Acres. 121,173	Rupees. 127,649	Rupees. 69,796	Rupees. 137,606
	Year immediately preceding introduction of revised Assessment.	86	138,291	146,960	103,435	141,336
Subsequent to Survey.	1844-5	0	0	0	0	0
	1845-6	86	151,287	95,515	59,273	80,093
	1846-7	86	172,588	107,625	100,091	128,484
	1847-8	86	174,012	108,494	101,934	129,253
	1848-9	86	18 ,500	112,662	105,145	132,505
	1849-50	86	176,497	109,055	102,457	128,291
	1850-51	86	178,098	109,525	102,133	127,386
Settlement of 1850-51 or last Year of revised Assessment compared with	Average of years preceding Survey exhibits.	Increase.	56,925	0	32,337	0
		Decrease.	0	18,124	0	10,220
	Year immediately preceding introduction of revised Assessment exhibits.	Increase.	39,807	0	0	0
		Decrease.	0	37,435	1,302	13,950

Nature of settlement.	Years.	Number of Villages	Land in cultivation exclusive of alienations.	Assessment of land in cultivation.	Collections on account of land in cultivation.	Collections on account of land of all kinds, waste and alienations included.
		137 Villages into which the new Survey Settlement was introduced in the year 1846-47, all the villages being in the Bunkapoor Talook.				
Previous to Survey.	Average of years preceding revised Survey Assessment.	137	Acres. 76,048	Rupees. 129,264	Rupees. 88,113	Rupees. 138,453
	Year immediately preceding introduction of revised Assessment.	137	64,135	130,063	81,942	136,518
Subsequent to Survey.	1844-45	0	0	0	0	0
	1845-46	0	0	0	0	0
	1846-47	137	78,338	78,335	70,251	118,475
	1847-48	137	82,316	79,568	78,973	129,774
	1848-49	137	87,311	83,208	82,301	135,605
	1849 50	137	89,261	84,100	83,847	136,540
	1850-51	137	91,943	85,060	84,771	134,279
Settlement of 1850-51 or last year of revised Assessment compared with	Average of years preceding Survey exhibits. Increase.		15,895	0	0	0
	Average of years preceding Survey exhibits. Decrease.		0	44,204	3,343	4,174
	Year immediately preceding introduction of revised Assessment exhibits. Increase.		27,808	0	2,828	0
	Year immediately preceding introduction of revised Assessment exhibits. Decrease		0	45,003	0	2,239

Nature of Settlement.	Years.	345 Villages into which the new Survey Settlement was introduced in the year 1847-8, vizt 160 Villages of the Hangul Talook, 130 of 'Raneebednoor Talook, and 55 of the Hoobulee Talook. Number of Villages	Land in cultivation exclusive of Alienations.	Assessment of land in cultivation.	Collections on account of land in cultivation.	Collections on account of land of all kinds, waste & alienations included.
			Acres.	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.
Previous to Survey.	Average of years preceding revised Survey Assessment.	345	1,26,199	2,20,563	1,71,214	2,81,562
	Year immediately preceding introduction of revised Assessment.	345	1,03,729	2,23,468	1,54,140	2,61,805
Subsequent to Survey.	1844-45	0	0	0	0	0
	1845-46	0	0	0	0	0
	1846-47	0	0	0	0	0
	1847-48	345	1,28,073	1,68,506	1,34,588	2,33,092
	1848-49	345	1,49,598	1,55,357	1,48,472	2,60,976
	1849-50	345	1,64,622	1,68,880	1,67,906	2,69,070
	1850-51	345	1,67.941	1,70,299	1,68,992	2,66,248
Settlement of 1850-51 or last year of revised Assessment compared with	Average of years preceding Survey exhibits	Increase.	41,742	0	0	0
		Decrease.	0	50,264	2,222	15,314
	Year immediately preceding introduction of revised Assessment exhibits.	Increase.	64,212	0	14,852	4,443
		Decrease.	0	53,169	0	0

Nature of Settlement.	Years.	479 Villages into which the new Survey Settlement was introduced in the year 1848-49, viz. 134 Villages of the Dharwar Talook, 100 Villages of the Hoobulee Talook, and 245 of the Kode Talook.				
		Number of Villages	Land in cultivation exclusive of Alienations.	Assessment of land in cultivation.	Collections on account of land in cultivation.	Collections on account of land of all kinds, waste and alienations included.
Previous to Survey.	Average of years preceding revised Survey Assessment.	479	Acres. 1,27,433	Rupees. 2,54,930	Rupees. 2,00,482	Rupees. 3,29,509
	Year immediately preceding introduction of revised Assessment.	479	1,25,111	2,58,545	2,14,043	3,58,440
Subsequent to Survey.	1844-45	0	0	0	0	0
	1845-46	0	0	0	0	0
	1846-47	0	0	0	0	0
	1847-48	0	0	0	0	0
	1848-49	479	1,53,312	1,74,394	1,74,319	3,07,940
	1849-50	479	1,97,008	2,20,831	2,19,190	3,47,118
	1850-51	479	2,05,096	2,25,101	2,22,927	3,51,346
Settlement of 1850-51 or last year of revised Assessment compared with	Average of Years preceding Survey exhibits. Increase.		77,663	0	22,445	21,837
	Average of Years preceding Survey exhibits. Decrease.		0	29,829	0	0
	Year immediately preceding introduction of revised Assessment exhibits. Increase.		79,985	0	8,884	0
	Year immediately preceding introduction of revised Assessment exhibits. Decrease.		0	33,444	0	7,094

ABSTRACT.

Nature of Settlement	Years.	Number of Villages.	Land in cultivation exclusive of alienations.	Assessment of land in cultivation.	Collections on account of land in cultivation.	Collections on account of land of all kinds, waste and alienations included.
Previous to Survey.	Average of years preceding revised Survey Assessment.	1175	Acres. 615,921	Rupees. 9,46,246	Rupees. 6,96,015	Rupees. 11,27,097
	Year immediately preceding introduction of revised Assessment.	1175	5,75,562	8,00,533	7,09,359	11,25,040
Subsequent to Survey.	1844-45	0	0	0	0	0
	1845-46	0	0	0	0	0
	1846-47	0	0	0	0	0
	1847-48	0	0	0	0	0
	1848-49	1,175	8,04,809	7,37,179	7,17,791	11,04,919
	1849-50	1,175	8,54,200	7,89,437	7,78,602	11,42,782
	1850-51	1,175	8,68,318	7,95,320	7,81,995	11,38,418
Settlement of 1850-51 or last year of revised Assessment compared with	Average of years preceding Survey exhibits.	Increase.	2,52,897	0	85,979	11,316
		Decrease.	0	1,50,926	0	0
	year immediately preceding introduction of revised Assessment exhibits.	Increase.	2,92,756	0	72,635	13,378
		Decrease.	0	167,246	0	0

REMARKS.

1. No accounts shewing the "Assessment of land in cultivation" during the period previous to survey for "47 out of the 128 villages entered in the first division of the statement" being at hand, this item has been assumed by increasing the collections of the villages in question, in the same proportion that the assessment exceeded the collections in other villages of the Collectorate.

2. Accounts for the period preceding survey in the case of one of the 345 villages entered in the 3rd division of the statement are not at hand; and in this case the cultivation, assessment, and collections for the 1st year of the revised assessment, have been assumed to be also those of the preceding period in order to complete the statement.

3. The number of years included in the average for the period preceding survey, is not the same for all the villages entered in the statement, but generally exceeds twenty.

The total increase of cultivation subsequent to the survey as given by our tables is as follows:

	acres.
Poona Collectorate.....	179,232
Ahmednugger do.	260,000
Sholapore do.	456,645
Dharwar do.	292,756
	1,188,633

And when to this we add the increase in surveyed talooks not included in our statements, together with the increase for years subsequent to the statements, we shall not perhaps much over-estimate the addition to the cultivation of the province if we take it at a million and a half of acres.

These, it must, we think, be admitted, are most satis-

factory statements. The very great extension of cultivation which has followed the survey settlement is not, we believe, in all cases of quite as healthy a character as might be desired. The ryot has too frequently been tempted by the cheapness of land to extend his operations considerably beyond what the amount of his capital would fairly warrant, while his very defective agriculture, combined with this extension of cultivation, leads, it is to be feared, in some instances to a perceptible diminution of the fertility of the soil. But notwithstanding these drawbacks on the great success which our returns would otherwise indicate, it is not to be doubted that the quantity of agricultural produce raised in the Deccan has been largely augmented. This addition to the produce must clearly have benefited some class or other of the community. It has been either eaten by the ryots and the other previously under-fed classes, or hoarded as a provision for bad seasons.

It is not easy to get precise information on this head, but all our inquiries lead us to believe that it has been disposed of partly in both manners—that while the hoards of grain and other agricultural produce have largely increased, in (Poona and Ahmednuggur chiefly with the dealers—but in Dharwar to a great extent with the ryots also,) the cultivator has also been enabled to increase his own consumption and that of his dependants and his cattle. A full elucidation of this would evidently require that we possessed a history of prices for all the districts into which the survey settlement has been introduced; and this, unfortunately, we cannot obtain. Such information on the subject as

we have been able to collect we propose to lay before our readers in a future number; and we will only here anticipate so far as to say, that such lists of prices as we have, do not appear to point to any general fall during the last fifteen years;—a time which covers the entire period of the survey operations.

Our readers will, no doubt, have been struck with the extreme lowness of the rates generally. The four Poona Talooks, with all the advantage of the lowest market for agricultural produce in the Deccan, pay an average rent, it will be seen, of only seven annas and seven pies, or something less than a shilling an acre! In the Indapore Talook the average is 8*d.* an acre!! In Dharwar the land of the best class, the famous black soil of India, that on which cotton is grown, pays on an average but 14 annas (1*s.* 9*d.*)—the rate for the most eligible portion of this again being but 1 rupee, 7 annas, and 9 pies, or something less than three shillings! What would an English, or even an Irish, farmer say to such rates as 8*d.* an acre for a whole district, or three shillings per acre for the best land to be had? The bold reduction of their demands to such rates as these reflects certainly the highest credit on the liberality of the Government, and one cannot but rejoice to see such a policy rewarded by an extension of agricultural industry, and the gradual restoration of the gross revenue to its former amount. But what volumes does the necessity for such rates tell of the wretched industrial character of the people, and their extreme unproductiveness. We must not, however, enter upon so large a subject as this at the end of an article, and defer it therefore till a future appearance.

No. VIII.

In concluding our last article we glanced at the fabulously low rates at which land is obtained under the new settlement. An average for the whole Talooka of Indapore of 5 annas 3 pies (about 8d.) per acre—for the four oldest surveyed districts of the Poona Collectorate (one of them containing the large and rich market of Poonah) 7 annas 7 pies (1s.)—for the Dharwar black cotton soil 14as. (1s. 9d.) Nor is this, we think, the result of an excessive and mistaken liberality on the part of the Assessors and the Government. The large remissions which have to be granted every year in unsurveyed districts; the frequent complaints, in the annual reports of the Revenue authorities, of the poverty of the people; the great stimulus to agriculture which the new settlement, with its reduced rates, invariably gives; and the much greater ease with which the Revenue has been hitherto collected under it, all show that the relief was really needed. The average rents realized from the land under cultivation are of course immediately obtainable from the Revenue returns. The average value of the produce there are, we fear, no means of arriving at. A Revenue Officer, the most competent probably of any in the Presidency to form a guess on the subject, wishing to make a rough estimate of the value of the produce brought into existence by the ex-

tension of cultivation under the new settlement, took it, we remember, at two rupees an acre—doubting, at the same time, whether this was not rather too low. Let us suppose it then 2½ rupees, or 5s. (making the Government demand, at present prices, about, perhaps, one-fourth of the gross value,) and what would—not Mr. Mechi, or the farmers of the Carse of Gowrie,—but the most slovenly Irish cottier, think of such an absurd return from the land as this? It may be said, perhaps, that this is not so much from defective agriculture as from the want of markets for the produce. But, even then, how helpless, how resourceless a population, which can neither create a miscellaneous home industry to constitute a market for its agricultural products, nor produce anything on its soil which will bear the expense of carriage to markets where money is abundant, and fair prices are obtainable.

Liberal and admirable a measure as the new settlement is, and essential as it undoubtedly was, as the first step towards any improvement in the province, it is clear that something much greater still remains to be accomplished. It is altogether impossible that a people raising merely bulky and coarse agricultural produce should ever be able to pay a money revenue of any amount; and not only so, but they themselves, however liberally treated, can never be otherwise than wretchedly poor,—in favourable seasons living perhaps in rude and course abundance, but reduced to poverty and distress at the occurrence of every unfavourable one.

The great desiderata are more varieties of industry, and, above all things, more eligible and more abundant

exports. Under our rule an unheard-of portion of the Revenue of the country is spent for foreign commodities. A Governor, a Member of Council, a Judge, or a Collector does not, as a native Rajah or Jaghirdar would, spend his income on crowds of retainers and hangers on of all kinds, creating a large demand for bajree, jowaree, ghee, and goor—he requires Long-Acre carriages, Arabian horses, French and Spanish wines, Parisian and London millinery, and a long list of foreign etceteras. The rich native also now imitates him in almost all these things, and even the comparatively poor one expends whatever revenue he may have, beyond what is just sufficient to supply him with necessaries, in English cloth and copper, and China silver and silk. This intense demand for foreign commodities renders it of vital importance that the exports which are to pay for them, and to provide also, if we are considering the case of all India, for the large tribute which in various shapes we exact, but of which the Deccan probably pays no portion whatever, should be such as are in their turn greatly in demand among foreigners, and contain considerable value in small bulk, so as to be easily and cheaply transported. Our rule will be light or heavy in India, almost in exact proportion to the facility, or the difficulty, which the country has in creating a demand abroad for its products.

Let us suppose a native prince and nobility such as Bajirao and the Mahratta sirdars were to suddenly change their tastes and habits, to dismiss the swarms of brahmins hanging about them, and the suwars, peons, ghorawallas, and troops of idle servants, to whose maintenance their revenues had hitherto been devoted, to keep but

few horses, and these purchased from the Persian Gulf instead of from the valley of the Bheemthurry, and to spend, as we do, the revenues which supported all these dependants in every variety of foreign luxury. The first effect, evidently, must be great misery to the classes thus deprived of their accustomed means of living; the second, that the money no longer finding its way through these to the grain and other provision dealers, and through them to the producers, these latter will not have it to return to their rulers as revenue; there will be a general inability to pay the former rates for land, and every symptom of poverty and distress. In the mean time the foreign luxuries in question being at first paid for in silver, the drain of this from the province will have produced falling prices. When these have fallen low enough to make it profitable to export the rude produce of the country, the drain will stop, and the foreign goods be henceforth paid for by these greatly deteriorated products.

If we now wish to follow the fates of the unproductive classes, which this change has thrown upon their own resources, we shall probably find that some of them have migrated, and left the province altogether, that some hang on still in a state of poverty, depending perhaps on relations much less able than formerly to assist them, and that some probably resort to the land, forcing, in so doing, increased supplies of grain on a market in which the demand is already greatly diminished.

But is it then an evil to compel swarms of idle unproductive people to seek to earn their living by agriculture, trade, or some other kind of productive industry? And

is it not demonstrable that foreign goods, although for a short time paid for by money, are, in all cases where the trade continues, ultimately exchanged against goods, so that the spending with the foreigner resolves itself into—not a destruction of home industry—but a mere change in the kind of it? And does not all progress in wealth, on the part of a community, necessitate a constant redistribution of employments—a redistribution which will only take place, usually, under the pressure of necessity, and which implies in almost every case either some amount of suffering, or, at best, of anxiety and inconvenience? We will answer these questions by a reference to the case under discussion—that of the Deccan, or any similar native province. What change then in the industry of the people would these new circumstances, this change in the habits and tastes of their rulers, and in the manner in which these latter chose to consume their revenues, require, in order that it should all take place without suffering and distress? The dismissed retainers must evidently become productive workers of some sort or other. The completest arrangement would be, that they should become producers of precisely the things which the new tastes of their masters demanded. But could they even be gifted by a sudden inspiration with the skill and industrial habits necessary for this, there would still be something more required. In buying from the foreigner it is not merely his skill and industry that we pay him for: we have also either to replace or to remunerate him for the use of his varied and frequently gigantic capital. That portion of it which consists in mere labourer's necessaries is, of course, already

in existence in the province; but all the remainder, the tools, machines, and all the varied list of materials, would require to be suddenly created in addition to the new skill and new habits of industry. How utopian a dream this is, we need not pause to point out. We shall leave it, and pass over also many hypotheses that might be framed, to come at once to the simplest and most practicable of them all. Our population of unemployed retainers will, many of them, know something about tillage, and, if they could become industrial producers at all, could probably most readily do so as cultivators. This, as we have so amply seen, would by no means necessarily be any improvement; it might, as we have shewn, only add to the embarrassment, by adding to an industry already fully supplied, and accelerating, rather than retarding, the downfall of prices. To meet our case completely, the industry, of whatever kind it may be, must provide exports which shall pay for the new imports, without the necessity of the great fall of prices necessary to send the grain of the country abroad. If agricultural then, or semi-agricultural, it must consist in the production of such valuable products as opium, sugar, spirits, indigo, cochineal, cotton, silk, wool, tobacco, &c.; and could the skill and capital required for the production of such commodities as these be suddenly imparted to the idle classes, such a change as we have supposed would not inflict either loss or suffering on the province, the imports being in that case virtually a new creation of wealth, the result of the new industry of the classes in question. These would in fact supply to their rulers the imports, (obtained in exchange for their newly

raised exports,) in the place of the unproductive services which they formerly rendered; receiving, as they formerly did, the rulers' revenue in payment, and spending it, as they had hitherto done, with the banyan dealers, through whom it passes to the ordinary cultivators, to be again paid in undiminished rents to the landlord, the state.

This is but a very rough sketch, omitting much that would belong to the actual working of such a state of industry, although including all that is essential to our present argument. The one point to bring out is the importance, both to the Government and the people, of the production of exports. The simplest change which could be brought about,—the variety of industry which, as resembling most nearly what he already practices, the ryot would most easily fall into,—is the raising of commodities for the foreign market *from the soil*. The Hindu is now known to be much more docile than was formerly believed, and we cannot help thinking that something like the agricultural schools, model farms, and itinerant agricultural teaching which have lately been doing so much good in Ireland, some adaptation of them suitable to India, would not be found beyond the power of our Revenue Secretary and Revenue survey officers to bring into existence. The successful introduction of an export which should bring money into the province, and raise general prices to the extent of only one shilling on each acre of produce, would be a second boon almost as great as that of the revenue settlement itself, and would richly pay for much unsuccessful, or partially successful, previous experimenting. We do not think that any unfa-

vourable augury is to be drawn from the little success which has attended some of the ill-conceived experiments to improve the products of the province which have already been made. Where the Grant Medical College, the Elphinstone Institution, and the Poonah College succeed, we do not see why an agricultural school, if attempted with all the light on the subject which may now be obtained from home, need be under much apprehension of failure.

No. IX.

The accompanying letter on the subject of these papers will, we think, be found interesting. Some of the italics are our own, as is also a note to the portion of it which treats of the Cotton cultivation. The letter is in answer to a number of queries, some of which are given with the answers; the remainder our readers must infer from the tenor of the replies to them. The writer will, we hope, excuse the use we make of his communication.

19*th July*, 1852.

I have just received your's of Tuesday last, and lose no time in replying to your queries, to the best of my ability.

1. Why are Nuggur and Poona so much behind Dharwar? Is the Dharwar population a better one? Is the land more fertile? Is the population less dense in proportion to the productiveness of the land? Did they start with more capital, and if so, how obtained?

Chiefly owing to the character of the population and the climate, Nuggur and Poona are wholly Mahratta, and the Mahratta cultivators, as I told you before, are ignorant, lazy, improvident, and deceitful. They are no match in intelligence for the money-loving Marwarrees, and fall an easy prey to them. The climate is subject to droughts, and the crops, in consequence, to frequent and extensive failures, when a large portion of the agricultural capital is generally swept away. This uncertainty of climate and the calamitous losses it occasions to the cultivators, which no forethought on their part can avert, has probably had a large share in making the character of the population what it is. In Dharwar the fall of rain is much more certain, and the crops less liable to failure. They are also, from the same cause,

generally much heavier. The yield per acre, on the average, is more in Dharwar than in Poona or Nuggur, on soils of equal natural fertility. The Dharwar population is a greatly better one. The cultivators are chiefly Lingayuts, and, as a class, are intelligent and frugal, except on great occasions, such as marriages, &c., and with a keen love for money and great aptitude for trading. Many of them lend money to their poorer neighbours, and in addition to their agricultural operations take up the trade of the Marwarree in the Deccan, besides. They are speculative, and far less wedded to old customs than the ignorant prejudiced Coonbee, and have little hesitation in striking into a new path if it promises to lead to profit. Witness the New Orleans Cotton, of which more anon. The bankers and great traders are almost universally natives of the country, and generally Lingayuts or Brahmins. They too are much more versatile and large-hearted than the same class in the Deccan. There are a few Goozurs and Marwarrees, but very few; and none of the hungry adventurers that troop down from the Northern Provinces to fleece the poor Deccanees can find victims here. The frugal profit-seeking Lingayuts have too keen an eye to business, and are not to be done. The great traders and bankers have speculated largely in agricultural produce, since the introduction of the new settlements, and keenly compete with the agents of the Bombay native houses who come up, or rather are permanently stationed, here for the purpose of purchasing cotton and other produce for the Bombay Market.

As an instance I may mention———— of Gudduck, a small agricultural town, about 40 miles from Dharwar, who died last month, leaving a fortune of 9 lacs of rupees, of which the better half is said to have been made within the last five or six years, by fortunate speculations in cotton, *i. e.*, since the survey settlements gave the great stimulus to the extension of the cultivation of the crop. He contracted with the cultivators for the crop at a certain price, and made them advances of capital to enable them to grow it. The same course was followed by hundreds of others; and the hoards of these Sowkars, which before the new settlement had lain unproductive in the shape of coin and jewels, were, on the reduction of assessment, drawn forth and applied to agriculture. I have no

doubt whatever that a very large amount of hoarded unproductive capital was liberated in this way by the introduction of the new settlements. I know of many instances of it myself, and have no reason for believing that such instances were at all exceptional.

However this may be, by far the greatest effect has been produced by accumulations of capital by the farmers themselves, consequent on the greater profits obtained under the new settlements. These accumulations in the aggregate are, I am certain, from personal observation and enquiry, quite enormous. From the improved cultivation of this Collectorate, the many improvements such as the conversion of dry crop land into rice land, the construction and repair of small tanks by the cultivators, the planting of trees, the building of houses, the purchase of carts, &c. of which evidences meet the eye at every turn, I am quite satisfied that I do not overstate the fact in saying that the capital now employed in agriculture is double what it was eight years ago, when the first survey settlement was made.* The success of the settlements in Dharwar has gone beyond my most sanguine expectations, and it really would be difficult to paint it in too high colors. The population in Dharwar is, I think, less dense than in Poona and Nuggur in proportion to the productiveness of the land; but not very much so. Prices are much lower here than in the Deccan or Khandeish, *i. e.*, prices of grain; but cotton and chillies are exported largely from the Collectorate, which are hardly grown at all in the Deccan, besides other products; so that there is no want of a market; and nothing like a glut of agricultural products has been occasioned by the vast extension of cultivation that has taken place under the new settlements.

The same is the case in Poona and Nuggur. Prices every where in the surveyed districts I believe to be as high, or higher, now, than when the settlements were first introduced, which is to be accounted for by the large exports. The valley of the Godaveree exports grain to Bombay, Poona, and Khandeish to a large extent. Prices of grain, in Khandeish are generally higher than in the adjoining districts of Nuggur, owing to the former not producing grain sufficient for its own consumption, and

* Floating capital that is; and not wells, tanks and such permanent improvements.

consequently there is a considerable import of grain into Khandeish from the Deccan. Khandeish has at all times been a large exporting province, and in former times to a vastly greater extent than now. There was an immense export of indigo at one time, and a great part of the Peninsula seems to have been supplied with this dye from the province, in addition to large exports to foreign countries from the port of Surat. The cultivation of indigo has declined rapidly of late years, and is now almost abandoned, which is to be ascribed to the indigo now so largely produced by the Bengal planters being of superior quality, and to cotton having become a more profitable crop.

The great extension of cultivation *immediately* following the introduction of the new settlements, I ascribe chiefly to over-speculation in land. Every body fancies that everybody else wants the particular field he does, and rushes to secure it without duly weighing the cost. He begins to find out that he would have done better to have been less hasty in extending his farm, and hence, in some districts, a partial subsequent collapse.

Another cause of slight collapses in the Deccan has been unfavourable seasons of late years, in a good many of the surveyed districts; another, in the Deccan especially, is the exhaustion of the very poor soils which have been very largely taken into cultivation under the new settlements. After six or seven years continuous cropping, the return becomes very small, and they are relinquished, in many instances. But capital again accumulates, and I anticipate that a more steady increase of cultivation will everywhere follow the collapse, and that the cultivation will attain a mean maximum elevation, about which it will oscillate according to the seasons. This point has been attained, I think, in the early settled villages of Indapoor, and in the Nuvulgoond Talook of Dharwar, which was the first settled. In the latter, cultivation has been carried to a point wholly unprecedented, and I have just been told by Mr.—, the Assistant Collector in charge, that the assessment of the whole waste only amounts to 1,100 rupees, *which is the whole amount unrealized out of a maximum rental of* 2½ *lacs!* I do not exactly know the number of acres waste, but it can hardly exceed 1 or 2 per cent. of the arable area.

The progress of the New Orleans cotton cultivation for the last four years is entirely spontaneous, and the following statistics of both it and the native cotton grown in this Collectorate, may be interesting :—

Years.	Acres Cultivated. New Orleans.	Native	Total. Acres.	
1843-4	545	178,411	178,956	
1844-5	2,749	182,337	185,086	
1845-6	11,176	164,591	175,567	
1846-7	22,329	159,498	181,827	
1847-8	20,499	182,888	203,387	
*1848-9	3,237	201,579	204,925	
1849-50	15,396	225,685	240,081	Part of the increase of native cotton in these years is due to the villages of the Moolgoond Mahal having lapsed to Govt.
1850-51	31,172	228,807	259,979	
1851-52	42,647	221,676	264,323	

This brings down the account of the New Orleans a year later than your statistics, and exhibits the same astonishing extension of the culture. Up to 1847-48 the forcing system prevailed, and had apparently reached its limit, as the cultivators were getting fast disgusted with the whole business, which is pretty* well shewn by the collapse from 20,000 acres to 3,000 acres in the following year when the local officers gave up interference altogether. From that time a healthy natural extension took place, and in four years the cultivation is double what it attained under the fostering system. The survey settlement of Nuvulgoond, a great cotton district, was made in 1844-5, and the increase in the cotton cultivation in that and subsequent years is attributable to the survey settlements.

I believe you have correctly inferred the increase of the imports of copper into the Conkan ports to be an indication of the improved condition of the people of our own districts. The imports

* "One or two unfavourable seasons, added to the indiscreet interference of the village officers, have lately had the effect of producing a disinclination among the ryots to undertake the cultivation of the new Orleans species of cotton."—*Annual Report from the Collector for the year* 1847-48.

must either have been consumed by them or by the Nizam's subjects, and from all accounts I should conclude the consumption of the latter to be falling off, rather than on the increase, in the cases of copper and all other imports.

I have omitted to mention above that it may seem to require explanation that a *greater extension* of cotton culture than shewn in my table has not taken place under the survey settlements. I am satisfied myself that a much greater extension is possible, *so far as suitable soils are concerned*, and that prices were also high enough to have, under other circumstances, caused such an extension; but there is at present an impassable limit to the extension of this culture, and that is the possibility of cleaning the wool from the seed. The whole available population in the cotton districts, I believe to be now employed on this work, and that but for the introduction of the saw gin, even the extension shewn in my table could not have taken place. With the native machines, the foot roller and the churka, the present population is not equal to cleaning a larger crop of cotton than is now grown, and hence the importance of more efficient machines. The natives here are quite sensible of this, and in consequence the saw gin is rapidly coming into use. There are sixty and more I believe, costing from 50 to 200 rupees each, now at work in this Collectorate, and all the property of natives, who work them without assistance from Government, further than occasional visits from an Inspector, to see that they are in proper order. The demand for these machines is steadily increasing, for the cleaning of the native as well as the New Orleans crop, and the Government manufactory here has difficulty in supplying them fast enough. This is another cheering evidence of progress, and of the greater versatility and intelligence of the people here.

——— was quite right in imagining that a good deal of the cultivation in Tasgaon under native management was the result of *actual compulsion*. It is so in *all* native states and jagheers that I have seen. But you must not suppose that compulsion or any other process would enable the ryots to pay the enormous rates per beega, 2 to 10 rupees, which he mentions. These rates were *never* paid unless in a season of extraordinary abundance, but the native plan is to keep an impossible rate, in order to be

enabled in good seasons to sweep the whole surplus into the exchequer. In Tasgaon I find from my notes made on the spot, that it was usual to collect under the native management only from ¼ to ½ of the full rates, and to lease out land besides, at low fixed rates, though not upon written engagements. But our authorities as usual overlooked these practical adjustments, and, to the great astonishment and dismay of the people, demanded payment of the full rates, and regarded their assertions that such a thing had never been heard of before, as attempts at imposition. The result was that a large extent of land was immediately thrown out of cultivation, but the Survey will luckily step in next year, and put matters to rights.

You will perceive from this, that, in spite of their enormous assessment, the Tasgaon ryots were not so badly off under the native system. They were slaves it is true; but their masters were considerate, and seldom tightened their bonds beyond the limits of endurance. They were not allowed to become too wealthy, but on the other hand never or seldom reduced below the level of a tolerable subsistence. They were the milch cows of the Jagheerdar, which, however, he took care should be milked by no one but himself. Accomplished extracters of the last drop, of the Marwarree and other kinds, so abundant in our districts, were not allowed to finger the udder at all in Tasgaon.

The gross produce in a well managed native district is certainly greater than in our unsurveyed districts, for which the unbending rules of our system of revenue management are very ill suited, but *far short* I should say of the gross produce of our surveyed districts where the settlement has been in operation for a few years, or long enough to teach the cultivator the advantages of liberty, and that he really now labours for himself, and not merely for the State. The peasantry under the survey settlements quickly acquire a certain degree of independence, but ages of freedom will be required to purge them thoroughly of the mean vices of slavery, —fraud, lying, and selfishness.—Your's very sincerely,

---

We may add, that, on looking into the latest reports from the Collector and the Revenue Commissioner, we

find, among many statements very similar to those supplied in our correspondent's letter, a table shewing the increase of cultivation during the last seven years *for the whole Collectorate.* There has been no reaction during any part of this period: each year shewing a considerable advance on the one preceding it, and the first and last items of the statement are,

1844-45.....570,319 acres.
1850-51.....917,818 acres.

We extract also the following very interesting statements from the same report. The Collector, it is to be observed, had newly taken charge of the Zillah:—

"I have to state that I have been much struck with the generally prosperous condition of the cultivators, and with the absence of many of those signs of depression so remarkable in many provinces of this Presidency. One of these, particularly observable, is the independence of the ryots, who appear here for the most part to be free from the thraldom of Marwarees and other petty traders, which is so manifestly injurious in most parts of the Deccan* * * * *. It is not uncommon for the members of other than the agricultural classes to embark their capital in the improvement of extensive holdings, by the employment of hired labour."

CONCLUDING ARTICLE.

"There would be no want of pupils of the highest class for such institutions (model farms for educational purposes) did land *owners* learn practical agriculture. The expectant land-owner should undergo tuition in his profession. To acquire a knowledge of the duties of a landlord, he considers it unnecessary to undergo initiatory tuition. He conceives that these duties may be learned at any time, and seems to forget that the conducting a landed estate is a profession as difficult of thorough attainment as soldiership or legal lore. It strikes every one as an incongruity that a country gentleman should be unacquainted with country affairs. Is it not strange that he should require inducements to learn his hereditary profession, to become familiar with the only business which can enable him to enhance the value of his estate and increase his income ?"—*Stephens' Book of the Farm.*

In concluding this series of articles, which it is proposed now to collect and publish in the form of a pamphlet, it will be well perhaps to state briefly what have been the writer's sources of information, and also to gather up, from the nine articles over which they are scattered, the chief results to which his inquiries have led him.

He has in the first place to confess his obligations to the Revenue Survey Commissioner for the unwearied kindness with which his numerous, minute, and perhaps,

in some cases, almost unnecessarily cautious and sceptical inquiries, have been replied to, and for the stores of valuable information placed at his disposal in the Revenue Survey department.

He has also to thank the present Revenue Secretary for the liberality which has allowed the most ample access —not to favourable specimens merely, or select portions but—to the whole of the revenue records relating to the subject in the Government archives. And he wishes to record his very high admiration of the perfect candour with which the inquiries he has presumed to make in this department have been answered; of the willingness, so evident, that every part of the subject should, to the full extent of the writer's capabilities for his self-imposed task, be thoroughly sifted and examined; and of the scrupulous anxiety to abstain, while yet supplying every requisite elucidation, from the suggestion of any *inference* from the evidence, leaving it in every case to produce its legitimate effect on the mind of the inquirer.

He is bound, too, after reading some twenty volumes of revenue records, containing every thing connected with the revenues of the Deccan Collectorates for the last four or five years, to state that the liberality with which the survey settlement has been planned and carried out, pervades the whole of the correspondence and orders of the Government on the subject of revenue generally. In no instance where a low assessment has been proposed, or where large remissions have been granted, as in unsurveyed districts they frequently must be, has he met with a single phrase implying that the Government looked wistfully or regretfully at the abandoned revenue.

The response, wherever it proceeds beyond the expression of a simple sanction, is invariably either a hope on the part of the Government that the remissions have been sufficiently liberal, or an expression of apprehension lest they should not have been so. It occurs occasionally that two Revenue Officers differ about the amount of remissions to be granted, and the writer has been struck by the fact in every case of this kind which he has met with, it is the more liberal officer whose opinions have been adopted by the Government—and this, although he may even be the junior and subordinate one,—considerations of discipline or of the propriety of maintaining authority, having apparently no influence on the decision whenever it is a question of the possibility of an oppressive collection.

On the other hand there are proofs enough in these records that the whole system of revenue management is susceptible of many improvements. Very evidently it is never made sufficiently a profession. This is a conviction which grows upon us the more, the further we read. Whatever Persian or Sanscrit we might sacrifice in their attainment, we should certainly insist, as the qualifications for a Collectorship, or for any other revenue appointment, on a first rate course of scientific agriculture in one of our agricultural schools at home, and a thorough acquaintance with one or two of the best writers on political economy.

The more we read of these reports the more impressed are we with the conviction that we have in them the productions of gentlemen, fairly educated, and for the most part thoroughly well-intentioned, but whose chances

of usefulness to the country would be greatly increased were they educated with much closer reference to their future employment, and taught to consider it a profession requiring the same attention from them which a lawyer pays to his cases, or a physician to his pathology and his practice of medicine.

Another defect which we fancy we perceive is, that the whole internal Government of the Civil Service is too lax. The gravest errors—errors which bring, for instance, temporary ruin upon a whole district—are visited with nothing more serious than a few expostulatory sentences—a little of Carlyle's "articulate wind." Now, depreciatory words, when they fix the estimation in which a man shall be held, and when he feels that upon this estimation depend probably all his prospects in life, are grave matters enough. But our Civilian is perfectly well assured that nothing said on these occasions will either interfere with his promotion, or even become public enough to affect his reputation. It is only, so to speak, his elder brother who is temporarily annoyed at his conduct, and who professes to be, and perhaps is exceedingly angry; but who, as the culprit well knows, will never dream of excluding him from his appointed share of their common patrimony.

We think, too, that we can perceive, that it is by no means on all occasions sufficient that the most experienced and the ablest men in the service should recommend a particular regulation; that the government should be convinced of its importance, and that it should be formally enacted and ordered to have the force of law. An individual revenue officer will still, it would

seem, consider that he is entitled to treat such a regulation as an open question, and to enforce it or not, according to his own estimate of its propriety. An old established piece of revenue management was, to place a guard over the crops when harvested, and allow them to be removed from the village only upon payment of the revenue. The wretched ryot who could not possibly pay his rent from his own resources, unless by selling his crop, and who could not sell it, as he was not allowed to carry it to market, had evidently therefore no alternative but to resort to the money lender. All this under the new settlement has been changed,—or at least the regulations which are to change it have been formally enacted and promulgated. The ryot is made entire master of his field, and of everything which he may grow in it; and the periods of payment—the *quarter days*—have been fixed for much later dates,—dates so late as to afford him the most ample time to carry his produce to the market, and make a deliberate and *bona fide* sale of it.

But one overzealous revenue officer, struck with the extreme folly of the government in thus abandoning its hold on the crop, refuses altogether to be a party to anything so suicidal; and, long after the most ample experience in other districts has shewn that the new policy is attended by no kind of danger to the revenue, persists in the old style of management, and is with some difficulty reduced to a reluctant and tardy obedience. Several seasons, too, are found necessary to teach others that such a regulation has really been sanctioned, and that the government is in earnest when it proposes to have it carried into execution.

One remedy probably for a great deal of this is, increased publicity. Experiments are made, and succeed or fail, as the case may be, without becoming sufficiently public to attract the attention of any, even of the government's own officers, beyond the two or three who may happen to be actually engaged in them. Not only is the general public allowed to remain a good deal in the dark, but even the service itself would seem to be sometimes very badly informed on important matters closely perhaps connected with its official duties. We are happy to see many indications of a change in this respect. The government has, we are quite convinced, very much to gain from publicity and exceedingly little to fear; and this is an opinion which we see is gaining ground among the most intelligent and the best informed of its members. We can very honestly say for ourselves that access to the records has, on the whole, raised our opinion of the general management in the department we have been studying. The cases of incompetence, or blundering inattention, are neither graver nor more numerous than we were fully prepared to meet with, while the uniform liberality of feeling which pervades whatever emanates from the government on the subject of revenue, has certainly to some extent taken us by surprise.

In conclusion, the results of the new revenue arrangements in the Deccan up to the present time are, we conceive, the following:—

1st. The reduced rates appear almost every where to be followed by a rush on the land, and far more land

is taken up than the ryots have properly capital for, leading, as a necessary consequence, to a great deal of very slovenly cultivation.

2nd. There occurs subsequently, in almost every instance, a period of reaction. Cultivation carried on without sufficient capital exhausts the soil, and a time usually arrives when the lands reported in the annual revenue returns as thrown up during the year from "poverty and exhaustion," that is to say from the poverty of the ryots and the exhaustion of the soil, to which may perhaps be added, though this is less certain, from the discouragement arising from glutted markets, exceeds the new land taken into cultivation during the same year.

3rd. This reaction—this unfavourable balance of lands thrown up over new lands—taken into cultivation, is in no case very important in amount. The gross produce in spite of the imperfect tillage being, from the greater breadth of land under cultivation, decidedly greater, agricultural capital does every where on the whole increase as do also, although (except perhaps in Dharwar,) very much more slowly than could be wished, the exports which are to relieve the overstocked markets.

4th. In the best districts some improvement is perceptible in the style of agriculture, and in the implements in use among the people, the result of increased means, and of an increase of independent feeling and energy on the part of the ryot. We have already no-

ticed the successful introduction of New Orleans Cotton, and of a modification of the American Saw Gin; and we may here add to them the rapidly increasing number of convenient light two-wheeled bullock carts—a conveyance introduced into these provinces by our revenue officers. The only Collectorate from which we have been able to obtain returns under this head, is the Sholapore one; and for that district the statement is as follows:—

1834-35, Number of carts in the district	430
1846	1,907
By last returns	2,643

Also in Kurmulla, a talooka previously included in the Nugger Collectorate, but now combined with Sholapore:

1846	391
By last returns	983

5th. There is on the other hand everywhere a lamentable amount of indebtedness, and of a thraldom to money lenders most depressing in its effects on the ryots' energies. But this again is certainly diminishing in the best districts, and perhaps also very slowly in the others.

6. Although whoever set himself to look for pauperism and misery in the province, may find quite enough of them to excite the most painful feelings in him; and although the five shillings an acre of returns from the land, and the shilling or fifteen-pence of rent, tell a most sorrowful tale of wretched un-skill, un-energy, and unproductiveness generally, and cry aloud to us to do whatever may be in our power to increase the intelligence

and to raise the industrial character of the people ; yet, leaving individual cases, and perhaps peculiarly unfortunate talookas, and looking to the result in the mass, there are certainly quite unmistakeable indications to the effect that the tide is slowly turning. We have already stated many of these, and will only here refer our readers again to the rapidly increasing exports and imports, and especially to the large and growing absorption of silver and copper, a fact which can only, we believe, be explained by supposing that in some of our districts silver ornaments and copper vessels, the indisputable signs of growing prosperity in a Hindu community, are decidedly on the increase.

We have now arrived at the end of our inquiry, reserving some attempts at a history of prices which we have prepared, for an Appendix. We have striven above all things to be perfectly truthful throughout, to the utmost of our ability. Admiring greatly as we do the liberal feeling, the sound principles, and the skill and energy which have been brought to bear upon the new settlement, we have certainly greatly *desired* to find that the promoters of it had met with their reward in the increased and increasing prosperity of the districts into which it has been introduced. But we have been at least equally anxious that our wishes should have no influence on our judgment; and we must so far risk incurring the charge of want of modesty as to state, that we are satisfied, that on the whole, we have succeeded in depicting the Survey Settlement and its results, and the general condition of the Ryots in the Deccan, as they really are.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

The correspondent, a letter from whom we inserted in No. IX., has sent us a few remarks on our concluding article, or, rather, on the six paragraphs of it in which we have summed up the results of our inquiries.

Our correspondent thinks that we have scarcely done justice to the results of the new settlement. We believe that we have come to the only conclusions which the evidence—furnished chiefly by the Government records—will warrant.

We also think that some of his remarks are hardly so much comments on our statements as anxious attempts to guard against possible misconstructions of them. But even so considered, the criticisms may be useful, and we therefore insert them in an Appendix.

"Before venturing any observations on your summing up, I must premise that you have had before you a great deal of correspondence on the subject of the settlement, which I have never seen at all, and that my remarks, therefore, will have reference to that portion only of the evidence of which I am cognizant.

"I am quite at one with your other critics as to the perfect fairness of your whole representation, and your summing up agrees in the main with my own views, though considerably less favourable to the Survey. The following suggestions will explain the points

on which I am at all doubtful of the validity of your results. I will take your six paragraphs in order.

" 1st.—The deficiency of capital may have been compensated by increased industry, and the evidence seems to shew that it was so to a considerable extent. The slovenly cultivation referred to under this head, is not, I think, proved, unless it refer to the new land taken into cultivation immediately following the introduction of the new settlement.

" 2nd.—I am not satisfied that cultivation carried on without sufficient capital exhausts the soil. It is not in my opinion the want of capital so much as a bad style of farming that exhausts the land. It is continued cropping without manure that does the evil, and the greater the capital employed in this style of farming, the more rapidly will the exhaustion proceed, because the heavier will be the crops taken off without anything being given to the soil in return.

" 3rd.—The remarks on 1st paragraph apply with greater force to this. I am not aware of anything in the evidence that supports the conclusion that, *after the reaction*, the land in cultivation is more imperfectly tilled than before the settlement. This is a point to be established by testimony more than by statistics. Frere's account of Indapoor and my own observation, if not overbalanced by the evidence of equally competent witnesses, lead, I think, to the conclusion that improved tillage is a general result of the survey settlements, and consequently that a gross produce has been increased by this, as well as by extension of cultivation. A further inference from this would be, that agricultural capital increases not slowly but rapidly. Without having seen your appendix on prices, I am not in a position to offer an opinion on your conclusion that the markets are overstocked. Prices in this country are ultimately dependent on the necessity of exporting enough to meet our home charges, and this will probably always keep them at a low standard.

" 4th.—The remarks on the improvements in tillage already given, apply also here. I may as well mention in this place, that I greatly understated the number of saw gins sold to natives in this Collectorate, [Dharwar] in a former letter. I have now obtained from Mr. Blount, the superintendent of cotton experiments in this province, the following information as to the number, size and price of gins sold in this Collectorate up to the present time, which may be relied on as correct.

Number of Gins sold.	Number of Saws in each Gin.	Price of each Gin—Rs.	Price of the whole—Rs.	
1	25	225	225	All purchased by Natives.
2	24	225	450	
3	20	220	660	
48	18	200	9600	
9	14	170	1530	
3	13	170	510	
5	10	100	500	
1	8	80	80	
115	7	50	5750	
187			19,305	

5 Purchased by European dealers.

192 Total number sold up to this time.

"The first sales were made in 1848, so that in four years the cotton dealers of this Collectorate have invested 20,000 rupees in the purchase of these machines. This is, I think, a fact worth recording, and I wish you could manage to substitute it for the former incorrect allusion to the number sold.

" 5th.—I agree entirely with you in regard to this head. Have you noticed a sad illustration of its correctness in a report published in the *Bombay Gazette* of 6th instant, of a village moneylender in the Sholapoor Collectorate having been murdered by some of his debtors, under circumstances that give strong grounds for suspecting that the whole body of villagers approved of the deed? This casual withdrawal of the curtain for a moment discloses a state of things quite appalling, if we consider the case, as it is to be feared we must, as a result of the general relations which our administration of civil justice has brought about between debtor and creditor in agricultural villages.

"6th.—I question the propriety of the use of the word Pauperism in the paragraph, and doubt if any enquiry would discover anywhere in the surveyed district the existence of what is termed Pauperism in Europe. I understand the word to refer to a state of things in which the able-bodied and willing to work can find no work, and would starve but for the aid of others. I cannot recollect having ever met with this in any of the surveyed districts, and should say that Pauperism is unknown in them all. Pauper cultivators in the phraseology of revenue reports are to be met with, but these are bankrupt farmers, and they would have no difficulty

in finding work as labourers. If you refer to the latter, it would be desirable, I think, to explain the sense in which you use the word.

"With these few reservations your conclusions seem to me to be as sound, as the whole tone of your review is eminently fair and impartial."

Having inserted these remarks, we ought perhaps to give specimens of a great deal of testimony which we have—especially from native correspondents—differing very widely from this letter. We fear, however, that we are already too voluminous, and will only say that in the very few places in which the difference between ourselves and our correspondent is not merely an apparent or verbal one, we find ourselves compelled to think him somewhat too sanguine in his views; and that, after the fullest consideration of all the evidence we have been able to collect on the subject, we adhere deliberately to the conclusions contained in our final article."

APPENDIX II.

This subjoined Tables A. and B. have been compiled, with the exception of the column of "Present prices," partly from the records of the Peshwa's Government, and partly from old family papers in the possession of a native gentleman, Trimbuk Hari Vartak.

(A)

AVERAGE MARKET PRICES OF DIFFERENT COMMODITIES AT POONAH.

Quantity per Rupee.

Names of Commodities.	From the year 1775 to 1781.														From 1794 to 1804.																From 1817 (excepting 1820 and 1824) to 1828.																Present rates.		Average rates for 7 years from 1775 to 1781.	Average rates for 11 years from 1794 to 1804.	Average rates for 10 years from 1817 to 1828 save 1820, & 1824.
	1775		1776		1777		1778		1779		1780		1781		1794		1795		1796		1797		1798		1799		1800		1801		1802		1803		1804		1817		1818		1819		1821		1822		1823		1825		1826		1827		1828		1852				
	*Pylees	Shairs	P.	S.	P.	S	P.	S.	P.	S.	P.	S.	P.	S.	P.	S.	P.	S.	P.	S.	P.	S.	P.	S.	P.	S.	P.	S.	P.	S.	P.	S.	P.	S.	P.	S.	P.	S.	P.	S.	P.	S.	P.	S.	P.	S.	P.	S.	P.	S.	P.	S.	P.	S.	Pylees.		Pylees.	Pylees.
Bajree	5	3	5	3	7	0	7	0	5	1	4	2	6	0	2	0	0	0	3	0	2	3	1	0	3	0	4	0	5	0	3	2	7	0	3	1	4	3	0	3	2	3	5	2	6	0	7	2	3	0	6	0	5	2	4	2	6	2	5 71		3.167	4.93
Joarree	6	2	6	3	7	0	7	2	5	1½	6	3	6	0	2	0	0	0	4	0	3	0	3	0	4	0	5	0	3	2	7	0	3	1	4	3	0	3	2	3	4	3	10	0	5	2	8	0	3	0	8	0	6	0	8	0	3	2	6.75		3.375	5.68
Rice	0	0	3	0	3	0	3	3	3	1½	3	2	3	0	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	3	0	2	2	3	2	1	3	0	0	1	0	4	3	2	0	3	1	2	0	4	2	2	0	4	2	3	0	4	2	3	2	3.4		2.21	3.7
Wheat	5	¼	4	3	4	½	5	1	5	2	6	3	6	0	2	0	2	0	2	0	2	1	2	0	2	0	3	1	2	2	3	2	1	3	0	0	1	0	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0	3	2	2	0	3	2	3	2	4.35		2.525	3.57
Till	3	0	4	0	3	0	4	0	3	0	3	0	3	0	2	0	2	0	2	0	2	0	1	½	2	0	3	1	2	0	3	0	1	2	0	0	1	0	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0	3	2	2	0	4	2	3	2	3.25		1.69	2.55
Gram	4	1	4	2	4	1	4	2	4	2	4	½	5	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	½	3	1	2	0	2	0	2	0	3	0	1	2	0	0	1	0	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0	3	2	2	0	4	2	3	2	4.46		2.86	4.5
Common Salt	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	1½	2	0	3	2	2	0	3	0	1	2	0	0	1	0	4	2	1	0	4	2	1	0	4	2	1	0	4	2	2	0	4	2	3	2	4.81		4.75	9.73
Gram, split and husked	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	7	0	10	3	8	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	2	2	2	0	1	1	4	0	1	2	0	0	1	0	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0	3	2	2	0	4	2	3	2	3.5		2.018	3.15
Toory ditto	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	2	2	2	0	1	1	3	0	1	2	0	0	1	0	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0	3	2	2	0	4	2	3	2	4.58		2.16	3.31
Mustard Seed	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	3	2	0	0	6	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	2	½	0	2	3	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0	3	2	2	0	4	2	3	2	3.75		3.04	1.61

* 4 Shairs or 8 lbs. make one Pylee.

(A)

AVERAGE MARKET PRICES OF DIFFERENT ARTICLES AT POONAH.

Quantity per Rupee.

Names of Articles.	From the year 1775 to 1781.														From 1794 to 1804.																From 1817 to 1828, excepting 1820 and 1824.																Present rates.		Average rates for 7 years, from 1775 to 1781.	Average rates for 11 years from 1794 to 1804.	Average rates for 10 years, from 1817 to 1824 save 1820 and 1824.
	1775		1776		1777		1778		1779		1780		1781		1794		1795		1796		1797		1798		1799		1800		1801		1802		1803		1804		1817		1818		1819		1821		1822		1823		1825		1826		1827		1828		1852				
	*Shairs	Q'ters.	S.	Q.	S.	Q.	S.	Q.	S.	Q.	S.	Q.	S.	Q	S.	Q.	S.	Q.	S.	Q.	S.	Q	S.	Q.	S.	Q	S.	Q.	S.	Q.	S.	Q.	S.	Q.	S.	Q.	S.	Q.	S.	Q.	S.	Q.	S.	Q.	S.	Q.	S.	Q.	S.	Q.	S.	Q.	S.	Q.	S.	Q.	Shairs.		Shairs.	Shairs.
Sugar	3	2	2	3	3	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	3	0	2	2	2	0	2	0	0	0	2	½	2	0	2	1	1	2	2	1	2	0	3	0	0	0	2	2	3	0	0	0	2	1	2	1½	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	1	4	2	3	2.44	2.482
Sugar Candy	1	1	1	1	2	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1½	0	0	1	2	2	0	0	0	2	0	1	1	2	1	3	0	1	1	2	0	1	2	3	0	2	1	3	2	1	1	2	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	3	1	2	4	2	0	1.35	1.27	1.029
Ghee	1	3½	2	1	2	½	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	3	1	0	3	1	2	1	1	3	1	2	2	0	1	2	3	3	2	0	3	1	2	0	1	1	2	0	2	0	1	1	2	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	3	1	2	4	2	0	2	1.545	1.787
Gool	5	0	6	0	7	1	9	0	0	0	0	0	5	3	3	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	4	0	4	2	2	3	5	0	5	3	2	0	1	2	4	2	2	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	3	0	2	4	2	0	6.6	4.5	5.15
Oil	5	2	4	2	4	3	5	2	5	2	0	0	0	0	5	3	3	1½	3	0	0	0	3	2	4	0	2	2	3	1	4	0	3	2	2	0	1	2	4	2	2	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	3	0	2	4	2	0	5.13	3.713	3.825
Betel Nut	0	0	2	3	2	1½	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	2	2	3	1	0	2	4	0	2	2	2	0	1	2	4	2	2	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	3	0	2	4	2	0	2.5	2.607	0
Cocoa-nut kernel	0	0	3	0	3	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	3	0	2	2	1	3	5	0	3	2	2	0	1	2	4	2	2	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	3	0	2	4	2	0	3	3.708	4.525
Turmeric	5	0	6	0	6	3	10	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	3	2	3	3	3	0	0	0	3	2	4	0	2	4	0	4	6	0	4	2	2	0	1	2	4	2	2	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	3	0	2	4	2	0	6.5	4.097	4.725
Milk	0	0	16	2	8	2	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	9	2	6	0	2	1	0	0	7	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0	3	2	1	0	3	2	2	0	4	2	3	2	8.9		10.03	11.2

* 2 lbs.=1 Shair.

(B.)

AVERAGE RATES OF WAGES AT POONAH.

From 1775 to 1804.			From 1798 to 1820.			Of 1852.		
Labourers.	Monthly wages.		Labourers.	Monthly wages.		Labourers.	Monthly wages.	
	Rs.	A.		Rs.	A.		Rs.	A.
Cook.....	4	...	Carpenter No. 1.....	15	...	Carpenter 1st	15	...
Water bearer.....	4	...	ditto No. 2.....	12	...	ditto 2nd	12	...
Carpenter	10	...	ditto No. 3.....	10	...	ditto 3rd	10	...
Servant...	4	...	Bricklayer	15	...	Bricklayer	15	...
Female servant...	2	8	ditto No. 2.....	12	...	ditto No. 2	12	...
Labourer	8	12	ditto „ 3	10	...	ditto „ 3	10	...
Female labourer ..	2	12	Servant...	5	10	Servant.., ...	3	8
Boy	1	12	Female servant	3	8	Female servant ..	2	8
Bricklayer.....	10	...	Boy...	3	...	Labourer.	3	12
Stone-cutter... ...	15	...	Tailor 1st rate	15	...	Woman...	2	13
Palanquin bearer.	6	...	Hired Pony with a driver	15	...	Boy...	2	13
Servant under Carpenter..... ...	7	8	ditto Bullock ditto....	6	...	Tailor 1st rate	15	...
			do. ' art do.....	15	...	Stone-cutter..	15	...
			Sawyer..	15	...	Sawyer...	16	...
						Hired Pony with a driver...	10	...
						ditto Cart do.	16	...

This table is framed from the old records of family expenditure of a private gentleman, named Trimbuck Hurri Vurtuck.

This is taken from the Nirukh papers of the Peshwa's Dufter.

The table C. has been furnished by some native friends, grain dealers in Poonah.

(C.)

AVERAGE RATES at Poonah of Bajree and Joaree, the grains most largely consumed in the Deccan (and in Guzerat,) from the year 1837 to 1852. Quantity per rupee in pylees and shairs.

BAJREE.						JOAREE.					
Year.	Rates.		Year.	Rates.		Year.	Rates.		Year.	Rates.	
	P.	S.		P.	S.		P.	S.		P.	S.
1837	6	3	1845	5	0	1837	8	0	1845	6	0
1838	8	0	1846	3	1½	1838	11	1½	1846	3	3
1839	5	¾	1847	6	0	1839	5	0	1847	6	2½
1840	6	3	1848	10	1½	1840	8	0	1848	12	3
1841	7	0	1849	9	2	1841	9	1	1849	12	0
1842	7	1	1850	6	0	1842	9	3	1850	6	2
1843	8	1	1851	5	3	1843	9	3	1851	7	0
1844	7	2	1852	6	2	1844	8	0	1852	9	0

	Pylees.
Bajree average for 1st eight years.	7,086
Do. do. 2nd do. do.	6,560
Joaree average for 1st eight years.	8,640
Do. do. 2nd do. do.	7,953

In the second eight years, one (1846) of very unusual drought occurs;—omitting this, the second averages would be Bajree 7 pylees, Joaree 8.55,—almost identical with the averages for the first eight years.

The general results are of considerable interest and importance. It will be seen that,—

1st. General prices now *are not half what they were at the commencement of the century!* and that the change has been entirely consequent on our accession to power in the Deccan.

2nd. That the fall has long since ceased, and that prices now are either stationary, or, perhaps, slightly tending to rise.

3rd. That the prices of labour have remained wonderfully constant, for upwards of three quarters of a century, in spite of great fluctuations, and even great permanent changes in the prices of food; custom, the regulator of so many things in India, although powerless over the prices of commodities, yet ruling the labour market almost absolutely,—as it does, with us in England, the fees of lawyers and physicians.

If we now ask whether we are to rejoice or lament over this low range of prices, the answer will depend very much on the class of interest with which we happen to sympathize. Low prices of produce, of course, necessitate low rates on the land, and the Government, and the native aristocracy, who share the rent with the Government, have to content themselves with a much lower money revenue.

The importance of this will depend on the extent to which the revenue consuming classes expend their incomes on foreign commodities. As prices are low, the low money incomes—did the

consumers demand only the produce of the country—would be just as effective as the former high ones had been. Our Government, however, and, even the native aristocracy of the present day, are very large consumers of foreign goods, and the low rates, therefore, represent to them a real and very great impoverishment of the province. On the other hand, the labourer who obtains the same wages as formerly, and spends almost the whole of them on the produce of the country, which produce is at half its former price, is of course virtually twice as rich. And, indeed, the general result of our *regime* is the elevation of the lower classes, and the depression of the higher. A Dufterdar, the chief native revenue officer in a province, and a village low caste watchman, although still greatly different in social estimation, are, under our levelling rule, undoubtedly much more nearly on an equality than they ever were before. Our Government is emphatically the friend of the poor, and the deadly enemy—not of a commercial or manufacturing aristocracy, whenever that shall arise—but of the old land-revenue-consuming, fighting, and ruling aristocracy.

It will be proper to notice that a part—doubtless much the smaller part—of the reduction of prices, is the result of the abolition of transit duties, the penetration (as far as it has proceeded) of the Deccan by cart-roads, and the greater general security which now exists; and that, so far, the fall of prices is an unmixed benefit, cheapening goods for all, and reducing nobody's income. Also that, simultaneously with the fall of prices here, the progress of commerce and industry abroad, since the great European pacification of 1815, and especially of English commerce and industry, has caused a very great reduction in the cost of many kinds of foreign goods, rendering the diminution of the money revenue of the province—a diminution which we have seen is only important with reference to foreign products—less felt than it otherwise would be.

And finally we may observe that, as far as we can judge from only one of the Deccan markets, the Revenue Survey Settlement, with all the increased cultivation to which it gives rise, has not produced

any general decline of prices, the present very low range having been reached, apparently, from fifteen to twenty years ago. We must certainly add, however, that this very interesting question is precisely the one concerning which we are in possession of the least amount of information.

THE END.

BOMBAY:
JOHN CONNON, PRINTER, BOMBAY GAZETTE PRESS.

A PLAN

FOR THE

HOME GOVERNMENT

OF

INDIA.

WITH PROVISIONS CALCULATED TO PREVENT OR LIMIT THE EVILS AND DANGERS OF PATRONAGE.

By HENRY MEREDITH PARKER,

BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE, RETIRED LIST.

"Look before you leap."—Old adage.

LONDON:
W. THACKER AND CO., 87, NEWGATE STREET.
Calcutta: Thacker, Spink, and Co. Bombay: Thacker and Co.

1858.

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

BOLE PONJIS: a MISCELLANY OF PROSE AND VERSE. 2 vols. fcap. 8vo., 12s.

THE MARCY CONVENTION (Privateering); "Capture or No Capture? That is the Question." 8vo., 1s.

FUTURE HOME GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,

IN SUBSTITUTION FOR

THE BOARD OF CONTROL

AND COURT OF EAST INDIA DIRECTORS.

It is a remarkably easy thing to say, the Home Government of India shall in future be committed to a Secretary of State and a Council of Advice; the difficulty only begins when you come to the details. How is the Council of Advice to be selected? Who is to have the immense patronage involved in the appointment of counsellors? What are to be their powers? Are they to sit for life, or at the pleasure of the Crown? How will you secure in the counsellors an actual experience in India, and a knowledge of Indian affairs, without which, they will be more or less useless? How will you settle the respective responsibilities between the Council of Advice and the Secretary of State? By what process will you carry out the amalgamation between the Board of Control and the Court of Directors? How will you prevent things from coming to a dead lock by a hasty abolition of the latter? These, and a hundred more, questions might be asked without the public obtaining very lucid or satisfactory replies.

In the following sketch I have endeavoured to embody the details which appear to me to be necessary to the working of the scheme now avowed; if it is to work for the benefit of India, and with security to the people of England against that abuse of power and patronage on the part of the Ministers of the Crown, in which would lie much danger to all.

I have had in my suggestions the following objects at heart. To prevent as much as possible an abuse of patronage for Parliamentary purposes. To make the Advising Council repre-

sentatives of persons having either a real stake in the good government and prosperity of our Indian Empire, or who have had personal experience of what is necessary for its welfare; and who will be sufficiently numerous and influential to give weight, but not undue weight, to opinions expressed through their nominees.

To give that power to the Government of the Crown which it is clearly desirable it should possess in ruling such a dependency as India; namely, an arbitrary power, coupled with grave responsibility for its exercise.

To bring the proceedings of the Home Government of India constantly and distinctly under the general supervision of the Houses of Parliament; without which, no plan for the administration of a British dependency, conquered or colonized, could be for a moment entertained.

A principal object of my scheme is, I repeat, to limit Ministerial patronage and Parliamentary jobbery, as much as it is possible to limit them in free and happy Britain; where jobs and jobbery are as endemic as consumption: where they blossom and bloom, and give fruit so luxuriantly, that a lover of jobs in the abstract (and there be many such) might exclaim with the Persian poet,

"Agr behisht dur zumeen ust
"Humeen ust—humeen ust—humeen ust."

a distich which I will not be so uncomplimentary to the kind reader as to translate; since every one is, in the present day, so conversant in matters connected with the East, that we, who have sojourned all our lives in that blessed country which "showers on its kings barbaric pearl and gold," have no manner of chance.

But touching this question of patronage and job, you, my discriminating public, imagine that you have nipped the whole thing in the bud, by your system of competition for appointments to India. I beseech you, "Lay not that flattering unction to your soul." Assume, though the assumption might cause a man of the world to smile, that the best competitors will always be the successful and chosen ones, it is of no vital importance. The Asmodeus, who presides over jobbery in Eastern affairs,

will merely transfer his head-quarters from England to India; from London to Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. That is to say, if your Home rule for India is through a Cabinet Minister, with a Council of Advisers *appointed* by the Crown, and *removeable* by the Crown, and no check upon his proceedings but the ordinary, general control of Parliament.

The "Programme," to employ a phrase in vogue, is by no means difficult to comprehend. The Minister is hard pressed; the Cabinet is, like Othello, "perplexed in the extreme;" the dark limbo of unofficial existence "looms in the distance;" will the Secretary for India, think you, not avail himself of his power to support a tottering Government? Will a judicious underling not find out "honorable members," or "members of your Lordships' house," with sons and grandsons, nephews, and sons-in-law, and all manner of kith and kin, in India, to whom it may be gently and delicately conveyed, that the Indian Government have a high opinion of said kith and kin; and that, "if we remain in," the claims of those meritorious individuals will be brought prominently to the notice of "our Governor-General," or the Governors of Madras, Bombay, &c., "M or N, as the case may be."

But, it might be urged, the same process can be followed under the existing system. The Minister is as potent for jobs under your "Empire of the Middle Classes," as he would be under the Empire of the House of Commons, for such it will be, however it may be called. I reply, not so. In the first place, the Governor-General, or Governor, through whom the job must be perpetrated, as frequently belongs to the OUTS as to the INS, and would scarcely brave obloquy, or commit injustice, to serve what Rob Roy calls his "unfriends." Again, the Court of Directors have had in their service too many connections, and amongst them, let me say, some of the best and bravest civil and military servants who ever toiled in India; to begin only with Lord Metcalfe and end with General Nicholson—too many connections, or, at all events, persons for whom they were interested, to countenance such jobs. Add to this that a Governor-General or Governor (frequently not on the most affectionate terms with the Honourable Court), who might find

it difficult to avoid assisting a powerful minister, the chief of a great party, would feel very little embarrassed by a "telegram" "not to forget" Smith, Brown, Jones, or Robinson, sent scintillating along the wires by twenty-four or eighteen elderly, chiefly bald, uninfluential gentlemen in Leadenhall Street.

Indeed, under the system which is now passing away, any assumed supercession, or undue promotion, by the Governments of India, was pretty sure, in nine cases out of ten, to be appealed to the Court of Directors; who, having no interest to stifle such an appeal, and no motive to hush up a job which carried with it little profit or pleasure to their Honourable Body, were fully disposed to give redress, if it was justly due.

But in the case I have supposed, and no man can say that it is a far-fetched assumption, of undeserved promotions or supercessions, and unearned appointments in India for the purpose of helping to bolster up a shaking Cabinet in England, where will an appeal for justice lie? Why, from a Minister to a Ministry with which he must stand or fall (for it is too Utopian to suppose that Lord Derby would send out Mr. Bright as Governor of Bombay, or that Lord John Russell would appoint Sir John Pakington Governor-General), and for the safety of which Ministry the job had been jobbed. Picture to yourselves, oh, most thinking people! an attaché to the embassy at Ecbatana appealing to a Prime Minister against his supercession by the Foreign Secretary, especially if the parent or guardian of the more fortunate youth was a stern supporter of the then Government.

Finally, if you would save England from such Parliaments as have not been seen since the days when Walpole is *said* to have said, that "every man had his price," I beseech you, my dear countrymen, and dearer countrywomen, think well touching this proposed change in the form of Indian Home Administration, and put what muzzle you can devise upon that appetite for jobbery and patronage which is the bane of party government. With this preface I venture to present—

THE OUTLINE OF A SCHEME FOR THE HOME GOVERNMENT OF BRITISH INDIA, IN SUBSTITUTION FOR THE BOARD OF CONTROL, AND THE COURT OF DIRECTORS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

The Home Government responsible for the administration of the affairs of British India, to be denominated "The Honourable The Great Council of India," and composed as follows.

A Secretary of State for India—Lord President of the Great Council of India—being a member of the Cabinet.

The Great Council of India; to consist of the Lord President and thirty-one counsellors, viz.: Four Counsellors, not being members of either House of Parliament, to hold their seats at the pleasure of the Crown, and to retire with the Cabinet under which they take office. Salaries 2,000*l.* per annum each; may hold other offices under the Crown.

Twenty-one ELECTED Counsellors—to be elected only if possessing the qualifications, and in the mode hereinafter prescribed.

Five representing Bengal; Three—Agra; Four—Madras; Four—Bombay; Two—Scinde; Three—The Punjaub.

Total, Twenty-one; with salaries of 1,500*l.* per annum each. Not to be Members of Parliament, or to hold any office whatever under the Crown.

Six Native Indian Counsellors, speaking and writing English fluently; possessing a net revenue from land in India of not less than 40,000 rupees per annum. One such native Counsellor to be SELECTED, for each of the six divisions already enumerated, by the Governors of Madras and Bombay, the Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal and Agra, and the Chief Commissioners of the Punjaub and Scinde. The selections to be subject to the approval and confirmation of the Governor-General of India in Council. Salaries, 1,500*l.* per annum each, with passages found from and to India for themselves and their servants.

The Secretary of State for India is Lord President of the Great Council.

The Vice-President of the Great Council is one of the elected

members chosen every three years by a majority of the elected and Native Indian Counsellors; to be elected by ballot; not to be eligible for re-election as Vice-President until after a retirement of one year. Salary 1,000*l.* per annum, in addition to his salary as a Member of the Great Council.

Preparatory to the permanent formation of the Great Council of India, a Provisional Great Council to be assembled, consisting of the following members:—

The Secretary of State for India, being a Cabinet Minister, Lord President of the Council.

The Chairman of the Honourable the Court of Directors at the time, Vice-President.

Four Government Members as already provided.

The Directors for the time of the Honourable East India Company.

Three new members, selected by the Honourable Court, from amongst persons who have resided at least eighteen years, after the age of twenty, in some part of India. The three new members to be elected by ballot; salaries the same as the other Directors. Salaries of Directors and their patronage to remain as at present. Share of patronage to the three new members.

The Provisional Great Council to sit for two years, that the machinery for the election of the permanent Great Council, the selection of six Native members, &c., may be put into working order, and also to facilitate the transition from one form of government to another.

Members of the Provisional Council, eligible for immediate re-election into the first Permanent Great Council, if properly qualified.

The FIRST GREAT COUNCIL OF INDIA will sit seven years from the date of its assembly (with the necessary introduction of members, to fill death or other vacancies). From and after that period of seven years, seven of the European elected members to retire by rotation at the end of every fourth year. The places of the seven retiring members to be filled by an equal number, duly elected, in the manner hereinafter pre-

scribed. Retiring members not eligible for re-election, until after a retirement of one year.

Two Native Indian Counsellors to retire at the end of every fourth year, and two others, to be selected and confirmed in India, as already provided.

Native Indian Counsellors may be re-selected, after a retirement of two years.

The four Government members remain in the Great Council, until removed by the Crown, or the contingency occur which is already provided for.

Qualifications for election, as an ELECTED *member of the Great Council of India.*

Any male person, born in Great Britain, or of British parents in the East Indies, is eligible to a seat in the Great Council of India; provided that he shall, after the age of twenty, have been actually resident, at least, eighteen years in India; the said residence including ten years in that one of the divisions,* for which he desires to be elected. Satisfactory proofs of residence to be given to an Election Committee, duly appointed, as hereinafter provided.

The number of officers in the military service, elected to the Great Council of India, not to be less than six, holding a rank not below that of Lieutenant-Colonel. One such officer to be elected for each of the six divisions. If no military officer, sufficiently qualified by residence, presents himself, a majority of the elected members of the Great Council shall elect an officer, or officers of the above rank, to the vacant division or divisions. The election to be determined by ballot.

Any person desiring to be elected a member of the Great Council, to establish his residence in India, as already prescribed, to the satisfaction of the Election Committee; and to prove that he has resided in Great Britain, at least, one year prior to the date of election.

Rules touching the Election to the Great Council.

All vacancies occurring in the Great Council, either on re-

* Bengal, Agra, Madras, Bombay, Punjaub, Scinde.

tirement by rotation, or by deaths, or resignations amongst the elected European members, to be notified in the *London Gazette*, and a day for the election of a new member or members (six weeks from the date of the vacancy), to be appointed by the Election Committee.

Candidates to signify their intention to offer themselves for election by a notification in the *London Gazette*, and to set forth, by such further notices in the public journals, or otherwise, as they may see fit, their claims to a seat in the Great Council.

No candidate to canvass in person for votes, or to authorize the personal canvass of others in his behalf, under penalty of his election being declared null and void, should such canvass be proved to the satisfaction of the Election Committee.

An Election Committee, consisting of one Government and six elected members of the Great Council, with the Vice-President of the Great Council as Chairman, will manage and investigate all matters connected with elections to the said Great Council; scrutinize votes, and declare them in the *London Gazette;* pronouncing the candidate, having a majority, duly returned.

Candidates to be elected by a simple majority of votes. In the event of equality, the Great Council to elect one of the two candidates by ballot.

All votes to be verified and registered, prior to the retirement by rotation of the seven elected Counsellors; and no votes, not so verified, before one month of the forthcoming election of seven, to be counted.

ELECTORS.

The twenty-one elected members of the Great Council of India to be chosen by a majority of votes, delivered by voters, being male British born subjects, resident in any part of Europe, at the period of election, and qualified as follows :—

A. By an actual residence in India, in any capacity or employment whatever, for a period of not less than fifteen years.

Retired Judges of her Majesty's Supreme Courts; retired Commanders-in-Chief of the land or sea forces, and retired

Legislative Members of Council, to be entitled to votes, after residing five years in India.

B. By holding ten thousand rupees (or more) in any Indian Government loan, or in any loan contracted on account of the Government of India, in Great Britain, or Ireland.

C. By holding shares in Indian railways, amounting, in the aggregate, to 1,000*l.* (or more), at par.

D. By holding shares to the aggregate value of 1,000*l.* (or more), at par, in any company or association in Great Britain or India, having for its declared and direct object the commercial or agricultural improvement of any part of British India, or the improvement of communication between Great Britain and India, provided that the paid-up capital of such company or association be not less than two hundred thousand pounds.

An elector, qualified by residence under clause A, to be entitled to one vote for each candidate who may stand for the Great Council, and to an additional vote for each candidate if he is also qualified under clauses B, C, and D.

Electors not qualified by residence under clause A to have one vote under each of the clauses B, C, and D, for each candidate who may stand for the Great Council.

Certificates of actual residence in India to be given at Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Kurrachee, Rangoon, and Moulmein, by appointed officers in a form prescribed.

Certificates, in forms prescribed, and granted by parties to be named, will be required from electors claiming to vote under clauses B, C, and D.

The above certificates to be registered, after verification by a public officer or officers in London, appointed for that purpose by a majority of the election committee, and acting under that committee.

Indian Governments to forward monthly lists of parties who have taken out certificates to enable them to vote under clause A.

Parties desiring to vote will prove their claims to be electors before receiving election tickets.

On a claim to vote being admitted and registered, the person whose claim is so registered is furnished with an election ticket,

shewing the number of votes he is entitled to give. When an election takes place, he shall produce his election ticket, and receive voting cards or balls corresponding in number with the entry on his ticket, Such cards or balls will be placed in urns provided for the purpose, and bearing the names of the candidates. The urns in question having affirmative and negative divisions.

METHOD OF BUSINESS.

The Grand Council of India is divided into committees.

Committee A.—BENGAL and AGRA.

1 Government Counsellor, President.
5 Bengal Elected Counsellors; 1 being military.
3 Agra ditto; 1 being military.
2 Native Counsellors from Bengal and Agra.
Total, 11 members:
With a secretary; his salary, 1,000*l.* per annum.

Committee B.—MADRAS.

1 Government Counsellor, President.
4 Madras Elected Counsellors (1 military).
1 Native Counsellor from Madras.
Total, 6.
1 Secretary, at 800*l.* per annum.

Committee C.—BOMBAY and SCINDE.

1 Government Counsellor, President.
4 Bombay Elected Counsellors (1 military).
2 Scinde ditto (1 military).
2 Native Counsellors from Bombay and Scinde.
Total, 9.
With a Secretary, at 1000*l.* per annum.

Committee D.—PUNJAUB.

1 Government Counsellor, President.
3 Punjaub Elected Counsellors (1 military).
1 Native ditto from the Punjaub.
Total, 5.
1 Secretary, at 800*l.* per annum.

Committee E.—Secret, Military, and Political.

President, the Lord President of the Great Council.

Vice-President, the Vice-President of the Great Council.

Members—2 Government Counsellors.

5 Civil Elected ditto.

5 Military Elected ditto.

One Secretary, at 1,500*l.* per annum.

The Government Counsellors in this Committee to be nominated by the Lord President. The Elected Counsellors of the Committee to be nominated by the Elected Counsellors and Native Counsellors of the Great Council,—nomination to be by ballot. Native Counsellors to attend this Committee only when specially summoned by the Lord President.

Committee F.—Committee of Elections.

President, the Vice-President of the Great Council.

Members—3 Military and 3 Civil, elected in the Great Council by ballot.

Secretary, the principal officer appointed to receive certificates, &c.; salary, 800*l.* per annum.

Committee G.—Committee of Appeal.

Vice-President of Great Council, President.

Members—3 Civil Elected Counsellors.

3 Military Elected Counsellors.

2 Native Counsellors.

To be elected by ballot in the Great Council.

Secretary *ex officio*.—The Secretary for that Indian Division from which the appeal has been forwarded.

Committee H.—Committee of Appointments.

Vice-President of Great Council, Chairman.

Members—4 Civil and 4 Military, elected members of the Great Council.

Secretaryships, clerkships, and all appointments in the committees and offices of the Great Council of India, except the immediate secretaries of the Lord President, and the secretary

to the Great Council, will be made by this Committee, which is elected in the Great Council by ballot, every three months.

Secretary, 600*l.* per annum.

METHOD OF BUSINESS, CONTINUED.

The Business of the four Committees A, B, C, and D, is divided into—

1st. *Ordinary* Political and Military.

2nd. Finance, Revenue, and Expenditure.

3rd. Judicial, Ecclesiastical, Education.

4th. General, Public Works, Miscellaneous.

The four Committees hold their meetings in separate committee-rooms, and transact the business of the Presidencies they respectively represent, as it is divided above.

Days of Meeting—

Monday—Eleven o'clock until two, *Ordinary* Political and Military. Half-past two until half-past five, Finance, Revenue, and Expenditure.

Tuesday—Eleven till two, Judicial, &c. Half-past two until half-past five, General, Public Works, &c.

Wednesday—Secret, Military, and Political.

Friday—Great Council of India, to receive abstract reports of proceedings in Committees, and transact original business. Secretary for the Great Council, at 1,500*l.* per annum, to be elected by the majority of the Great Council—voting by ballot.

The Election Committee to sit on Thursdays, when necessary.

The Appeal Committee to sit on Thursdays.

The Committee of Appointments to sit on Thursdays, when necessary.

Saturday—Reserved for the assembly of the Great Council on special occasions. The meeting to be convened by the Lord President, the Vice-President, or, on a requisition addressed to the Vice-President, of ten elective members of the Council.

The decision of the majority to be recorded as the decision of any Committee or Great Council.

The secretaries of committees to be the reporters of the committee's decisions to the Lord President, and to the Great Council.

METHOD OF BUSINESS CONTINUED.

Dispatches from India—

Secret or special, to be sent, by order of the Lord President, to the Secret Committee, E., noted, "Opinion required by the Lord President."

Ordinary dispatches—sent to the several committees A, B, C, D, according to the Presidencies which they represent, noted, "Opinion required by the Lord President."

Committee discuss subjects referred, assign reasons for orders proposed, record opinion of the Committee, and submit to the Lord President, in the form of an order to the Presidency, which the Committee represents.

The Lord President, concurring in the views of the Committee, directs conformable orders to be issued by the Under Secretary of State.

The Lord President not concurring, passes order, "Refer to first meeting of the Great Council."

The Lord President presides at the Great Council—Opinions and proposed orders of the Committee not adopted by the Lord President read—Verbal remarks by the Lord President and members of the Great Council—Great Council to decide, by a majority, on the orders to be passed. In case of equality of votes, the Lord President has two.

The Lord President, concurring in the decision of the Great Council, directs orders to be passed by an Under Secretary of State.

The Lord President, not concurring in the decision of the Great Council, records that he passes orders on his own responsibility, and directs an Under Secretary of State to pass orders accordingly.

All orders shall be communicated as proceeding from the Lord President only.

Emergent or important dispatches in the Political or Military Departments, as well as all Secret Dispatches, to be discussed in Committee E.—By the Lord President, Vice-Presi-

dent, and members. The Lord President, not concurring in the views of the majority, records his dissent, and passes orders on his own responsibility.

It rests with the Lord President to determine when the discussions and orders of this Committee can be submitted to the Great Council, or laid before Parliament, without danger or detriment to the Public Service.

METHOD OF BUSINESS CONTINUED.

Orders to India on matters originating in England, and on which no previous correspondence has taken place with the authorities in India.

Subjects to be placed before the several Committees, and "advice required," to be embodied in the form of an order or resolution. Lord President to confirm or disapprove—in the latter case submit to the Great Council. A majority in the Great Council being against the Lord President, he passes orders on his own responsibility. The process is altogether analogous to that prescribed in treating of "Dispatches from India."

The following to be invariably submitted for discussion and advice to the Great Council. In the event of the Lord President's being in the minority, he decides on his own responsibility.

All questions of Peace or War, with a report from the Political and Military Committee.

All questions not of a local or Presidential character, but affecting India, and the Natives thereof generally.

All questions affecting the European Settlers in India as a body.

All questions connected with Treaties between Great Britain and the Native States, or the interpretation of such Treaties; with a report from the Political and Military Committee.

All questions connected with the Public Debt; with a report from the Revenue and Finance Committee.

The Lord President shall further submit, for the advice of the Great Council, such questions of emergency or importance as he may see fit, without sending them in the first instance to a Committee.

MISCELLANEOUS.

In all cases where the Lord President rejects the advice of the Great Council, it is to be presumed that he has consulted, and is in accordance with, his colleagues in the Cabinet.

Questions not decided by the Great Council or the Committees at one sitting to be adjourned until the next.

A concise abstract of the proceedings of the Great Council of India, including those of the committees, to be submitted weekly, during a session, to the two Houses of Parliament.—Nature of case—How decided—By what authority disposed of, and final orders given to be alone included. Weekly abstracts to be prepared, although Parliament is not sitting, and to be submitted during the first week of the ensuing session.

It is competent to any member of either House of Parliament, upon these abstracts, to call for explanation and particulars of any case or cases, having given due notice of his intention so to do, under the rules of the House.

The Vice-President of the Great Council, and the Presidents of the Committees A, B, C, and D, shall be required to attend the House when the case adverted to by the notice is brought forward. They will have places provided for them, and be entitled to speak in reply and explanation, under the general rules of the House—retiring when strangers are ordered to withdraw.

The Great Council of India to have the same power as the Committees of the Houses of Parliament, to cause the attendance of, and examine as witnesses, all persons who may have been in public employment, and received a salary from Government in India.

In all cases the advice tendered by the Great Council of India to the Lord President, or by the committees, to be recorded for production, on a motion carried in the affirmative in either House of Parliament.

The Standing Committee of Appeal (G) to receive all appeals from India against undue promotion or unwarranted supercession in the public service. Such appeals to be forwarded from India only through the Governor-General, the Governors of Presidencies, the Lieutenant-Governors or Head Commissioners, to the Lord President, with such explanation as may be neces-

sary. The cases to be sent to the Committee of Appeal, who will return them with their remarks and advice to the Lord President, who directs orders to be issued accordingly. The decisions of Courts Martial, and those in which civil officers have been tried by a Commission, and recommended for suspension, removal, or dismissal, not to be cognizable by the Committee of Appeal.

The Lord President's official residence, and the entire offices connected with the Home Government of India, to be in one building, near the Houses of Parliament, for the erection of which, the sale of the India House and warehouses, and of the house occupied by the Board of Control will provide funds.

The Lord President to have one Civil and one Military Under Secretary of State, to be selected by himself, provided that the said Under Secretary of State shall have passed, at least, fifteen years in India, after the age of twenty-one. Salary of each officer, 1,500*l.* per annum.

The Lord President to have a private Secretary, salary, 600*l.* per annum, with apartments.

In the event of vacancies in the appointments of Governor-General, Governors of Presidencies, Commanders-in-Chief, and Members of Council, the Great Council of India to furnish the Lord President with the names of persons whom they may consider qualified to fill the vacant appointment with most advantage to the State, with reasons for their nomination. The Lord President to submit the list in question to the Crown, with such additional names as he may see fit. Names to be chosen in the Great Council, after open discussion, by vote of the majority. Record of recommendation to be kept for production in Parliament, if called for.

In the whole of this plan I have assumed that the original appointments to the Civil, Military, and Medical services in India, will be open to competition. Ecclesiastical appointments to be made by the Great Council, on the recommendation of the Archbishops, Bishops, and the Universities (according to a proportion for each, to be hereafter determined), subject to confirmation by the Lord President.

It may possibly be urged that, in the foregoing sketch, I have manifested too much alarm on the subject of jobbing;

and that the eyes of the Public being wide open, and the Press vigilant as well as powerful, the dangers from an abuse of patronage and nepotism are altogether chimerical. I must take the liberty of not agreeing in this opinion. Whence, let me ask, are all the inquiries, all the military committees, all the debates in Parliament on the subject of military education and appointments, having for the sole object of so much speaking and writing, so much turmoil and labour, what would appear at first sight a most simple and natural matter—namely, securing staff situations to the officers best qualified to hold them, instead of their being bestowed on young gentlemen who have no other recommendation, except the natural gallantry of English soldiers, than being the nephews of peers, the relatives of generals, or the sons of millionaires?

Whence, also, the significant remarks so frequently made that five or six of the principal staff officers of the Crimean army were near connections of its General-in-chief?

If jobbery and nepotism, then, is to be feared under the very eyes of the people of England, in that branch of the service on the efficiency of which our being, as a nation, may some day depend, what may be expected to take place in a vast dependency ten thousand miles away?—whose very existence seems to be forgotten, unless when it is in extreme peril, and whose affairs, brought on the floor of the House of Commons, except under rare and peculiar circumstances, generally entail a count out.

To my humble apprehension there is absolutely no security against such evil doings—more evil for England than even for India—except in the maintenance of such a Council of Advice, and Committee of Appeal, as those which I have suggested—a Council, to some extent representative;—elected—not appointed—qualified by local knowledge and experience, and, above all, independent of Parliament and the Crown, though deprived of all power to thwart or obstruct the lawful measures of either.

It is obvious that the members of such a Council, elected to advise and assist in the Home Government of India, must be amply paid. Men of talent and experience will not, after toiling for the best years of their lives in the East, devote their time and ability to very laborious and responsible duties, without either a share of patronage, or a fair remuneration.

That immediate *éclat*, and those hopes of honour or office which stimulate the exertions of the representatives of the people in Parliament, will not offer themselves to a Council of India; but instead, long days of unappreciated toil, and many nights of care and anxiety.

Any elected Council, to advise and assist in the Home Government of our Indian Empire, must be rather a large one, as I have proposed. If it is too limited, it will not contain the variety of knowledge and local experience requisite for the government of that India which is not a nation, but a collection of states inhabited by people almost as dissimilar in habits, shades of faith, antecedents, language, and ideas, as the nations of Continental Europe.

If the elected Council be a small one, it will not possess that extent of information within itself which would enable it to advise on all points of the Indian administration with prominent utility, whatever might be the talent of the individual members.

But if it be a Council, the members of which are nominated by the Crown, can hold other appointments under the Crown, and are removable at pleasure, such a Council will, not immediately perhaps, but in a few years, become little better than a sort of Register Office, to record orders; a cushion, to make pleasant the seat of the Secretary of State for Indian Affairs, and a species of scape-goat when anything goes very wrong in the East. A few dummies, possessed of good interest, such as *effete* Indian Commanders-in-Chief, worn-out Judges of the Royal Supreme Courts, Members of Council past work, from Bengal, Madras, and Bombay (there must, of course, be an array of Indian functionaries to keep up appearances), with a certain number of poor nobles, or smart M.P.'s, who know as much about governing India as they do of the quadrature of the circle, and you will have a Council of Advice by Christmas, 1877, which, in spite of its defects, I wish that you, my kind reader, may live to see.

London, Christmas, 1857.

J. & W. Rider, Printers, 14, Bartholomew Close, London, E.C.

A FEW PASSING IDEAS

FOR THE BENEFIT OF

INDIA AND INDIANS.

Second Series.

BY

MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE,

MEMBER ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, AND FELLOW ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, OF ENGLAND; AND OF SEVERAL OTHER LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC BODIES ON THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE.

" Before you can rectify the disorders of a State, you must examine the character of the people."—VOLTAIRE.

SECOND EDITION.

Bombay:

PRINTED AT THE

BOMBAY EDUCATION SOCIETY'S PRESS.

1853.

DEDICATION.

TO P. W. LEGEYT, ESQ.

MY DEAR LEGEYT,

YOU, like me, have grave personal grievances to complain of, arising out of the local acts of the Bombay Government; but also, like me, you would not suffer personal feelings to operate in enlisting under the hostile banner of those whose object is to throw sweeping aspersions on the Government of India, and to decry the general administration of this vast empire in almost all of its branches.

You were the first among those who applauded the motives which impelled me to take my stand in opposition to the views of some of our friends and others, who were bent upon raising a "*dust-storm*," as it were, founded on superficial information, and gross exaggeration, against the East India Company's mode of managing this country; and you testified to the correctness of the data on which I had worked out the first series of my "Ideas" on the subject of the late got-up agitation in Bombay, &c. which I treated in my first pamphlet.

It is just a quarter of a century now since we first became acquainted: our acquaintance soon grew into friendship; friendship ripened into intimacy. You have entertained opinions of me very gratifying to my feelings, and have enhanced their value to me by invariably expressing them in your official or personal correspondence, either in public or in private, whenever you had an opportunity of doing so; and though I felt and feel that my efforts to deserve these opinions have fallen far too short, yet to study and strive to deserve them has been my delight, and my great aim whilst the more I saw of you,—the more I scrutinized and studied your worth,—public and private, moral and social,—the more my esteem and affection for you have been enhanced.

On these several premises, then, though poor the merits of the following brochure, I dedicate it to you, as a sincere, though inadequate testimony of the cordial esteem and affection with which I rest,

Ever yours sincerely,

MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE.

Villa, Byculla, 21st September 1853.

INTRODUCTION.

A PREFACE, or an introductory chapter, is an indispensable appendage to a book or a pamphlet (when published) as condiments are to the preparation of a choice dish. But dishes, like books, differ in description: they are palatable and unpalatable, according to the national habits of the people bred in the different quarters of the globe. A savoury one of pilau highly admixtured with all sorts of stuff—saffron, garlic, onions, &c.—would be as pleasant to a Mussulman as it would be offensive to an Englishman. To the latter, one of plain boiled rice would be infinitely preferable.

In illustration of the above, the great Firdausí, they say, on being asked whether some 20,000 distiches which compose his famous *Shah Námeh* were based upon historical facts, answered, obviously with more truth than is characteristic of the Asiatic nation: "In proportion as pepper and salt have to be mixed with other ingredients in the preparation of a palatable dish, so must facts with fiction, in the making up an acceptable book."

My "Ideas," in the course of the following letters, however, have not been founded on Firdausian theory, nor published

for the acceptance of the generality of the Natives, whose notions of patriotism differ infinitely from mine. They consider the way to befriend their country's cause is by exaggerating the merits of their countrymen, or by getting up an agitation, founded on exaggeration, in their favour, by glossing over defects in their character. I hold quite the contrary opinion, and this I have for years invariably acted upon, though at the risk of incurring the odium, abuse, and ill-will of those from whom I have differed. I think their worst enemies are those who do not consider it obligatory to unmask their defects, point them out nakedly, with the view of their removal or otherwise being improved thereon. I have, however, not vaguely declaimed on the defects of my countrymen, but attempted "in honesty, if in error, to trace their causes."

No nation, no tribe of mankind, inhabiting different quarters of the globe, is free from defects in its character, each having its peculiar national vices as well as virtues. So have the Asiatics and the Europeans, though they severally differ as to the respective causes and effect, and the mode or manner of effecting the reforms among themselves.

No nation in its early period stood more debased in ignorance and superstition, and none was more priest-ridden than Europeans. Superstition and ignorance to this day prevail to an enormous extent (though lesser in degree than before) on the Continent of Europe, nay, "at Home" in Great Britain. Notwithstanding all the mighty splendour of England,—its growth of opulence, arts and science, in exuberance,—there are fields open yet for reforms of the condition, vice, and wants of its people.

Out of several works it has been my good fortune to have read, depicting the national characters of the different tribes of mankind, few excel for faithful originality in regard to that of the English than Bulwer's "England and the English," and Leicester's "Glory and Shame of England," which describe with no sparing hand the evils from their very root to the trunk, and divers branches, with which even that great country appears impregnated.

But they have been reformed and are reforming by reformers of the right stamp, not by exaggerating, as in India, the merits, virtues, and wants of its people, but by exposing the defects in the character of the mass, pointing out the national evils, tracing the same to the right sources, and endeavouring to discover and apply suitable remedies, not merely by writings and preachings, but by endeavouring to to get parties to act thereon, and set good examples to others to do the like.

In England, people were not, and would not, be indignant at the honest efforts of the distinguished Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, and others of like school of philosophy, in painting the foibles, &c. of their countrymen; but in India, among the Indians, it would be the very reverse. Heaven save the mark! no one need take up the gauntlet, unless possessed of the strongest nerve and temperament, to stand his adversaries, abuse and scurrilous attacks, founded on gross misrepresentation, &c.*

John Bull is famous for taking up any cause, whether affecting his countrymen in his own or adjoining county, or

* For the latest puerile and scurrilous attempts of this kind, in my humble instance, defeated, vide Appendix C.

of the people of Timbuctoo—no matter where or how remotely situated—if a popular clamour is raised in their behalf. The great political game between parties, Ministerial and Opposition, in and out of Parliament, needs always to be kept open; each party, its divisions and subdivisions, stands eager to watch the move of events, create noise thereon, and confuse and confound its opponent, with the view generally to checkmate the party in ascendancy, and to achieve its discomfiture, though ostensibly to effect reform in this or that branch of the administration at home or abroad.

A mass of delusion gradually began to thicken in England in regard to the feelings, character, wants, and capacity of the Natives of this country. Whilst a new class sprang up from among the young people here,—fresh from school, unsettled in their ideas, entertaining the most crude notions of the constitution, working, position, and requirements of the Governments and the governed of India and England, and arrogating to themselves and for their countrymen merits and abilities far too extravagant,—venturing to enlist under the banner of those general *fault-finders* and agitators against the existing Indian administration, in almost every one of its branches and institutions.

I endeavoured to dissuade some of my friends who were bent upon patronising the young people in their design aforesaid. The design was changed. The Bombay Association was erected for totally different objects: the objects were—far from copying the example of the agitators in other places, or of raising any outcry against the Government, by means of the Press, and parties in and out of this country—to seek information, to get enlightened in respect to the laws and the

working of its several branches of administration, on which, at the very inauguration of the Association, its members not only proclaimed its benightedness, but paid the most flattering compliment that could be paid to a Government for its solicitude for the welfare of the people, who (they declared), under its benign sway, "were happier than they would be likely to be under any other Government!"*

And yet, within the interval of a fortnight from the date of the above declaration of the Association, its forward young members were suffered to mount their hobbies; its aforesaid legitimate objects were discarded; and a course of procedure, mischievous in itself, and diametrically opposed to its very constitution, were commenced to be acted upon. This led to the secession of most of its influential members from that body, and the consequent loss of its influence and position.

There are not many among the Europeans—scarcely any I fear among the Natives—here, fewer still in England, who have given that close attention to the study of the workings of the various branches of the Government of this great empire. The subjects are vast in extent, frightfully intricate, and immensely difficult for the generality of the people, particularly foreigners, to comprehend, and it is hence that the world observes the futile attempts of those amateur legislators, speakers, and writers, who venture, upon superficial or partial information, personally collected or otherwise supplied, to volunteer their services in the cause of the Natives of India, though with the best intentions and commendable zeal in most

* Vide published proceedings of the inauguration of this Body.

instances, particularly when they exert themselves disinterestedly, and without regard to party or parties.

The consequent discomfiture on the part of those who make such attempts produce two very lamentable results,—1*st*, they impede reforms in the right direction, by the diversion of attention from the legitimate and prominent topics of discussion, and 2*ndly*, they dishearten those philanthropists of the class I have above mentioned from taking up Indian subjects, at a future period, with that warmth and vigour which in their first growth met with cold repulse.

My first series of "Ideas" were addressed to guard the members of this local Association against the danger they were rushing at, by echoing the voice of the agitators who raise a general yell against the existing India administration, without possessing the requisite knowledge and information thereon. In the course of that pamphlet I gave an honest sketch of this body, its origin, its hidden and its obvious schemes, its strength, and its progress; whilst my objects throughout the following letters have been, on the one hand to destroy the delusion which appeared to be gaining ground in England, in respect to the feeling, character, and capacity, moral and mental, of the people of this country, and, on the other, to place in a readable shape or form a collection of data within my individual observation, and extracted from credible authorities, bearing on some of the questions under discussion, leaving those who are competent to test their value, and to draw their own deductions therefrom.

MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE.

Villa, Byculla, Bombay, 19*th September* 1853.

No. 1.

The Chairman of the Select Committee of Parliament to inquire into the operation of Act 3 and 4 William IV. Cap. 85, "For the better Government of Her Majesty's Indian Territories,"

Westminster Hall,
London.

SIR,

"Any plan or project for ameliorating the condition of the people of this country, no matter with whom originated, or how obtained, if founded on accuracy, would be sure to receive due attention from the Parliamentary Committee, and people of England in or out of the British Senate, who feel desirous of benefitting India: and that such a mode of procedure would not lose in the least its effect or object, if adopted by any individual or set of individuals, whether forming or without forming themselves into an association, and giving or not giving it a formal title.

2. "But to do more than this, to cling to loftier aim, to make a show of the thing, to hire agents here and in England, to make an outcry by furnishing such agents with all sorts of gross grievances, without regard to their quality or accuracy, in the existing state of the Native mind, Native ideas, and Native feelings, in relation to the Government and the governed of British India, would be the most ill-advised course of proceeding that could be devised by the worst enemies of the Natives of Bombay."

3. These are my sentiments, embodied in a Pamphlet containing "*A few passing Ideas for the benefit of India and Indians,*" a copy of which permit me the honor of presenting your Hon'ble Committee.

4. I have been induced to commit these ideas to paper, and afterwards to have them printed, for objects set forth in the Pamphlet itself. They were written off-hand by way of Minutes addressed to the "Bombay Association," without the remotest

intention of having them printed, much less published. Circumstances, however, rendered it necessary for me to do both. These circumstances I have fully explained in the Pamphlet, in which I have likewise endeavoured succinctly to give a faithful history of the Association in question,—its origin, its hidden and its obvious schemes, its strength, and its progress.

5. It would be an utter impossibility to trace out of the annals of nations a Government free from defects in its administration. The best constitution of the day is supposed to be that of England, and yet reforms are loudly called for in its construction, from time to time; no sooner one set of legislation is introduced in a particular branch of its administration, than it is fiercely attacked as being defective in some other respect; other measures are introduced, recommended, or suggested, and so on. The debates occasionally seem as if they would be interminable in the British Parliament, as to the most advisable mode of ameliorating the resources and conditions of the country and the people of the United Kingdom; and this in a Parliament which is allowed to be the best conducted, and composed of men of the first ability in that most civilized part of this world.

6. If such, then, is the state of things even in the more civilized part of the world, how is it possible to give a constitution to India perfect in all its parts? This is an enigma far more difficult to solve than people generally fancy.

7. The British Government in India, or rather its rise and progress, through the instrumentality of the East India Company, is an anomaly strange and unprecedented in the annals of all known nations. It has peculiar disadvantages to contend with, and dangers to guard against, in governing an empire so vast in extent, and peopled by one hundred and fifty ~~thousand~~ million subjects, who though known by one common appellation—Indians, or *Natives of India*—are divided and sub-divided into hundreds of fractions of creeds, tribes, and sections, each entertaining peculiar notions of its own greatness, each entertaining unfriendly feelings towards the other, and having most crude, absurd, and extravagant ideas of the constitution and policy of their foreign rulers. The people of England, again, on their part, are but superficially, or very imperfectly ac-

quainted with the peculiarities which distinguish their fellow-subjects in India, in respect to their habits, ways of thinking, prejudices, &c.

8. That there are several defects in the existing administration of this country, no one, not even Government, can deny. Whilst it is, on the other hand, equally undeniable that most, if not all, of these defects, under Section XLIII. of the existing Charter Act, are remediable in India, provided those who advocate their country's cause, or venture to enlist themselves in the bands of patriots, do but define in their representations to the competent authorities, through the regular channel in India, the absolute and not extravagant wants of the country and its people at large; and provided they also demonstrate on unerring premises the soundness and practicability of the remedies thereon, which they must submit at the same time, and if outlay of capital be required, to point out the source from whence it can be drawn.

9. Such representations when made, no matter if by an individual or individuals, will not, I believe, fail to obtain the end in view. But should they fail, or such representations can be shown to have been refused on insufficient, partial, or selfish grounds, by the Government in India, then, and not till then, appeals thereon should be transmitted to the respective grades of the authorities in England.

10. Those who talk of the existing administration of India being an irresponsible one, and think that in the interval of the existing Charter, or on its renewal, during its continuance, no measures beneficial to this country or its people could effectually be discussed in Parliament, need, I think, to study the constitution of the Company's Government and its several Charter Acts, very carefully. Now, whilst Sect. XLIII. of Cap. 85, Act 3 and 4 Will. IV. vests the Supreme Government in India with all the requisite power of legislation for the benefit of India and its people, Sect. LI. of the same Act has reserved to the British Parliament absolute right to legislate for India at all times, and under any circumstances, when a case is made out for that highest legislative senate to interfere in the affairs of India, in general delegated to the East India Company.

11. The ostensible object of those who got up the Bombay Association was, to achieve by legitimate means (as described

in para. 8) the good of their country. Their hidden objects are now no longer enshrouded. They are precisely what they at first denied them to be, but are now made manifest by what they have done and are doing, namely, to foment agitation, to which they are put up by some of the agitators of your country, in India and out of it; or, in other words, by means of prosecuting such got-up agitation, by re-echoing the voice of the Press and parties in and out of England, hostile to the existing Indian Government, they conceive, or have been led to expect, they would have a radical change in the administration of India. They would have the most, if not all, the Government patronage and privileges within the reach of the Natives of India. In short, they would raise the latter, *en masse*, on an equality with the people of England by one grand move or swoop.

12. The mixture of the young and old blood, which the setting-up of this Association was termed, should have been, and might yet be, productive of no small amount of benefit to this country and its people at large, if those remaining attached to that body would but lend themselves solely to the working of its legitimate objects, namely to make themselves thoroughly conversant with the constitution, power, and resources of this immense empire; secondly, to ascertain by figures and facts the real and not superficial wants of the millions under the sway of that empire; and, thirdly and lastly, to represent such wants of the people, founded upon accurate premises, to the authorities in India (within whose province the remedy lays in the first instance), and afterwards, if unsuccessful to the respective grades of the authorities in England.

13. I shall resume the subject in my future letter, in the course of which I shall attempt, though poor my ability, to illustrate those prominent questions affecting the welfare of this country.

I remain, Sir,

With every respect,

Your obedient Servant,

MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE.

Bombay, 29th March 1853.

No. 2.

The Chairman of the Select Committee of Parliament to inquire into the operation of Act 3 and 4 William IV. Cap. 85, "For the better Government of Her Majesty's Indian Territories,"

Westminster Hall,

London.

SIR,

Professional and other engagements did not admit of my early resuming the subject matters of the letter I did myself the honor of addressing you on the 29th March.

2. In the interval between that date and this we have received news from England up to the 8th April, to the effect that Indian subjects have been discussed with more than ordinary ardour, in Parliament and out of it, by the people and press of England. It may lead to some good, *if* the groundwork of such discussion can be proved or shown to have been generally, if not altogether, correct.

3. Much appears to have been said both for and against the several propositions started in the respective Petitions presented to Parliament, professed to be from, and conveying the feelings and sentiments of, the Natives of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay; and that these Petitions, or rather the allegations therein contained, have been, in some quarters, made the basis of a sweeping attack on the existing administration of India, through the instrumentality of the East India Company.

4. In order to arrive at a correct conclusion on the several important questions at issue between the opposers and approvers of the East India Company's mode of administrating this vast empire, it is indispensable, I humbly conceive, to ascertain the following points:—

First.—Whether these Petitions from the several Presidencies in India really emanate from, and impart the feelings and sentiments of, the people of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay?

Secondly.—Whether these Petitioners have been, and to what extent, correct or incorrect in respect to the several charges preferred against the existing rule of the East India Company?

Thirdly.—Whether the remedies they respectively suggested in their several Petitions are practicable or impracticable? If practicable, would their adoption prove beneficial to the country and its people?

Fourthly.—If it be found impracticable, or shown to be not beneficial, then by what other means, apart from the views and ideas of these Petitioners, can the resources of India be augmented, and the condition of its people ameliorated more than they are now?

Fifthly, and lastly.—Whether these very desirable ends can be better secured under the Government as it is now constituted, or by a radical or partial change in its construction?

5. These are grave questions; and, to do them justice, need be discussed as "between party and party," without regard or partiality for the Government and its agents on the one hand, and on the other hand without feeling of affection for, or prejudice in favor of, this country, and its people.

6. To the first of these questions—"Whether the Petitions from the several Presidencies in India have really emanated from and convey the feelings and sentiments of the people of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay?"—I propose devoting this letter.

7. Of the elements which constitute or compose the Native Society of Bengal and Madras I have been but imperfectly acquainted, and what little I happen to know of the same has been chiefly through the means of book and newspaper reading; I will not, consequently, venture, except with considerable self-diffidence, to speak of the character and position of the Petitioners from Calcutta and Madras, or of their competency or otherwise to undertake the contest with the Government.

8. But in regard to Bombay I can, at once, discard from my

mind every fear of contradiction when I reiteraté—what I have from time to time, both in public and private, affirmed—that the Natives of Bombay "*are not yet in a position to think for themselves, and act on their own judgment in matters of such public importance*" ; and that it is a fact, beyond a shadow or shade of doubt, that the Petition to Parliament from the Young Bombay Association, and other Native inhabitants of this place, in reality does not convey the feelings and sentiments of the people of the Bombay Presidency, but of a few interested individuals, who apparently have been either put up, or otherwise influenced or coaxed, by parties and the Press in and out of this (and your) country, to agitate here, and foment agitation in England, to achieve (as the case might be in their respective instances) some political, personal, or pecuniary objects.

9. Those who have been or are now in India, who have studied the Native character, their habits, their ways of thinking, and their modes of acting, do not require to be told, what is otherwise not generally known, that there is nothing so easy as to get up a demonstration for or against any Government measure or individual acts, if an influential member of the community or two, whether European or Native, would but have his or their wishes, in that respect, circulated.

10. An influential Native, in that case, has only to get some one to draw up an address or petition, call his friends and dependants (of whom they severally have a battalion), or send round his name to them and others of his acquaintance, to get their signatures to such concocted documents ; and when a large amount of signatures be requisite, a petty broker or *Chuprasee* (a peon with a belt on), can be employed and paid by so much, say a couple of rupees, for every hundred signatures, and thus a train of signatures are verily obtained, or are otherwise *bunawéd* (manufactured), with little manual labour, and without much loss of time.

11. There is, besides, a feeling with the middle class or lower order of the community, to consider it an honor, a compliment, to be called upon by any of the magnates of the land ; or, when they see any of the superior classes having signed such petition or address, to unite with them, and do the same, without knowing what they signed, and without caring what effect their so

doing would have for or against the interest of the community to which they belong.

12. About matters affecting such interest, it is an undisputed fact, five out of a thousand never trouble their heads to inquire. They consider it either irksome, or out of their line, to study or think of aught beyond what appertains to their proper calling or trade, in their respective sphere of life.

13. The knowledge of this has made the authorities and others in this country generally to look upon demonstrations of this kind and form as the offspring of one or two interested party or parties, and to view them not otherwise than with the justice their intrinsic merits demand; and I respectfully venture to hope your Honorable Committee will, in respect to the Petitions in question, under consi- ration before it, do the same.

14. That I have not overdrawn the picture by what I have asserted, I beg leave to transmit a few striking data,* proclaimed to the world as extracted from the columns of the Native and European newspapers of this and other Presidencies, illustrative of the modes and manners in vogue among the Natives of getting up such petitions and addresses in general, and of that presented to Parliament in particular, by the Young Men's Association, and other inhabitants of Bombay. These newspaper notices go, besides, to test by proper standard—incontrovertible premises—the worth and value of the materials embodied in the Petitions in question.

15. I have likewise another reason for transmitting these newspaper extracts, namely, to show that even the Press—an useful, but at the same time (when working to serve personal objects or factious causes) mischievous engine of influence—has been far from unanimous in patting "Young India;" a section of the Indian Press here, for motives best known to some of its conductors, has at times or from time to time, lauded the efforts of this Young India party in their forward radical movement; and these (in some cases procured) panegyrics that party took pride in parading forth with exultation, and it is but advisable that opinions contrary to their views, coming from the other section of the same engine—

* This forms a separate Pamphlet.

the Press—should be as well made known to those who take interest in the welfare of this vast empire, and who have it in their power to further that interest.

16. In order, however, to do away with any misconception, and to avert misinterpretation of my feelings on the subject, I beg distinctly to be understood that it is not so much for the sake of the value of the opinions of the Press that I think it worth requesting your attention to these newspaper articles,—"opinions are capricious notions of differing mortals,"—but because they proclaim a number of data, which their writers have laid down as basis to rest their opinions, or ground their views on,—data not contradicted, because incontrovertible,—data that speak volumes.

17. The limit I propose assigning to each of these letters, coupled with the want of leisure from my public and private avocations, will not permit of my enlarging on the subject of such artificial demonstrations and address-making in this country. To render manifest, however, that I have not been speaking to-day, or lately, with such warmth against the mode resorted to by this young party in getting up their Petition to Parliament, I would add, that on many such occasions before, and for a series of years, I have been earnest, it is well known here, in my efforts (though feeble) to dissuade from such objectionable modes of procedure, those friends of mine who possessed a higher degree of influence over others when they appeared to me to have been improperly exercising that influence.

18. This I have done both by words and in writing. A mere selection of my correspondence on the subject I have ventured to subjoin,* in proof of what I have advanced. I have a larger collection by me of instances of which I have taken notes, as they came under my personal observation, or by correspondence and conversation with individuals distinguished for their vast experience, and whose opinions are worth possessing, on subjects such as I have just discussed, and others I may hereafter have to discuss. But I trust what I have offered to-day will be considered enough for the object.

* Vide Appendix A.

19. The accompaniment will, besides, display matters and traits of the character of my countrymen in other respects, not undeserving of notice; and it is a remarkable coincidence, as will be seen, that one of the influential Native gentlemen with whom I have corresponded on the subject of the objectionable practice in vogue under notice, has taken a conspicuous part in the erection of this Bombay Association, in conjunction with the Young Bombay, and is now its Chairman, though, they say, in name only.

With sincere respect, &c.,

(Signed) MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE.

Villa, Byculla, Bombay, 7th May 1853.

No. 3.

The Chairman of the Select Committee of Parliament to inquire into the operation of Act 3 and 4 William IV. Cap. 85, "For the better Government of Her Majesty's Indian Territories,"

Westminster Hall,

London.

SIR,

To treat with effect the next question in order—"Whether the petitioners from India have been correct or incorrect in respect to the several charges preferred against the existing rule of the East India Company?"—would require, I confess at the outset, a much greater degree of personal knowledge and experience than I happen to possess, especially in relation to the several matters embodied in the Petitions presented to Parliament from the natives of Calcutta and Madras.

2. There is one circumstance, I believe, in favour of the Natives of both those Presidencies, which places them in one respect on vantage ground over the Natives of Bombay, namely, the former have for some years formed themselves into bodies, to inquire, learn, and study the several local laws and regulations to which they are subjected, and the effect of the said laws and regulations on the people and their country.

3. The formation of the land-owners' society, debating clubs, and other institutions for the objects aforesaid have been of some years' standing in Calcutta. In Madras its Advocate General, Mr. G. Norton, some years ago, drew the Natives to inquire into and study the constitutions and laws affecting the land they lived in, by his valuable lectures, familiarly delivered to them, and by his other publications; and the like efforts on the part of other European gentlemen there might, it would seem, have rendered the natives of Madras not altogether unfit for the task they have undertaken.

Taking all in all, their petitions to Parliament appear to have been much more circumstantial in matter of fact, on the correctness of which greatly depend the success of their efforts.

4. The case is absolutely opposed in respect to the Natives of Bombay; their ignorance of the very constitution of the Government and of the local laws and regulations under which they live, and of the resources and wants of their country, being proverbial. There are not twenty individuals, I believe, among the whole mass, who could be found able to stand up to be catechised on these important subjects, however absolutely necessary for them generally to be acquainted with them.

5. Up to the day of the formation of this Association in Bombay, no one appeared to show himself in a position to discuss these subjects. On the very day of the inauguration of the Association, its leading members publicly declared their benightedness; and the precise object of the body in question, which they that day erected, was declared to be *to seek information, get enlightened, and not to copy the example of their Calcutta brethren in raising an outcry* against Government by means of the Press and parties in and out of India.

6. And did they do what they professed and proclaimed? Did they collect any, and what information? and where is the result of their proposed inquiry? Plain answers to these simple queries would, I believe, effectually expose their secret machinations, or the machinations of those few forward young men set up by the agitators from your country to blow up the *dust storm*, as if it were to *mistify* Parliament and the public in England in respect to the feelings and sentiments of the people of this country.

7. Scarcely a week had elapsed since the date of the aforesaid declaration of the Bombay Association, when its forward young men were seen to have discarded its legitimate objects, and commenced (what they appa rently were put up to) a course of procedure diametrically opposed to what they at first publicly pledged themselves to undertake.

8. Their first draft Petition (or rather a Petition prepared for them by others) to the Parliament went begging from house to house for revision and alteration: and when the mode and manner of getting up that Petition, and the supreme absurdity of some of its

prayers, became known to me, I commented upon the same in a minute, which I read at their meeting, in words plain enough not to be misconstrued.* On this the Petition underwent further revision by several European gentlemen—who had hands in getting it up. Every secresy was preserved with respect to this document; and without its being even circulated for approval or otherwise, and without any of the propositions it embraced being formally discussed at any of the meetings of the Committee, or of the body of the Association, as such documents ought to have been, it was at once adopted and transmitted to England.

9. On the practicability or impracticability of some of the proposals stated in the Petition in question, I have, to the extent of my knowledge and information, though humble, offered a few passing remarks, as occurred to me on their perusal, in juxtaposition to its several paragraphs. These I respectfully beg to transmit.† The general character and effect of this Petition have been so very accurately pourtrayed by the late Editor of the *Friend of India*,—an impartial critic, and one of the most powerful writers on Indian affairs, and advocate of the just cause of the Natives,—that I will for the present conclude this by requoting the following extracts from the *Friend of India* of the 18th November 1852:—

"We confess we do not thoroughly understand the phrase 'not placed under a Minister.' The parties who drew up the petition probably meant that the President should be a kind of Chairman, having only a deliberative voice in the Assembly, and that the Home Government should consequently be entirely independent of the Ministry of the day, who are to have, as it were, only a representative at the Board. Such a proposition merely displays that ignorance of British ideas and policy, which so frequently nullifies the most carefully matured propositions of the native community. India is a dependency of England, and to suppose that any Ministry would relinquish the right of directing its policy in the last resort, is to suppose that it will surrender India for twenty years to a body utterly irresponsible, except to a public opinion which seldom or never makes itself heard on Indian questions."

The article ends with the following para., which, in short, conveys the pith of the Petitioners' prayers, and the sentiments held by that journalist on the doings of the Bombay Association:—

* Vide Pamphlet, First Series—"Ideas, &c." pages 43, 44.

† This forms a separate Pamphlet.

"This is the entire sum and substance of the Petition, and we need scarcely remark that it is evidently of English origin, for with the exception of a clause condemning the Law Courts, and the request that natives should be admitted to the highest offices, there is nothing that is native about it. There is nothing about the revenue taxation, or the interests of commerce, or the police system, or the judicial institutions and their practical working. It is a mere essay on certain portions of the present system of Government, particularly dry, and in some parts a little extravagant. In short, it creates the impression, either that the petitioners are not aware of what their countrymen really require, or that they do not care whether grievances are removed or not, or that there are no grievances at all in the Bombay Presidency. In either case, the petition is not likely to have any extraordinary weight. Its value, we imagine, will be found to consist chiefly in the fact that a great Association at Bombay, after three months' discussion, could find no more practical grievance to complain of than the exclusion of natives from a seat in Council, the high salaries paid to certain officers, the want of means of communication, and the necessity of vernacular education. We do not mean to affirm that the two latter blessings are undeserving of the efforts of the Association, but the want of them was felt before, and the native view of the question of British administration is not therefore distinguished either by originality or force of argument. We fear the members of the Association have suffered themselves to be too much Anglicised, and have thereby forfeited the advantages which their thorough local knowledge would have afforded them upon other topics. It is scarcely probable that thirty-one paragraphs like these, containing scarcely a single definite proposition, or a full explanation of a single grievance, will receive much attention from the British Legislature."

I remain, &c.,

(Signed) MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE.

No. 4.

The Chairman of the Select Committee of Parliament to inquire into the operation of Act 3 and 4 William IV. Cap. 85, "For the better Government of Her Majesty's Indian Territories,"

Westminster Hall,
London.

SIR,

The immediate questions before Parliament, relative to India, when the last Mail left, appeared to be, whether or not it would be advisable to postpone the renewal of the Charter, until the result of a full and complete inquiry about to be instituted, in respect to several extensive modifications in the existing constitution of the East India Company's Government (as suggested by my Lord Ellenborough and others) be known? and whether such inquiry ought or ought not to be instituted by a Commission from your Hon'ble Committee or otherwise?

2. In respect to the first it would be the height of presumption in me even to venture to submit, by way of suggestion, the course your Honorable Committee should recommend, or the Parliament adopt, believing as I do that the stability of the British Empire greatly depends on the stability of its branch Government in India, —yea, that of the several kingdoms in Europe also,—since the relationship between the several kingdoms in Europe might, in a measure, be endangered, (it was very nearly being endangered with Russia, on the eve of, and after, the first Affghan war,) if the utmost caution and secresy be not observed in respect to the political movements in India, or if the Cabinet of England failed to watch, interfere, and direct that movement, or the political administration of India, through its organ, the President of the India Board; who, it could hardly be supposed, would direct any such movements without the consent or knowledge of the British Cabinet.

3. Therefore the fundamental principles on which the Indian Government is to be maintained or carried on, must necessarily be left to the wisdom of the Cabinet and the Senate of England ; and it would be an act of sheer insanity on the part of a handful of young men in India, in comparison to the extent of its population, to arrogate to themselves the right of petitioning for a radical change in the very fundamental principles on which India should be governed, and of *aspiring* (!) to obtain a privilege of voting in and for such a Government.*

4. If the President of the Board of Control appear absolute in power, (as some would consider him, but which in fact he is not,) it was the British Parliament who made him so appear ; for by 33 Geo. III. Cap. 52, Sec. 3, out of a number of Commissioners appointed to control the Government of India, it was enacted that three of them be sufficient to form a Board, or quorum ; and by Sec. 4, or the succeeding one, of the said enactment, the President of that Board was privileged to "have two voices, or the casting vote" ; and by 3 and 4 William III. Cap. 85, Sec. 21 and 22, it was declared that two Commissioners were to form such Board, and of these two, the President, or, in his absence, the Senior Member present, to have the casting vote.

5. The Parliament and people of England in 1834 objected not,

* It is a fact, which is published in the Bombay *Telegraph and Courier* of the 30th October 1852, that one of the draft Petitions to Parliament of (and which but for the observations in my Pamphlet, "Ideas," &c., First Series, pages 43 and 44, would have been adopted by) the Bombay Association contained among other the following prayers :—

"That instead of the Court of Directors and the Board of Control, as at present constituted, a Council for India of twelve or any other number your Hon'ble House may in your wisdom deem expedient, be brought into existence for the administration of Indian affairs, with such ample remuneration as may secure the services of the first men of the country.

"That the President be appointed by the Crown, and the Members be elected for five years, and be re-eligible, and that the majority consist of such persons as shall have actually served at least ten years in India, whether in or out of the service of the East India Company. Your Petitioners also submit that European and British subjects resident in India or in England who are holders of the East India Company's Promissory Notes of 4 and 5 per cent. to the value of Rs. 25,000, or PROPRIETORS OF RAILWAY STOCK UPON WHICH THAT AMOUNT HAS BEEN BONA FIDE PAID UP, and held at least one year at the time of registry, OR PERSONS QUALIFIED BY EDUCATION AS GRADUATES OF THE COLLEGES, be permitted to vote in the election of the Members for the Council of India in person, or by proxy, under carefully prepared Rules."

as it would seem, to the President of the India Board being vested with such a privilege; but the subject appears not to have escaped the serious consideration of the parties interested in guarding against such privilege being abused, as can be seen by the correspondence* which passed on the subject, and which resulted in the introduction of Sec. 32 and 33 in the existing Charter Act, by which any orders, instructions, despatches, official letters, or communications, except such as shall pass through the Secret Committee (affecting as a matter of course, political questions of the highest movement to India and Europe), against which the Directors of the East India Company can show cause, are appealable to the highest judicial tribunal, the Queen's Bench in England.

6. It does not, however, appear that the President of the India Board is free from all restraint in his acts, or can act without control, on *sic volo sic jubeo* principles. His acts, like that of any other Minister of the Crown, are cognizable by Parliament. In fact, the very acts of the late President of the Board of Control, in relation to the several wars in India, were not exempt from being brought before Parliament and the people of England; and when they were so fiercely attacked and made subject matters of grave accusation against him, within the last few years, such debates in Parliament did not in the least go to shake his position, or question the propriety of his several measures, with which the legislature appeared to have been satisfied.

7. If making a radical change in the working of the India Government in England, as it has been proposed by Lord Ellenborough and other senators, would, in the wisdom of your Hon'ble Committee, be considered advisable for the good of this country and its people, it is, I humbly submit, the sacred duty of your Committee to adopt the same in its report. The propositions of my Lord Ellenborough and others, and which young India imbibed and re-echoed, but without knowing "which is which," appear to me to be in a measure akin to the constitution which it was the aim and object of the late Mr. Fox to obtain for India—in contradistinction to that which the late Mr. Pitt subsequently succeeded

* Vide volume of Correspondence and Papers respecting the East India Company's Charter in 1833, pages 84, 85, 96, 97, and 197.

(not without considerable opposition) in effectually obtaining for India. The fierce political and party struggle that measure gave rise to, the arguments for and against the several propositions of the respective Ministers—two of the most remarkably gifted men of the day—require deeply to be studied by all who feel interest in the welfare of this country. The political history of England, in short, of that period, is fraught with the deepest interest to India.

8. Mr. Pitt's India Bill may be said to be the basis of the present Government of India, in which the only great changes effected by Act 3 and 4 William IV. Cap. 85, are the doing away with the Company's commercial monopoly; doing away with the restriction previously imposed on Europeans not to reside in India without a licence; doing away with the distinction of colour and creed, which till then prevailed in the disposal of public employment; and the creation of the Supreme Legislative Council for India, in India.

9. As at present there are several checks and counter-checks, if I may so speak, one over the other, in administering the affairs of India, both here and in England, and in the existing state of the Native mind, Native ideas, and Native prejudices, in relation to the governed and Government, these checks and counter-checks, to all intents and purposes, *so far as India and its people are concerned*, appear sufficient enough. Whilst for any amendment, to better the internal management of this country, or in relation to a number of grievances catalogued in the several Petitions to Parliament, professed to be from the Natives of India, the legislative body in India is vested with ample power to grant, and to remedy the defects on the same being clearly defined, and otherwise legislate for them in respect to all their absolute and practicable requirements.

10. Whilst, on the other hand, just as the acts of the local Governments are appealable to the Supreme Government of India, so appeals can be lodged against acts of the latter to the Court of Directors; and the acts of the Directors' Court are controlled by and appealed against to the Board of Control, to which the doors of appeal are never closed; and, finally, every act, whether of the Government in India, of the Court of Directors, or of the Board of Control, or its President in England, can be brought before Parliament at any time, and under any circumstances.

11. Whether the fundamental principles on which India is governed might remain as it is, or not; the Company's Charter might be renewed for a long, short, or indefinite period? are matters of which the natives of India are perfectly indifferent. They, as a body, are not thinking people. Two in a thousand hardly comprehend the machinery that sets the working of their Government into motion, or care what effect any change in its construction would have for their country or their fellow-subjects. All that the mass look to, is how or by what to improve their individual resources; and were it possible and practicable to help them in that, it is, I respectfully venture to submit, the sacred duty of their rulers to do so.

12. There are very many ways of improving the resources of this vast empire, and ameliorating the condition—moral, mental, and political—of the people under the sway of that empire, some of which I have sketched out (vide correspondence at pages 30 to 39 of my former pamphlet), and others I hope to be able soon to revert to in the course of the continuation of this series.

13. In the mean time the preliminary course to effect the most desirable ends aforesaid, would, I humbly conceive, be by a full and searching inquiry as to the condition and requirements—past and present—of this country, and its ryots and subjects.

14. To the second point, then, of the great question at present appearing to engross the attention of Parliament and the public of England,—Whether such inquiry ought or ought not to be instituted in India by a Commission from your Hon'ble Committee, or otherwise? I have scarcely time, ere the mail closes to-day, to go into detail, but as I have in substance expressed my humble ideas on the subject, in a letter embodied in my former pamphlet, (page 9,) I would respectfully beg to refer you to the same, and to the following extract of another letter I had addressed to a gentleman who is distinguished alike for his ability, position, and affection for the people of India, and who has, I am rejoiced to add, a voice in the administration of India, in England. It is dated 24th July 1852:—

"I find by the last account, that the Committees both of the Lords and Commons are composed of several very able men, who cannot be said to be ignorant of the wants of this country: and for

this, as well as for other reasons, I do not sympathise with the movers of the nation to send a flying commission of inquiry out here on their want of success,—such flying and hasty commission, composed probably of strangers, could never answer the great object of the inquiry, but might the party purposes of this or that clique in Parliament,—for what is the use of sending out Commissioners for the mere purpose of taking peoples' depositions, and not to study the subject matters of the inquiry, or judge for themselves, and report from their personal experience? Now to do the latter, would require the Commissioners to live long in India, not merely at the Presidency, nor at the fashionable Sudder stations, in the midst of European society, where Natives are better clad, and better fed, and where the signs of riches and luxury are apparent; but they, the Commissioners, should go into the very heart of the country, into nooks and corners of the different Zillas, and then, and *not till then*, they can correctly report on the actual state of the place, condition, and character of the people, and their real, and not superficial wants. There can be no doubt that the people *en masse* have been better off in many respects than they were under their late rulers: still, there is much left to be improved upon the condition and prospects of their country. Again, the mode of inquiry should not be by putting formal questions to people indiscriminately, or to a marked section from among them, but by leading them into conversation on the *ordinary home topics*,—their common wants, the state of their country,—"Was it more prosperous before than it is now? and if not prosperous, how, and to what would they attribute the want of prosperity?" Let answers to these be gathered from the Zilla Natives in the course of ordinary conversation, and not with the formality of an official investigation in an open Court by an official authority; for in the latter case the poor Native, timid as they proverbially are, perturbed by standing before the *Saheb* in Court on the one hand, and the dread on the other of saying aught displeasing to the *Sirkar*, would find his position so awkward, that he would not say what he ought, but would what he ought not.

"To you, who have been in India, I would not describe the picture of a Native in a witness-box, at times pale and shaking, nor would tell you with what characteristic simplicity he would recite his own story, if drawn into *bat chit* (ordinary conversation)

in relation to Government measures, or town and village politics unconnected with Government. On these data, I think the refusal by the Legislature to send out such a "flying commission" to India was not an unwise measure, for had it been sent out, the Legislature could not have not been the wiser by the result. There are, I believe, many men like you, who, while long residing in India, and since their return to England, have devoted the best portion of their lives to the study of Indian subjects, and who would throw much more light on many matters which require elucidation than any such Commissioners from their hasty observations.

"Taking another, and an enlarged view of the case, I think it would not be amiss to have the people of India interrogated for twofold objects, namely, first, to satisfy the cravings of some of the parties in England who would have "mountains raised out of mole-hills," in raising a general yell against the existing administration of this country; and, secondly, to ascertain to what extent, in reality, the Company's Government deserve the blame cast on the management of this vast empire.

"This object can be gained as well without the expense and inconvenience of sending out English Commissioners from England, —by transmitting to the local Governments of India properly prepared queries on all and every desirable subject, ramified under several headings, with instructions to appoint local Committees, composed of Europeans and Natives, and cause *vivâ voce* examinations, not written, of such as are capable, or supposed to be capable, of furthering the objects of the inquiry. Few, very few indeed, would be found capable or willing to undergo the test of such interrogation.

"Be assured of this fact, however deplorable, that even from among the most intelligent portion of our Native community, there are not a dozen individuals who accurately comprehend the vast and intricate machinery which sets the working of the Government in motion, the constitution of the East India Company, or of the subjects they desire to treat as grievances. Had they any accurate knowledge of the rise and progress of the several institutions and services they want to demolish, they could not have been so inconsistent and exorbitant in their demands. * * * * * *

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

I would they should leave the matter entirely in the hands of the Parliament and people of England, where the Natives of India have, though few, some very able advocates of their rights: and who, whilst wishing to do justice to the Natives of India, would not raise false hopes in them as to what they seek, and which they are not in a position yet to obtain, or maintain, if obtained.

"I think such local Commission as I have suggested, to inquire into the actual condition of the place, and of the capabilities of the Natives to exert for their country's advantage, &c. would be productive of some good, and no evil, provided the examination should not be a written one, but oral, which would be a surer test of the competency of the Natives of the upper and lower walks of life, to throw light on various subjects, and of the weight, accuracy, and value of their opinions.

"I have an additional reason for this suggestion. It would put an end to a deal of *humbug* which is at full play among the ignorant herd at the instance of some of the *rupee-seekers*, who mislead this *Young Bombay* into a belief that forming associations (as if people in India are up to the standard of the people in England), deputing persons to England, raising grievances and complaints, and last, though not least, raising subscriptions to bear the expenses of such Commissions (the rapacious money-seekers themselves, forming the Commission), would achieve wonders; and the Young India on this and the other side of it, influenced by such suggestions (which are loudly thrown out in the newspapers), run wild in their ideas of getting up high in the ladder of station, without the requisite stability to maintain their position. Now-a-days subscription seems to be the touchword for everything, and every undertaking, as if nothing whatever can be done without raising money; and I half suspect many such starts, ostensibly *pro bono publico*, are in reality for their individual gain, or in other words, a refined species of picking pockets."

I remain, &c.,

(Signed) MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE.

Villa, Byculla, Bombay, 10th May 1853.

No. 5.

The Chairman of the Select Committee of Parliament to inquire into the operation of Act 3 and 4 William IV. Cap. 85, "For the better Government of Her Majesty's Indian Territories,"

Westminster Hall,
London.

SIR,

I have premised in my last letter that the existing Government of India is not altogether so irresponsible a one as its opponents would have it supposed; that India, forming an integral part of the British Empire, the Cabinet of England *must* necessarily watch, interfere, and direct the political administration of Hindustan, as it *must* watch, interfere, and direct the administration of the West Indies, and other Colonial Governments.

2. I do not see in what respect the Natives of India will be benefited by a radical change in the existing Indian constitution. So long as Sects. 43 and 51 of 3 and 4 William IV. Cap. 85 remain unrepealed, or are re-introduced without alteration, in the New India Bill, the Natives of India have little or nothing to dread in respect to any rapacious or questionable act on the part of their administrative rulers, if they but know the manly dependance with which to seek redress, without either resorting to false demonstrations, got-up agitations, and exaggerations in their representations to the competent tribunals, but by simply narrating facts in relation to any defect in the local laws or institutions, or any part or portion thereof which they have to find fault with, and by suggesting remedies, and showing the practicability of their adoption.

3. Defects there are in the judicial and revenue administrations of this land; but then what country is there, however well governed, in which such defects are not perceptible?

4. These defects, however, form the legitimate subjects of repre-

sentations ; but such representations, on the other hand, should have been made to the constituted power in India, in the first instance, and not to Parliament, unless they are shown to have been disregarded by the authorities competent to decide thereon in India. This the Petitioners from India have not done.

5. As they are now up, or made to appear, before Parliament, it is to be hoped that the want of formality on their part, in not before applying to the local power, will be overlooked in this instance, and that there will be a full, fair, and impartial inquiry, if practicable, in India, and in the least expensive and least formal mode possible, as I have suggested in the concluding part of my last letter, No. 4.

6. Should your Honorable Committee consider it unobjectionable, there is another course applicable to the present exigencies. Committees on the judicial and financial management of Indian administration were appointed, under instructions from the authorities in England, in 1830, during the government of Lord William Bentinck, to ascertain the practicability of reducing the expense of, and improving upon, the revenue and judicial administration of this country. This inquiry was instituted in 1830, just previous to the renewal of the Company's last Charter Act, and its result, as shown in their respective minutes by some of the ablest Indian statesmen of the day (particularly Sir Charles—afterwards Lord—Metcalfe) who composed that Committee, went to answer completely some of the objections of the kind now reiterated by the opposers of the present system of administering India. Might not, may I venture to add, a similar Commission or Committee be now formed, either at Calcutta, or at the several Presidencies, composed as your Honorable Committee in its wisdom would direct, to inquire into the existing financial, territorial, and judicial management of this country—referring the Petitioners to Parliament from India, and those persons who are interested in the welfare of this country and its people, to appear before such Commission or Committee, with their respective representations, defining the actual requirements of India and its people, and the causes of such requirements ; their effectual remedies ; with their advisability and their practicability.

7. This would save your Honorable Committee a deal of labour ; effectually satiate the cravings of the political party and agitators in England, whose views the people here have re-echoed, and would at the same time answer the desirable end of ascertaining the real facts in respect to India and Indians. This would not impede the passing of the New India Bill, in the mean time, for a short, long, or indefinite period.

I remain, &c.

(Signed) MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE.

Villa, Byculla, 23rd May 1853.

No. 6.

The Chairman of the Select Committee of Parliament to inquire into the operation of Act 3 and 4 William IV. Cap. 85, "For the better Government of Her Majesty's Indian Territories,"

Westminster Hall,

London.

SIR,

I have been obliged to digress from the order in which I proposed to treat the several points involving the momentous question, affecting the welfare of India and Indians, which at present engross the attention of your Honorable Committee. But the recent advices from England, and the consequent reaction among a certain clique here who supply fuel to the agitators in England, to keep up their agitation, &c. render it necessary for me to devote an additional letter or two in continuation of the subject of my last.

2. I have, and I trust effectually, endeavoured to unmask the hidden designs of those who, under the cloak of patriotic zeal, aim at furthering some political, personal, or pecuniary object of their own, rather than the welfare of the people whose cause they profess to advocate. I have, I trust conclusively, shown that the Natives of Bombay at least, if not of the other Presidencies, "*are not yet in a position to think for themselves, and act on their own judgment, in matters of such public importance*"; and this from the circumstance of their not having hitherto been able to bestow sufficient time on the study of the laws and constitutions of the respective Governments of England and India, and of the character, condition, and position of the inhabitants of the respective quarters of the globe.

3. These defects,—though in themselves not trivial,—when combined with their want of independence, want of firmness and

consistency, and their habit of exaggeration, &c. render them fitting tools, in the hands of those of your countrymen and others who know their natural and national defects in the above respects, to carve out their (prompters') individual designs, without calculating on the benefit or injury to the cause of Indian reform in the right direction.

4. Nothing could have better illustrated or more effectually supported the view I have taken of the aim, strength, and capability of our local agitators, in respect to their false move in the great cause they profess to advocate, than by adducing a few additional facts, proclaimed within the last month in the columns of our local newspapers,* among which is a letter from some of the members of

* For our part, we incline to the opinion that, whatever may be the merits and virtues of nations, as of individuals, whenever they cannot make their way in the world there must also be very grave defects of character. And as to India in particular, if it is so badly governed as we all say it is, why it is the fault of the people themselves that they are no better. The best security which the ingenuity of men has devised for obtaining good government is the public opinion of the governed. There is little of that operative in India.—*Bombay Gazette*, March 30th 1853.

Were we right or were we wrong in our constant advocacy of a petition to defer the passing of the Charter Act for another year? And if our Bombay Native community had come forward at the right time, and petitioned that a local commission might be granted to inquire into the grievances of the Indian administration, would the battle have been now almost gained? But we fear that apathy and sloth are the prevailing sins of our native friends, and where matters were six months ago, they are likely to be six months hence. It is to be feared that the Natives don't care about getting India for themselves, and therefore perhaps prefer looking on whilst the battle is fought between the East India Company and the Anglo Saxon adventurer. If *these* are the parties fighting for the oyster, let the former have it by all means say we. Our friend the adventurer is often a good deal blacker than he is painted, and—like the Bengal Ryot—gets a good deal more sympathy than what is his fair share. We'll fight the battle for the Natives, if they will only fight for themselves—if not, they deserve to be dosed with "Imperial Interest" articles all the rest of their days.—*Telegraph and Courier*, May 18th 1853.

Extract from a Letter to the Editor of the Telegraph and Courier.

The members are as much disgusted as you are with the delays that have occurred in the preparation of the petition published in January, and not yet sent home. The absolute childishness of the conduct of some of the richest of

the London East India Reform (query agitation ?) Society to their young compatriots in this country, to which I would request your Honorable Committee's attention. It is to the effect of inciting them (the young India party) to agitate ; recommending them to

our Setts is laughable. The petition in its original form was highly praised by almost every newspaper in India, by the *Telegraph and Courier* and *Bombay Times* amongst the rest. After it was revised and re-revised by one of the most accomplished scholars and ablest men in Bombay, it was taken to an Anglo-Indian, who never was out of India, except on a visit, for further revision. Then, about this time, a lawyer arrived fresh from home, and *it was taken for granted that he must bring the whole political intelligence from England out with him*, and of course be perfectly familiar with the intentions of the Ministry, and the secrets of the Reform Association. Of the Association the worthy gentleman confessed he had never heard. He had obviously never read a line of the debate in Parliament on Indian affairs, and was under the impression that the committees were open bodies, whose proceedings were reported in the newspapers, while it was by no means clear that he had any tolerable notion of the mechanism of the Government of India, or the changes upon it that were desired. This gentleman is for the present the oracle of the office-bearers of the Bombay Association. A body of which you are aware was brought into existence to prevent "YOUNG BOMBAY" from taking the bit in its teeth, and running wild.

Editor's Remarks on the above.

It is quite clear, as we said before, that the office-bearers are far behind the spirit of Indian Reform now making such a stir in England, and that so long as these office-bearers are allowed to retard the work of reform, the English members of Parliament and others will class the whole body of the Association as a mere stumbling-block to anything like improvement in the administration of India.

Surely here is material enough to build up a REFORMED Association—one that will be led by men *who judge for themselves*, and who don't admire having a ring put into their noses, and being led along by one man—even if that man be a very worthy servant of Government. The Bombay Association has in its hands the powers of either greatly advancing, or greatly hindering the cause of Reform, and of proper inquiry into the grievances of our Indian administration. But, at present, they certainly seem to be trying how much they can furnish the enemies of reform with arguments against advancing the position of their countrymen *one inch*. What must the English members of Parliament, who have taken up the cause with such earnestness, think of men who, still looking in the right direction, are afraid of putting one foot before the other, and therefore stand still ? How can any man in his senses think the natives fit for any responsible situation whatever, when he beholds them afraid of their own

raise more money, and send more money to the London East India Reform Society. Without money this great Reform Society would be at a stand—with money it can effect wonders. Mr. Bright, all-powerful, &c. &c. &c.

5. But let this remarkable letter, and the leading article in the *Bombay Times* of the 24th instant, in which it is published, which I quote below, speak for themselves :—

"We take the following extract from a letter of an active member of the London East India Reform Society—it was in part replied to last night by a remittance of four thousand rupees. We trust that a similar sum may be in readiness for despatch by next mail, and that the sister Presidencies will not suffer themselves to be outdone by Bombay. The Calcutta petition was three times as long as ours, and that of Madras double the length of ours at least; and the petitioners ought most unquestionably to pay as they have prayed. We once more repeat our offer to take charge of any remittances by parties who may entrust us with contributions: we shall duly acknowledge them in the *Bombay Times*, and forward them to their destination, when they will be a second time acknowledged by the London Association.

" 'I must tell you frankly that the Society has been betwixt death and life, and that it has been unable to act freely in any direction for want of a few thousands of rupees; yet, if our Society had gone to pieces, the question would have been settled, and the fate of India sealed, before it was possible to start another agitation; and had this calamity once occurred, no amount of zeal, money, or evidence would have induced public men to re-open it, for both Whig and Tory leaders would much rather burke the subject, and keep up a system so convenient for themselves as the present one. Thank God, I believe this is no longer possible, and we are largely indebted to the contributions, both literary and pecuniary, and to the energetic patriotism of Bombay, for preventing the iniquity of stifling and suppressing the evidence of this great case, and maintaining the sham

shadows, and calmly resigning their noses, to have the ring put into those organs.—*Telegraph and Courier*, May 19th 1853.

Till of late, we confess our views of them have been more favorable, and we have been constrained to abandon these by the conduct of the leaders of the Bombay Association, a set of as enlightened, well-intentioned, and worthy gentlemen as any in the land, but so utterly devoid of self-reliance or of moral courage, as to be incapable of making up their minds on any point, without some scores of references to men in all respects save these their inferiors. —*Bombay Times*, May 19th 1853.

of a double government at home and a ruinous mal-administration abroad. The aspect of affairs is now completely changed: we are now sure of a fair hearing at all events, and I think I may say of substantial justice. You will have received the first two of our publications: the commencement of these is a most important matter, but we must have still two other levers to advance our cause—provincial public meetings and a journal. Great are the difficulties to be overcome before we can get them, at a time when we are always struggling against pecuniary embarrassments. The provincials are so apathetic and in want of information that we require Parliamentary deputations to visit all the great towns in the country, and it is scarcely possible for members to quit town during the business part of the session. To-day Mr. Bright promised that if we got delay, he would visit the principal places in England and Scotland during the autumn, see the leading people everywhere, and endeavour to convince them of the importance of the subject. So that you may look forward to this step being taken in sufficient time to influence the Legislature. If India receives anything like justice eventually from the Parliament and people of England, it will be to Mr. Bright that they mainly owe the boon: nothing but his indefatigable exertions, commanding intellect, and dauntless intrepidity of character, could have prevented official men from suppressing the whole inquiry, and renewing the Charter after the merest farce of an investigation. Never was a Committee more thoroughly packed; and Mr. Bright's exclusion from it under two successive administrations, in two different Parliaments, was one of the most impudent things ever attempted; and never was an examination more grossly unfair than that before the Commons' Committee, where the only two reform members present maintain that it is impossible to do anything, Sir James Weir Hogg having it all in his own way, in doing just as he likes. I believe that a bi-monthly journal, on the plan of the *Home News*, would, if tolerably managed, speedily become self-supporting; unfortunately, for a commencement we should require betwixt one and two thousand pounds of capital, and this we at present cannot command: we could raise it ten times over in a forenoon were the question once understood; but it is this very understanding of the question we are endeavouring to bring about. We must, therefore, for the present, mainly depend on supplies sent from India, which will not only furnish the sinews of war, but show the price at which the value of our services is set. The support we are receiving from the leading newspapers surpasses our expectations, and I believe we have already rendered it impossible for any Ministry to renew the old Charter Act or anything like it this session, and believe they must resort to a Continuance Bill for one year at least, if not more. The change effected since February last in public opinion

is wonderful. At that time no human being seemed to recollect that there was such a place as India, nor to care one pin what came of it. Now you never go into society without hearing a discussion on the subject—a subject on which a man could not speak six sentences before without being voted a bore.'

"The writer goes on to mention or to allude to other circumstances, which cannot be explained fully at present, but seem in the last degree encouraging. Another writer says, in reference to the late Sudder question, that twenty-two out of the twenty-four Directors are opposed to the Bombay Government measure, and that the Board of Control is tired of supporting our administration, and is willing to let Leadenhall Street have its way. The Natives must now see that the whole of these matters are very much in their hands, but that liberality, promptitude, and decision are perfectly indispensable: of the latter two we have seen no want anywhere but at Bombay; and really, if the exhibition of them that has been here so conspicuous for the past six months continues, the Natives of the rest of India may look upon the office-bearers of our Association as the worst enemies of their rights, inasmuch as their conduct has furnished the opponents of reform with the most powerful argument that could be supplied against the concession of power, which certainly our SETTS in Bombay are incapable of using."

6. Really, if the Parliament and people of England are to be thus roused up from their lethargy, and not roused, except by means of such hired agency in and out of England, to take a part in discussing the affairs of India, or that the Parliament and people of England can be influenced to shape their acts in reference to India simply on the strength of noise made by such got-up agitation, then I would exclaim—and exclaim with grief—Woe for India!

7. Hitherto it has been refreshing to observe all the party spirit and party feeling of the ministerial or its opposite side in both Houses of Parliament eschewed in discussing and deciding on Indian matters—the Whigs as well as Tories, Reformers, Radicals, Conservatives, Liberals, and Peelites, all united in one grand desire to do India justice. But since the recent springing up of the existing order of events, it is of vital importance to the very existence of the British constitution, for the Cabinet of England to act with more than ordinary amount of firmness, and for the Parliament and people to support the Cabinet in its efforts to check a sort of popular outbreak for party or political ends, such as the one now in course of being brewed, or for which these agitators—misnamed

reformers—have commenced preparing ground to sow their seeds in.

8. For these reasons alone, if not for any other, and to prevent the welfare of this vast empire and its 150 millions of subjects from being given up to the political parties in power, in and out of Parliament, (a body responsible only to the public opinion, *alias* popular clamour,) the retention, in some shape or other, of the present India constitution—the checks and counter-checks—the Directors' Court and India Board—appears to me, I humbly conceive, to be indispensable. But the retention of the existing form of Home Government of India—with perhaps this small amendment, viz. that one or both of the Under Secretaries of the India Board should always be an individual or individuals who have been a long time resident in India, or otherwise thoroughly conversant with the character and peculiarities of the people of India—would answer all the ordinary or absolute purposes of governing this empire, as far as the inhabitants thereof are concerned.

9. The springing up of the several political parties, ostensibly to reform the executive administration of India, but in reality to further personal or political objects—to check-mate the ministers, as if it were a mere game, portends no good, but much evil, and is deeply to be deplored.

10. It would tend to disturb the harmony which has but just begun to subsist between the Government and the governed—by weakening the authority of the former, by instilling false notions, and raising extravagant expectations in the latter, to achieve all they want, for which they require time to prepare themselves, and which they are as yet not fitted for.

11. It would, indeed, be a mournful day for India should it ever so happen, that its destiny should hinge on the ministerial change of the day—or whether "my Lord this or my Lord that," at the head of this or that political party in England, are in power. This will recall to one's mind the events that led to the brewing of the great political phenomenon which in 1782-83 convulsed the very base of the British monarchy,—which called forth from that venerable monarch, the late George III., the following memorable sentiments, with which His Majesty concluded his missive to the late Mr. Pitt,

in order to support that gifted minister in carrying out his memorable India Bill, which, in fact, is the basis of the existing India constitution. His late Majesty said:—

"I trust the House of Lords will this day feel that the hour is come for which the wisdom of our ancestors established that respectable corps in the State, to prevent either the Crown or the Commons from encroaching on each other. Indeed, should not the Lords stand boldly forth, this constitution must soon be changed; for if the only two remaining privileges of the Crown are infringed, that of negativing Bills which have passed both Houses of Parliament, and that of naming the Ministers to be employed, I cannot but feel, as far as regards my person, that I can be no longer of utility to this country, nor can with honor continue in this island."*

I remain with respect,

Sir,

Yours most obedient Servant,

MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE.

Villa, Byculla, Bombay, 29th May 1853.

* Auber's Analysis of the Constitution of the East India Company, pp. 72, 73.

No. 7.

The Chairman of the Select Committee of Parliament to inquire into the operation of Act 3 and 4 William IV. Cap. 85, "For the better Government of Her Majesty's Indian Territories,"

Westminster Hall,

London.

SIR,

Independently of what I have mentioned in my preceding letters, the following additional circumstances, which have lately been published, go so aptly to illustrate and further support my views of the aim and strength of the agitation from Bombay to produce any amount of substantial good for the people of India, that, although at the risk of being thought tedious on the same subject, I consider it requisite to invite your Honorable Committee's attention to the same. However trivial the data I am about to supply might appear at first thought, they are nevertheless of importance when taken in conjunction with what is notified in relation to the machinery which has set some of our local agitators to work out reforms, according to their notion of benefitting their country.

2. In January last a petition was prepared for this association, for the purpose of being sent to Parliament. It was then not only duly engrossed, "got signed," and its transcript in newspaper transmitted to the parties in England, but it also appeared to have been actually quoted or referred to in Parliament by one of its honorable members (Mr. Bright, I think) four months ago, in support of his object of getting a Commission sent out to India to inquire into the resources of the land, and the condition and capabilities of its inhabitants. But the petition so got up, so published, and referred to in Parliament, months ago, had, in truth, never left these shores *at all* for its destination!

3. After six months of hesitation, doubts, and indecision, our said local agitators, however, were suddenly made to rise from their lethargy. They took to changing their scheme of procedure. They forthwith resolved upon substituting another Petition, altogether different in its tone, tenor, and effect from the one they had prepared, and which was ready signed by them in January, but which was abandoned; and this amended Petition has actually, this time, been transmitted to Parliament, by the overland mail of the 23rd ultimo; but up to this day it has not been published in any of the English newspapers, the editors of which, I learn, have been enjoined not to publish it here.

4. What was before merely reported has now been confirmed,*

* *Extract from the Telegraph and Courier, 20th May* 1853.

There can be no doubt whatever, that if a journalist is determined on all occasions to tell the truth, and fearlessly to write what he considers to be for the advantage of his fellow-men, he must occasionally annoy some one. It is said that some remarks we made yesterday gave offence to one or two of the leading men in the Bombay Association. Sorry to hear it, but cannot help saying what we mean—to give needless offence is very far from our intention, but speak the truth we must, and that it is which compels us to draw attention to a body like the Association, and to the slow movements, or rather no movements, of the leaders of that body.

* * * * * *

Whilst we are writing, a private note from a Member of the Association has reached us, and in the communication—not intended for publication—the writer goes much further than ourselves in condemning the manner in which the "OLD BOMBAY" leaders of the Association have kept the "YOUNG BOMBAY" members from acting. Our friend also condemns very strongly the secresy with which the discussions and deliberations of the Association are carried on, and calls upon us to insist that the accounts of the Society—its receipts and disbursements—be fairly stated, and published to the world.

* * * * * *

The concluding part of the note before us is amusing enough: it goes on to say that "orders from a certain ex-member of Council are sent out regularly to an eminent Uncovenanted Servant of Government, to the effect that the Bombay Association, or any other body of Native agitators, must not be put down altogether, but must be amused with toys—prevented from acting—until the Charter Act is passed, and all is safe. These orders of his patron, the Uncovenanted gentleman fulfils to the letter. He is a very clever man, has, as you say, iron rings in the noses of many native gentlemen, and leads two or

that there had been a split among the remaining members of this Bombay Association; they were divided among themselves,—minority were for, *majority* against, the advisability of soliciting the

three of the great men in the Association much in the same manner that bull buffalos, may be seen led in the neighbourhood of Byculla any morning.

* * * * *

If all this is true, no wonder that the Association has hitherto been very unpopular amongst certain Native gentlemen in this island; whether the body of the Society have the moral courage to work out their own reform, remains yet to be seen, we hope so, but at the same time greatly fear that their future history will be like unto that of their late career—hesitation, doubt, undecided opinions, led about by those interested in keeping them silent, contented with *playing* at patriots, instead of seriously taking in hand the work that is before them, and meeting the English reformers more than half way. And will the "YOUNG BOMBAY" also submit to be thus led—thus treated like children crying for a toy, while the nurse is ordered to amuse them with anything that is nearest at hand? Time will show, but we have our doubts as to any change taking place in the state of affairs. One thing is certain, it would be better to dissolve the Association altogether, than for them to work as they are now doing—that is, to publish petitions in January, and not send them off until the end of May, perhaps not even then.

Extract from the Telegraph and Courier, 24th May 1853.

What are we to believe regarding the Bombay Association? On Friday we published a letter signed "A MODERATE, EARNEST, AND ZEALOUS REFORMER," in which the writer calls the office bearers to account for the manner in which they and the rest of the "OLD BOMBAY" party have retarded the petition which is *to be* sent to Parliament. In our issue of Saturday we inserted portions of a note received from another very angry Indian Reformer about the manner in which the petition has been delayed, but after our remarks were in type we received a communication from a leading man of the Association, who declared to us that the whole of the information given us by our correspondents was wrong. That the Association were not in the least divided, that their petition was never submitted to a certain Uncovenanted Servant of whom our correspondent spoke perhaps too freely, and that the petition published by one—if not both—our local cotemporaries was never intended for transmission to England—far less for publication in the local papers. So far, so good. But no sooner did we indicate, in our Saturday's paper, that we had been told our information was wrong, than out comes the following note from our first correspondent:—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TELEGRAPH AND COURIER.

SIR,—I observe in your issue of this morning's (Saturday's) date, that you say I have been misleading you altogether regarding the Bombay Association. I

Commission of Inquiry from your Honorable Committee,—and that those who were so opposed to the said inquiry, after six months of resistance, were at length obliged to give in, or rather made to move, by the high pressure from this Lancashire lever, the *bright* hopes held out by some of the leaders of the associations in England.

5. The Petition of January last, now abandoned (for the one substituted the other day), was mild in its tone; and its respectful prayer was confined to requesting a Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry as a preliminary course to adopting any measures for the Government of India. Those who opposed such a proposition grounded, they say, their opposition, and perhaps truly, on their apprehension that should they or any of them be made to appear in the witness-box before the Commissioners, they would fail to stand being questioned and cross-questioned on the several matters of which they have been made to raise such a general outcry; and that their ignorance thereof, when drawn into details, would be rendered manifest.

6. The latter would undoubtedly be the case were the members of this Association, and the other would-be patriots and what not of Bombay were ever called upon to undergo their examination,

cannot meet so general a statement in any other way than by asserting that I have not misled you at all. If you will find out any single matter in which you consider me wrong, I am prepared to prove my accuracy to demonstration, and to give you persons, places, and things, names and dates, if you will undertake to publish them.

Yours obediently,

A MODERATE, EARNEST, & ZEALOUS REFORMER.

Now what we have been told regarding the mistakes of our correspondent are these. That the petition was not shown to the Uncovenanted Servant of Government, was not corrected nor revised in any way by him. That this gentleman is greatly in favour of a local commission. That a numerical majority of the Association are opposed to the idea of a commission. That it is neither "YOUNG BOMBAY" nor "OLD BOMBAY" in particular that have these views, but that the Association *as a body* are opposed to the idea of a local commission. And lastly, that the petition has in reality never been delayed, because it has never been finally approved of by the Association.

* * * * * *

Since writing the above we have learnt from a friend that the Association ARE going to petition for a local Commission. Better late than never, say we, what says our friend the "Moderate and Zealous Reformer?"

for notwithstanding half a dozen of them have, within the last few months, been crammed up to undergo a general examination, they would come to a stop when asked to go a little further into particulars.

7. But were it otherwise, they, these half dozen of individuals (even a dozen of them at the farthest), are but as so many drops in the immense volume. The mass rest in the profoundest ignorance with regard to the several important questions affecting or otherwise their own country's welfare.

8. I shall treat of the intrinsic value of the Petition in question—this second edition of the Bombay agitation—in my next letter. In the interim, permit me to impress on your Honorable Committee's attention the following premises :—

First, That this Petition, transmitted to Parliament on the 23rd May 1853, professed to be from the Association and other inhabitants of Bombay, is not the one previously got up in January last, although it was quoted or referred to in Parliament.

Secondly, The Petition in question, like the one sent in October 1852, had not been adopted with any degree of formality or openness, nor by any man or body of men representing the voice of the community of this place, much less of the people of this side of India. And,

Thirdly, and lastly, The Petition in question has been got up with secresy. The editors of the English newspapers were requested not to publish it; and that, although it has been sent to its destination a fortnight ago, it has not up to this day appeared in any of the newspapers.

8. A magnificent mode is this, may I add, of conveying the demonstration of the people of this side of India, whilst studiously keeping them in ignorance of the very purport and object thereof! These data speak volumes: comment thereon is superfluous, and consequently, I have offered none.

I remain, &c.,

MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE.

Villa, Byculla, Bombay, 15th June 1853.

No. 8.

The Chairman of the Select Committee of Parliament to inquire into the operation of Act 3 and 4 William IV. Cap. 85, "For the better Government of Her Majesty's Indian Territories,"

Westminster Hall,
London.

SIR,

The substance of the Petition to Parliament, referred to in my last letter, can be summed up in one solitary simple phrase in *Mahrattee*, peculiarly expressive of a Brahmin's idea of his importance, perhaps sanctioned by his Shasters. It is familiar to a Hindoo mind, for when one of their sacred clans—professionally mendicants—would condescend to seek *dole*, he would exclaim—

यातिनआम्ही त्यातीतआम्ही
सर्वांतआम्ही आम्हीआम्ही
आमालाद्या आमालाद्या
दक्षणा ईश्वर बराकरेल

Or words to that effect, which, translated into English, would mean—

We are in this, we are in that;
We are all in all in everything;
Give, then, to us, to us, to us
The dole. Deity will prosper you!

2. In order to render unmistakingly ridiculous the Petitioners' position, or the position of those forward "Young Bombay" who would be satisfied with nothing short of getting the Judgeship, mounting the Sudder Bench, and being installed on the *Musnud* of the Council of India, I would first bring into the order of discussion a question of primary importance, namely :—

"Are the natives of India, by their moral and social, as well

as intellectual, advancement; by their feelings of loyalty and patriotism, as well as independence, untrammelled by caste and other prejudices, fitted for those very lofty stations of the kind they aspire to? or are they yet capable of taking part in their country's management, uncontrolled and without European supervision?

3. To answer the above in the affirmative would be to affirm what is not true, a few isolated cases—like as many drops in the ocean—will not suffice. I would here quote that part of my address or memorandum* to those forming themselves into the Association in question, to show what little effect it had on them :—

"I believe, nay, am almost certain, that the feelings of loyalty and patriotism on the part of the people of India, is a virtue so exceedingly rare among them, that, render them however prosperous, it is a matter of doubt if you will secure their affections in favour of a foreign Government, of whose motives they have most exaggerated, strange, and absurd notions.

"In the existing state of Native mind and Native feelings, it is unreasonable in the Native of India to expect to be invested, as it is highly impolitic in the Government to invest them, at once with the gross amount of patronage and privileges which exclusively appertain to Government. Every precaution seems absolutely necessary to guard against this step; and that, except by a gradation in the due course of events, and under watchful supervision, and until the people of India by their acts of loyalty and patriotism—by their fidelity and zeal—generally manifest themselves deserving of a greater degree of trust and confidence from their employers, they could not be well entrusted with everything.

"There is nothing that I see which would prevent Natives of India attaining the higher offices they aspire to, if they qualify and befit themselves for the same.

"They never, till lately, had opportunities allowed them to have their competency tested. They are now on their

* "Passing Ideas," &c., First Series, pages 27 and 28.

fair trial to distinguish themselves. They are now selected, either from their supposed intelligence or past service, to hold offices on a parity with the Junior Members of the Covenanted Civil Service. They are now accustomed to receive much higher emoluments than their ancestors or they ever before dreamt of getting from Government. Prove that they are deserving of yet further advancement, and they will have it by degrees.

"The time, perhaps, is not yet come, but coming, and may not be far hence. There is, from what I know, every desire on the part of the higher authorities in England to pave a way for the further gradual advancement of the Natives of India.

"The patronage of all appointments of trust and confidence must always remain in the hands of the Government. Government is responsible for the distribution of its patronage, and must, in the case of the Natives particularly (for the above and other reasons), distribute the same with care and caution.

"To say that the Natives (I am speaking of course of this side) of India generally have qualified themselves to the standard of the people of England, and are fitted by their education and experience, and feeling of loyalty and patriotism for all and every office of trust and emolument, however high, without discrimination, would be to affirm what is not correct—a few isolated cases will not suffice.

"Let the Natives of Bombay endeavour to maintain their position, to which a number of them have lately been raised. They are attaining steps by degrees. Let them be neither clamorous nor over avaricious, and not, by asking too much, at once destroy the current of good-will on the part of the authorities which has commenced to be created in their favour. This motto should be the motto of the Association, 'FIRST CREEP, THEN WALK, THEN RUN,' or, in other words, not to overleap their strength."

4. When the Petitioners have said or been made to say so much against Section 87 of the existing Company's Charter Act not being brought into full operation, they have either displayed, or

been made to display, gross ignorance of the existing state of matters; or else they mean that all the first grade of offices should at once be transferred from the Covenanted to the Uncovenanted Services; that there should also be a line of demarcation drawn between the Native and European members of the Uncovenanted Service, and that the former should always be preferred to the latter. To entertain either of these ideas would be to raise a superstructure of presumption upon the most airy foundation.

5. Again, the Petitioners could not have been made to manifest grosser ignorance, blunders, and stupidity, than they have by those who put them up to the same; when they speak with much warmth against one Doctor Chuckerbutty being refused admission into the Covenanted Medical Service by the Court of Directors, though recommended from India (on official grounds, of course,) by some of the high officials; and they in another place speak in such glowing terms of the fitness of the successful Native graduates of the Grant Medical College at Bombay for the Covenanted offices of Government Surgeons and Physicians, which according to the Petitioners' view, they should have been appointed to, as a matter of course; and be it borne in mind, that some of these very graduates of the Grant Medical College at Bombay, are the prime movers of the Bombay Association. One of the former, in particular, is the Secretary of the latter; and the chief labourer in getting up the Petition in question to Parliament, and in getting it signed,—sounding as it were so much of his self-praise and that of his comrades.

6. The Petitioners, or rather those who put them up, ought to have known better—that the appointments of the Assistant Surgeons, as of the Cadets and writers, form personal patronage of the Directors individually, and appertain not to the Court as a body. That patronage of this kind must necessarily be vested in the Chief Executive Authorities, as in every Department of the Queen's Government, and of the Government of every other kingdom, and that such appointments can never be demanded as a matter of right.

7. There is nothing, however, on the other hand, to bar a Native of India from attaining any of the higher offices—nay, the highest—if he would take time and work his way through the regular

gradation on the ladder, step by step, and qualify himself by his moral worth, mental acquirements, and practical experience. Here the Petitioners have again forgotten, or been made to forget, that since the passing of the existing Charter Act, Members of the Uncovenanted Service—Europeans and Natives—have alike been gradually made to advance, according to their fitness, on the ladder of promotion. A number of them not only now hold the same grade of offices to which members of the Covenanted Civil Service were before alone eligible, but even also a Native of Bombay, an East Indian gentleman—Mr. Hutchinson—is holding one of the first class Covenanted Civil Service appointments, that of the Collector of Land Revenue of Bombay ; and there are this day, and have been for some time, Natives of India holding honorable offices in the Covenanted Medical Service, I allude particularly to Assistant Surgeons Lawrence and Marcus Joseph, one in the Bombay and the other in the Madras Army. The former an East Indian and the latter an Armenian gentleman.

8. Mr. Hutchinson's proper recommendation to the high and responsible office of the Collectorate of Bombay, to which he stands appointed, was his moral worth, combined with his valuable practical experience of a quarter century in the Revenue Department, wherein he rose by a regular gradation from an ordinary clerkship. Whilst Assistant Surgeons Lawrence and Marcus Joseph obtained their honorable appointments in the Army by their being, besides proficient in their profession, recommended as gentlemen.

9. The Natives of India must first be made gentlemen of; a correct definition of the distinction very few among them know how to appreciate. This has recalled to my mind the following very appropriate remarks, which I remember reading in one of the Calcutta publications:—

> " There is no doubt of the word gentlemen not being applicable to persons whose notion of propriety differ so much from our standard. Call them *Rajas*, *Bhadores*, or *Baboos*, with any other title to or after their names, but so long as they are what they are, avoid using the anomalous expression NATIVE GENTLEMEN !"

10. With what truth the above might, with a very limited exception, be generally applied to our Bombay "jees" and "setts," I would leave those honorable members of your Committee, and others, who have studied the Native character, and know what the Natives are, to judge of the same.

11. I venture to subjoin a transcript of a few striking sketches, if I may so call them, for the observation of your Honorable Committee, as applying to the subject under notice. They are faithfully but humbly drawn by me, not for the occasion, but long ago, and at different intervals addressed to some of the zealous advocates of the cause of the Natives of India.* Nos. 1 and 2 depict some of the traits of the national and natural character of the mass, to which they owe much of their evils. No. 3 pourtrays the feelings and habits, moral and social, of some of the patricians, or those who move in the higher spheres of life; and No. 4 describes the true genius at work among some of those *tag-rags* of the other day, but now educated and enlightened. They evidently make imprudent use of the acquirements and instruction for which they are indebted to the liberal aid of their government. To these I have added Nos. 5 and 6, being newspaper paragraphs, proclaiming melancholy facts, on which I have, with pain, grounded my aforesaid remarks.

12. Education and enlightenment which is now diffused among them is not enough soon to change the character of the people, or at once eradicate effectually the national and natural habits and ideas deeply rooted within them. To work any very great moral and social change in relation to their ideas and habits,—to have them emancipated from the shackles of caste and other burdens—in short, to *Anglify* their feelings, as well as mind, they must be removed at a tender age from their family influences (than which there is no greater den of degeneration), and placed where their moral as well as mental faculties can be reared up at one and the same time, and under one and the same roof, if possible; and where they are not brought in contact with those by whose immoralities in ideas, words, and acts, they might otherwise be infected.

13. Mr. Cameron's philanthropic exertions to get a university

* Appendix B.

established for the Natives of India, on a plan he advocates, will no doubt, when accomplished, be an amendment on the existing system of training the Natives. The more they are brought, when grown up, into contact with the high souled and enlightened Europeans, the better for them. But until their mind, like soil, is early prepared, at a very tender age, to receive seeds of enlightenment, they cannot germinate and fructify. They would be slow, very slow indeed, to attain, if ever they do, that moral impress,— " without which intellectuality is a danger and a snare, to justify a general employment of the Natives in the high responsible offices *without constant supervision* under honest and vigilant supervisors."

I remain, &c.

MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE.

Villa, Byculla, Bombay, 17th June 1853.

No. 9.

The Chairman of the Select Committee of Parliament to inquire into the operation of Act 3 and 4 William IV. Cap. 85, "For the better Government of Her Majesty's Indian Territories,"

Westminster Hall,
London.

SIR,

There is another phasis in the Petition to Parliament commented upon in my last number, which, although needing no descriptive remarks, ought not to be passed over altogether in silence. The Petitioners, or those who have put them up to their part, considered it unnecessary to go into detail on any of the absolute requirements of the people.

2. How is the wealth of the country distributed in manufactures, commerce, and agriculture? What capability is there of improving the latter, in relation to the indigenous products of its soil,—cotton, grain, indigo, and other items of traffic? How the conveyance of produce to market, by roads, tramways, or railroads, can be improved? What is required to be done in increasing fertility by irrigation, improving implements of husbandry, substituting steam for manual labour, or by any other means? What are general and what particular defects in the land tenure? Is it defined? Is it secure? If not, then how to define it, and make it more secure to its occupants than it is now? And if the land and its produce seem overburdened with taxation and imposts, what should be done to diminish that burden?

3. These are the questions of sovereign importance, for on their right solution hinges, in a measure, the prosperity of India and Indians; but in regard to which the Petitioners have been mute on

the one hand, whilst on the other, talking generally that the Revenue administration of the country is bad—its judicial administration worse—they have signally failed to demonstrate their propositions by a fair quotation of figures and facts, and thus ceased to maintain their standing in the eye of an unprejudiced judge.

4. Beyond seeking their individual importance, the Petitioners, and those who influenced them, have sought little for their country's good; and that little, too, by generalizing everything, particularizing nothing; quoting only the opinions, and re-echoing merely the sentiments of those who take but a profile, not a full view—one side, and not both sides—of the examination, involving the misery or happiness of the body—the mass.

5. These Petitioners from Bombay, it appears, took for their text such matters as were embodied in the petitions from the Madras and Calcutta Associations, from the publication of Mr. J. B. Norton, and others of like stamp, and by extracting or abstracting *a part only* of the evidence of a few distinguished witnesses examined by your Honorable Committee, as suited their particular purposes, but without wading a little further, to give the context, continuation, or counter-part of the very same evidence, or that of others, which went to supplant their (the Petitioners') objects.

6. In short, in their ignorance of the subject matter they ventured to speculate upon, they unfortunately enmeshed themselves into errors fatal to the cause they professed to advocate; by "following implicitly authorities on which no critical test had stamped a value; they were misled by the appearance of similitudes that had no real existence, and recognized analogies in forms that proved ultimately to be erroneous," as is amply manifested by those exposures and explanations made and offered by Sir C. Wood, in relation to the several statements of the Madras Petitioners, and in respect to Mr. J. B. Norton's Pamphlet. (Vide Debate in Parliament on the 3rd ultimo.*)

* "Petitions have been laid before Parliament,—documents professing to be the productions of Native associations,—and one of them to which my attention was called some time ago, and which has excited considerable notice, is a petition professing to emanate from the Native Association of Madras. The statements which it contained undoubtedly appeared to me to be of a very

7. I would venture to cite a few apt illustrations in support of the above. Take, for instance, that part of Lord Ellenborough's evidence wherein his Lordship would seem to opine

extraordinary nature, but the result of inquiries showed that there has seldom been such a tissue of exaggeration and misrepresentation. (Hear, hear.) Those statements are utterly contradicted, not only by facts, but by documents to which the petition itself refers. For example, an enactment of the British Parliament in 1787 is dealt with as an Act of recent Indian legislation. A report of 1837 is quoted as containing the last accounts with respect to irrigation (as we understood) in Madras. The petition also states that its promoters were unable to obtain official information upon certain subjects, which information was actually contained in published documents. These misstatements were so important that I wrote to the Governor of Madras, requesting him to make some inquiries on the subject, and he informs me that the first intimation he had of the petition was from seeing complaints in the local newspapers that they had been unable to obtain a sight of the document. He also tells me that at Madras, where knowledge on the subject does exist, the statements of the petition are known to be so utterly untrue that they excite very little attention, and are treated with the utmost contempt, although here, in our ignorance of Indian matters, they are palmed upon us as of the greatest importance. (Hear, hear.)"

* * * * *

"Probably, many honorable gentlemen may have seen a pamphlet written by a Mr. Norton on the administration of justice in India. (Hear, hear.) No doubt Mr. Norton has succeeded in stringing together a number of positions which appear, as they stand, very absurd. (Hear, hear.) The gentlemen who cheer, as if this was a wonderful proof of the defects of the administration of justice in India, may perhaps be astonished when I tell them that I have heard one of the most eminent judges in this country declare his opinion, that if you were to take the criminal proceedings in this country from the first proceedings to the verdict of the jury, and the sentence ultimately inflicted under the authority of the Secretary of State, it would not be difficult to string together a tissue of absurdities equal to those contained in Mr. Norton's work. (Hear.) Why, it is not long since sentence of death was recorded in very numerous cases, although everybody knew that the sentence would not be carried into effect. How frequently have we found efforts made by individuals and associations to prove the innocence of criminals who had been convicted by the legal tribunals of the country! How often has it been necessary for the Secretary of State to pardon persons who had been convicted of offences when they ought to have been acquitted! I think, then, such cases as are mentioned in the work to which I refer afford no very conclusive proof of the defective administration of justice in India. I would, however, ask honorable gentlemen

that the existence of the Government of India would be incompatible with any general education of the people. As this would go to sap the very base of the Petitioners' ambition, to demolish the Covenanted Service, and get for themselves all the high-paid, first-grade civil appointments, &c. they have passed it over, without taking any notice of the same, whilst they have complacently quoted, or been made to quote, his Lordship as their authority in support of their borrowed view of destroying the double Government, as it is termed, of the Board of Control and the Court of Directors, of which, there is not the slightest doubt, the Natives here know scarcely anything, and care nothing.

8. Again, in another place, the Petitioners have been made to quote a section of Sir George Russell Clerk's evidence, wherein he he has deposed to the competency of the Natives for holding offices of trust and importance. But they have studiously kept out of sight and consideration the following short but firm and impressive reply to a question put to him on a most notable point :—

Q.—"*On the whole, you believe that the Government of India has been conducted with efficiency ?*"

A.—"*With very great efficiency.*"

9. Now the Petitioners, and those who have influenced them, in their zeal to make out an *ex-parte* case against the existing order of

to consider the different circumstances in which courts of justice are placed in England and in India. Here, for the most part, truth is told in our courts of justice. The judges are generally justified in believing the evidence given in court. There may be exceptions—no doubt there are ; but no man will deny that, as a general and almost universal rule, the evidence given upon oath in our courts is true, and not false. Is that the case in India ? (Hear, hear.) If you believe the evidence given before the Committee, directly the reverse is the case. (Hear, hear.) The chances are that the evidence given in the Indian courts is false, and not true. Is no allowance to be made, then, for judges administering the law, and attempting to dispense justice, under such circumstances ? It seems to me that every allowance ought to be made, and that, instead of trying to depreciate the administration of justice, or to run down those who administer the law under such adverse circumstances, we ought to extend to them every possible indulgence ; for, considering the circumstances in which they are placed, I think it is rather a matter of surprise that justice should be administered with any satisfaction than that such charges as I have alluded to should be made."—*Evening Mail, June* 6, 1853.

governing India, threw out of calculation the evidence of Sir George Russell Clerk, such as I have just above extracted—evidence of one whose practical experience of the working of the Government in its several branches in India is known to be of the highest order; whose intimate knowledge of the character, habits, and requirements of the natives of India is surpassed by a very few, if any; against whose integrity of character, and honesty of purpose, not a shadow of doubt can be attached; and who, moreover, has proved himself, not by his liberality of sentiments only, but also by his acts, to be exceedingly well disposed towards the people of India, and who manifested every desire to advance to a position those among them who would befit themselves for the same.

10. And it must, by the way, be also added, that it was he who took the initiative in endeavouring that the offices of Assistant and Deputy Collectors and Magistrates should be more extensively opened to the Natives, and to which a number of them have since been appointed; *and these were, in truth, the class of offices to which he alluded in his evidence* when he stated that the Natives were not altogether devoid of competency; but which the Petitioners have raised to a higher key, to accord with their lofty aspirations.

11. The weight and effect of the evidence of a statesman like Sir George Russell Clerk, and others of the same stamp, in relation to the efficiency of the existing administration of this country, ought to go much further than merely to counterbalance the lumber of such sweeping general assertions as those with which these Native Petitions are filled, and that, too, not from their personal knowledge or observation, but on the authority of the hearsay evidence of others, either personally hostile to the existing Government of India, or swayed by party political feelings of radicalism for a change in the entire system of that Government, "*under which* (the Natives in a body, without a dissentient voice, at their public meeting themselves declared) *they are comparatively happier than they would be likely to be under any other Government.*"*

12. I might go on at this rate, paraphrasing several paragraphs

* Vide the published Proceedings of the Inauguration of the Bombay Association.

of these Petitions (alleged to convey, but they do not, the feelings and sentiments of the Natives of this city, much less of this side of India,) remarkable for the length, not strength, of their arguments in favour of what they have set forth. But I am not writing a book, or a laboured critique upon these Petitions. There is nothing original, besides, about these documents; no figures or facts of their own collection, demonstrating in detail any one of their general propositions, which, after all, were given out and discussed by others before them, with what success those conversant with India must best judge.

13. If this Young India party had had any accurate conception of the politics of Europe in general, and England in particular, they would have known better how to act. Political parties in the several kingdoms have been and are divided and diverged into distinct divisions, sections, cliques, and factions. Each of these seeks the downfall of the other when raised to power, and towards that end generally—though under the semblance of advancing the cause of the public—they severally exert their utmost efforts; and, among other means, by attacking, in and out of their respective spheres, through the press, pamphlets, and other publications, all and every measure, not omitting even little acts, emanating from their opponents in politics, according to their lights, and the side each would take, for or against the ministry of the day.

14. The Government of the East India Company has from time to time formed, as it does now, subject matter of political discussion,—a contest between the political party in power and their opponents,—a regular game of hazard of their all. It has been natural, hence, from time to time, as it is now, for the respective parties, according to their lights or shades of politics, to say, write, print, or publish respectively for and against the East India Company, especially at an epoch like the present. And the Petitioners, or those who have put them up, as if it were for show, have evidently taken, or been put in possession of, a selection of all that was said, written, printed, or published against the East India Company, by a number of writers and speakers, without taking any notice of what was said, written, printed, or published in

defence, justification, or extenuation of that Government, by equally as many speakers and writers.

15. But by this, as I have previously averred, let it not for a moment be supposed that I maintain, or mean to insinuate, that the Government of India is free from all defects, perfect in all its parts, or that there is no room left for reform in its judicial or revenue branches of administration. No human institution can be perfect in its order. The Government of the East India Company is open to improvement: there is much to be improved upon, according to individual views. But this must be a work of time, patience, and industry. All that is requsite, in the interim, on the part of the real, and not superficial patriots, and those who sincerely wish well to India and Indians, is to define their actual requirements, founded upon unerring data; to represent the same to the competent authorities in India, in the first instance, demonstrating at the same time the soundness and practicability of the remedies recommended; and this *without resorting to false demonstration, got-up agitation, and exaggeration in making such representations.*

16. In my subsequent papers, I shall endeavour, though poor my capability, to show what I conceive to be the real wants of this country and its vast people, and by what means these wants can be supplied; or, in other words, how the resources of the former, and the condition of the latter, can be ameliorated.

I remain, &c.,

MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE.

Villa, Byculla, Bombay, July 18th 1853.

No. 10.

The Chairman of the Select Committee of Parliament to inquire into the operation of Act 3 and 4 William IV. Cap. 85, "For the better Government of Her Majesty's Indian Territories,"

Westminster Hall,
London.

SIR,

The first requirement of the Natives of India is to bring about a change in relation to their ideas of morality, ways of thinking, and modes of acting in the ordinary affairs of life. 'Educating, and thereby enlightening the Natives of India, is one thing, and improving their morals, and rendering them befitting members of the community in general, and European society in particular, is altogether another thing.

2. In Europe, except among the lowest order of degeneracy, such distinction exists not; for their moral as well as mental growths, from their very infancy, are peculiarly reared up, whether at home, in school, or in college. Here the constitution of Native society, Native habits, ideas, manners, and customs are so different, that to give an adequate conception thereof to one born and bred in England would be a hopeless task.

3. There is no sentence or corresponding term in the English language correctly to interpret the same. "No language but their own could describe some of their shameless natures"; whilst, in corresponding ratio, the peculiarities of Englishmen in these several respects are *untranslatable* to the Natives of India in their own dialect, improve it how you may.

4. The nearest approach to a faithful description of the "Native morals, their ways of thinking, and modes of acting in the ordinary affairs of life," given in English, is to be found in that

elaborate minute headed "Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain, particularly with regard to their Morals, and on the means of improving it," by the late Mr. Charles Grant, a name memorable in the annals of India. Although the object of that distinguished statesman in writing the same, in 1797, was more to draw the attention of the British Legislature and public towards the efforts of (and with the view to aid) the Missionaries to convert the Natives of India unto Christianity, great pains have been taken to trace the several defects in the Native character to their right sources. These defects even now, after the lapse of half a century, appear just as remote from being removed as they were then.

5. According to the ideas of the warmest advocates of the Christian religion, its propagation among the Natives of India is one of the means—some of them say the only means—by which the Indians can be regenerated; whilst others, not going to that extent, contend that extensive diffusion of an English education in all its higher branches among the Natives, without being based upon this or that particular religion, is the thing for them. This class of thinkers can neither be both right nor both wrong, and yet it is a science, abstruse in itself, to devise the very best system of education: so many and so diverse have been the opinions of those competent to decide it, that without venturing to interfere in this discussion, (I confess my inability to discuss it,)—whether religious or secular education is the preferable of the two,—I would, with every diffidence, submit what I humbly conceive to be a third means by which the Natives of India can be as well, perhaps better, and sooner, reclaimed from their existing state.

6. The book-readings and lecture-hearings in schools and colleges, which the rising generation of the Natives of India now receive, are not enough to bring up their moral development to the English standard. This must be effected, not by mere listening to the precepts of the European authors, but by transcribing the examples of high-souled Europeans, and others of exemplary character. Their minds, like soil, must be carefully prepared at a tender age to receive the seeds of morality; and after that they must be largely thrown among high-toned Europeans, so that they, the

Natives, may be caught by or infected with the high-wrought feelings of Europe.

7. Under the existing system, children go to their day school, where they read and hear lectures or moral precepts conducive to their welfare in life; but no sooner do they return home than they find those whom they look to as patterns of perfection—their parents and elders—practising the very reverse of what they had read or preached to them in the school; and this constantly, almost daily, in succession. The effect, then, of what they observe in their parents and elders at home, and not what they read and hear in the school, must naturally be the greater on their mind, which necessarily takes seed from what they have observed rather than what they are told; and seeds thus early sown on their plastic minds take deeper root, not easily to be destroyed when grown up.

8. A boarding school, then, for the Native children, is a great desideratum: it is just as indispensable to their moral development as food is to invigorate their bodily constitution;—a boarding school, where they will be *practically* trained up in principles of sound morality, under befitting governors and governesses, due regard being paid to their parents' wishes in respect to the peculiarities of their religion, as to eatables, &c. within its walls; so that they, the children, might as seldom as possible, and not constantly, come in contact with those whose ideas, habits, and manners appear so destructive to the growth of enlightenment, in the real sense of the word.

9. Then, as soon as they finish their elementary course of education in such boarding schools, the Native youths should be transferred to college (or a university, if practicable, on the plan Mr. Cameron has so well advocated), or where Natives as well as Europeans are made to finish their respective courses of study—the Natives in the higher branches of European sciences, and in acquiring the laws and constitutions of India and England; and the Europeans in Oriental philology, and institutions and peculiarities appertaining to the Natives under their several denominations.

10. Thus, by bringing well-born and well-bred European youths and Natives together into close contact and unreserved intercourse, they might form a community of ideas among them in respect to the

several peculiarities which distinguish the people of England from the people of India ; and thus, whilst the sons of the respective countries progress in their works of enlightenment, under one and the same roof, those of India cannot fail to inoculate from the Europeans that moral tone and high feeling which would not simply render them fitting members of the community in general, or implant them in a position in the society of European gentlemen ; but, what is more, (and which is by far of greater consequence to them in their existing state,) enable them to maintain that position.

11. This, then, is a requirement—I may add, the one to base others upon for the welfare of India and Indians ; and it rests with Government, as well as with philanthropists, to exercise their kindly feelings, and their efforts for the benefit of their fellow-subjects, to endeavour by every legitimate means to accomplish what I have stated above.

12. There are individuals, and they are not few, who would start at my proposition, saying that to make the Natives adopt the English system of having their children educated in boarding schools, to make them part with their children, and at a tender age, too, is to effect a stride at once so great on one of their peculiar prejudices, that the task is almost a hopeless one,—it is a delicate task, and beset with difficulties of no ordinary kind. This I am not insensible of, yet I feel persuaded that by a cautious approach, by the exercise of unbiassed, calm, and sober judgment, and perhaps by a little patience and assiduity, the difficulties, apparently insurmountable, are within the possibility of being surmounted.

13. Infanticide and Suttee, and other acts, which (however revolting to nature) the Natives regarded as indispensable to maintain the supremacy of their supposed religious mandates, having been put down by Government, are matters of history now. Introduction of English education even among the males was previously regarded with suspicion, and among females with positive abhorrence. Those who attempted the latter, not many years ago, were looked upon in the light of enemies to their creed, madcaps, spurned at, ridiculed, and in every way otherwise disparaged. Behold the contrary now, since Government openly espoused and encouraged it. Thanks to that invaluable educational minute of the Most Noble

the present Governor General of India, sympathising with the efforts of the late excellent Mr. Drinkwater Bethune in his bold attempt, accompanied by munificent endowment, to encourage female education among the Natives of India. That was enough. The stimulant was great ; and female education is no longer a novelty, and is made much of now ; and so would be the introduction of boarding schools for children, and regular universities for the grown-up youths, on the model of those in England, where the morals as well as mental growth of their inmates would be fostered at one and the same time, when they are kept in rigid order, free from intercourse with those by whose misdoings in acts or words they might be infected, &c.

14. Let Government undertake, or otherwise encourage institutions of this kind, make it a *sine quâ non* for the Native advancement in Government service ; offer other inducements, and the efforts must be crowned with success. This subject is worthy the consideration of your Honorable Committee.

I remain, &c.,

MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE.

Villa, Byculla, Bombay, 19*th July* 1853.

Printed at the Bombay Education Society's Press.

No. 11.

The Chairman of the Select Committee of Parliament to inquire into the operation of Act 3 and 4 William IV. Cap. 85, "For the better Government of Her Majesty's Indian Territories,"

Westminster Hall,
London.

SIR,

The subject matter of my last letter, viz. the first requirement of the Natives of India,—their moral regeneration,—is so vast, so comprehensive, so replete with reflections, and open to such a variety of constructions, that I feel myself unequal to the task of doing it that justice which its importance demands within the limit I propose assigning to the present series of letters, though I may hereafter copiously treat it, and, perhaps, in another form.

2. Two things, however, are certain: 1*st*, the moral worth of the Natives, however deplorable, is at present very low; and 2*ndly*, without you raise it to an European standard, all efforts, directed with the best possible intentions, to elevate them politically in the scale of society, is an impossibility just as great, if not greater, than to reconcile their feelings of jealousy, their high and low-caste contentions among themselves, or to make a Brahmin declare he is on an equality with "*Chshetriya*" or "*Veisya*," much less with "*Chandal*" or "*Sooder*," the other grand divisions of the Hindoos: the first the sovereigns of all the classes, the last the most abject of slaves to the others.

3. Would that these caste distinctions could be destroyed. Their venemous effects are destructive to all animation on the part of the people, as a body, to regenerate India; for, according to their scriptures, the Brahmin is declared to be lord of all classes.*

* Laws of Menû, chap. x.

"He alone to a great degree engrosses the regard and favour of the Deity; and it is through him, and at his intercession, that blessings are bestowed on the rest of mankind." "The slightest disrespect to one of this sacred order is the most atrocious of crimes."* "For contumelious language to a Brahmin," says the Law of Menu, "a Sudra must have an iron style, ten fingers long, thrust red hot into his mouth; and for offering to give instruction to priests, hot oil must be poured into his mouth and ears."

4. And so much have these feelings been engrafted, as it were, on their nature, that according to Halhed's Code of Gentoo Laws, "if a Sooder sits upon the carpet of a Brahmin, in that case the magistrate, having thrust a hot iron into his buttock, and branded him, shall banish him the kingdom."

5. The Hindoos and Mahomedans form (I speak at random, not having the statistics by me just now) seven-eighths of the entire population of India, of which the former are the majority, and of whose religious mandates I have given an outline, as above quoted, from their own *Shasters*. Now the latter, "The Faithful of the Prophet," too, among themselves, have fallen into sects, entertaining deadly animosity towards each other. They are distinguished for their fanaticism. They regard, or are taught to regard by their Peers and Moolnas, (an order of priestcraft who stand just as high in their estimation as a Brahmin does among the Hindoos,) the destruction of an unbeliever as a meritorious act in the sight of Heaven. The political importance of this race of mankind, happily for the rest, is now on the wane.

6. The conglomeration of the remaining eighth,—or the rest of the inhabitants,—converts to Christianity, Christians of different denominations, Parsees, Jews, Armenians, and others, severally, are insignificant in comparison to the Hindoos and Mahomedans. The converts to the Christian religion among the Natives of India, the Parsees, and others, by ages of intercourse with the Hindoos, have inoculated much of the ideas, superstitions, and habits of these last in their affairs of life.

* Mill's British India, book 2, chap. ii. fully pourtrays the caste system, its foundation, structure, and effect on the Hindoo mind.

7. Speaking, then, generally, of the Natives of India,—I may say universally,—"*To lie, steal, plunder, murder*, are not deemed sufficient crimes to merit expulsion from society." Society on the model of Europeans they have none. "The advantage they derive over Europeans" in India "is by practising those acts of meanness which an European detests." "*A man must be long acquainted with them* before he can believe them capable of that barefaced falsehood, servile adulation, and deliberate deception, which they daily practise."* Doubtless exceptions will be found, but they are few—very few.

8. There are numerous passages corresponding with the above, founded on the unexceptionable testimony of some of the most competent authorities, in a host of works on India, even of later dates; and those who have devoted their attention to the study of the Native character will bear me out, that the peculiarity in Native character generally in respect to what is above mentioned has been pretty nearly the same, without being sufficiently amended for the better, since the days of Warren Hastings.

9. Judging of the moral and political worth of the Natives of India at their existing standard, Lord Ellenborough's views in respect to the extensive propagation of education and enlightenment among them, at a rapid rate, appear not to have been propounded without the deepest research into their national and natural character. "Knowledge is power"; and power can be applied towards achieving objects good as well as evil. Prone as human nature in general, the Hindoo in particular, is towards evil, it is a question how far the existing system of education among the Natives is calculated to produce those beneficial results its advocates anticipate.

10. "So long as the people in this country had no taste for, no idea of, a system of English education, as was the case formerly, it was desirable to take the first step to persuade them, and use every endeavour to get it introduced and encouraged among them. But when this object has in a measure been gained, as at present; when schools upon schools have sprung up, and are daily springing up, supported severally by the respective resources of Government,

* Grant's "State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain."

the public, and private individuals, all diffusing English education ; when cries of education are heard from one quarter and responded to from the other; and when, in short, people, as it were, are bent upon being educational maniacs, is it desirable, I would ask, to stop at where we began 25 years ago, or rest contented with giving youth mere general education, and cramming their minds with new ideas, indiscriminately, in rapid succession ? No ; I am not singular in my views when I say that the time has now arrived to take the next most desirable step, viz. to do something besides education : to draw and define its currents towards a change in relation to their morals, habits, and ideas, so repugnant to the feelings of more civilised nations."*

I have, &c.

MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE.

Villa, Byculla, Bombay, 1st August 1853.

* The above is an extract from one of my letters to the late Honorable Drinkwater Bethune, dated 29th December 1850, in answer to one of his on the moral and intellectual culture of the Natives of India.

My quoting and appending a selection of my personal correspondence laid me open to my adversaries' charge that I am prompted to do so by that frailty so commonly inherent in human nature, and of which there are few who can be said to be altogether free—vanity. I have already in part explained in my first pamphlet (page 20), and think it right here to add, that when I endeavoured to show, and afterwards demonstrated, how little those who, bent upon raising an outcry against the administration of India, were capable of maintaining their stand, from their profound ignorance of the subject matter thereof, and by being led on by the views of others, not their own, they imputed my warnings to a desire on my part to strip them of the patriotic (!) fame. So I gave them some of these selections from my correspondence, of anterior date, (omitting the names,) to render manifest that I had reiterated the sentiments I gave utterance to before they had thought of their Association. They then gave out that the letters I quoted were "made-up ones," addressed to nobody. I was obliged, on this, to give, along with the dates of my correspondence, the names of my correspondents, there being, besides, nothing private about these letters, nor anything of which I may be afraid or abashed by their publication. This explanation will, I trust, remove any impression adverse to my motives which any one reading my papers might otherwise chance to form by their appearance. My object throughout these papers has been less to draw conclusions than to place in a readable shape a collection of facts, chiefly within my own observation, leaving those competent to test their value and draw their own deductions therefrom.—M. C.

No. 12.

The Chairman of the Select Committee of Parliament to inquire into the operation of Act 3 and 4 William IV. Cap. 85, "For the better Government of Her Majesty's Indian Territories,"

Westminster Hall,
London.

SIR,

To bring up to the English standard the moral development of the Natives of India, I stated in my letter No. 10, should be by an entire change in the existing system of educating their children, and finishing the training of their youth, by placing the former into boarding schools at tender age, and the latter into universities or colleges, as in Europe.

2. Whilst this method is undergoing its trial, Government, combined with those bodies of philanthropists who aim at advancing the Natives, might, without encountering any formidable difficulty, try another experiment, which I think will not fail to accelerate the accomplishment of that most desirable end.

3. Let Government, in throwing open to public competition all civil appointments in its gift, covenanted and uncovenanted, without the distinction of color or creed, apply that moral code to every branch of its service, instead of, as now, only applied to its martial branch ; or, in other words, let every member of the public service, from the Sudder Judge downward to the Mofussil Carkoon, be subjected to a trial by their own peers,—by punchayet or jury,—on the model of courts martial, or by a tribunal especially provided for them, for the following offences : Falsehood ; Trickery ; Deceit ; Bribery ; Corruption ; —in short, in any way deviating from the path of rectitude in discharge of their public or private duties,

coming within the category of offences under the heads of "ungentlemanlike" or "unofficerlike" conduct, for which military and naval officers are subjected to courts martial, and, on being found guilty, dismissed the service, degraded, or otherwise punished, according to the extent of criminality.

4. The British bulwark in India against foreign invasion, or internal commotion, consists mainly in the discipline of its army,* and that discipline is, in a measure, brought about by a tone of an exalted feeling infused throughout all ranks.

5. A Native officer, however low of birth or caste, is as much anxious to preserve his character unsullied as his commandant. He is aware that his warrant is not worth a *cowry's* purchase—he is a lost man in rank, pay, or *abroo*†—if brought to a court martial, and convicted of deliberate falsehood, cheating his comrades, or of other offences against the strict code of the service to which he belongs, although he sees his countrymen and caste in general, out of the army commit such offences with impunity, because without the dread of being brought to a court martial, the offences of the kind are not cognizable by the code applicable to others than those in the army and navy.

6. Even a pariah caste sepoy, or low born trooper, stands infinitely higher in the estimation of Government and the European public than the Brahmins of the superlative grade of sanctity. And whence the difference? Here is another illustration of the advantage of the training of the Natives in the manner I have suggested in my letter No. 10, which I shall presently further demonstrate. A sepoy not merely reads or hears read to him his code on moral as well as martial discipline, but is at the same time a familiar witness to its practical working, by observing how his colonels and captains are cashiered the service, or otherwise degraded, for telling a lie, not fulfilling a pledge, defrauding a man, or committing one of those misdemeanors against morality which is thought so lightly of among the Natives.

* "One of the principal means by which the conquest of India has been made, and the one to which we must chiefly trust for its defence, is the Native Army of the East India Company."—*Sir John Malcolm.*

† Respect.

8. He is a constant observer, also, to the fact that when even a breath of scandal is once published to the prejudice of an officer, no stone must be left unturned by him to clear his character therefrom. The accuser must be called upon to substantiate his allegation, or atone by apology to the injured party, or the accused must be tried by the martial court, whether by his own seeking, or by being ordered by his superior officers.

9. And how many such courts martial, with their results, irrespective of the rank and position of the prisoner, is a sepoy constantly observant of? How he sees, learns, or hears that a subaltern in a regiment had turned his back on, and spurned or sneered at his late commandant, who has been declared out of the pale of the society of his comrades, and is nobody: a brother would refuse to receive at a party his brother, a father his son, if cashiered by a court martial for "ungentlemanly" conduct. And how many unfortunate officers, otherwise distinguished by their erudition and position, have by their frailty been forced to retire into seclusion from being proved to be "no gentleman"! The very reverse is the feeling in this respect among the Natives.

10. If, then, a sepoy, without even the aid of an English education, and the *ologies* and *onomies* of its higher branches, has his moral standard raised to a commendable point, more by rendering him familiar with practical effects than by mere preaching the precepts of the martial and moral discipline, in like manner, if other Natives are placed in a position to practise by example what they read or hear lectures on, their improvement in the right direction would take a better and firmer root; they would strive to stand on a superior ground in these essential requisites, and be the better deserving of Government patronage, and the esteem of the community. But, as it is, the moral advantage of an ordinary uneducated sepoy—placed in dread of being punished or degraded for offences against morality—under his special training, is greater over the other classes of the Natives.

11. Having thus pointed out what Government might effect in giving trial to the experiment in respect aforesaid, I will now state what is required of the body of philanthropists and the instructive public to do.

12. Every institution, public or private, should make it a rule to eject from its roll of members those, whether Europeans or Natives, whose moral conduct is shown to fall short of what should appertain to a *gentleman*; those whose characters form themes of public reproach, and those who take no steps to retrieve them from obloquy if assailed on particular points.

13. With the Natives, it is unfortunately difficult to make them follow the usages of Europeans in these respects; but the influential members of the Native community who would wish to maintain the respectability of their family, their position or character, in the estimation of Europeans, must be persuaded, induced, or shamed to cease social or friendly intercourse with those members of their tribe or of the community whose moral character should happen to be eclipsed by questionable conduct. Let, then, Government, the body of philanthropists, and the leading men of the several classes of the Native community, endeavour, by means such as I have pointed out in my last and this letter, or by any other practicable means, to obtain this, the primary requirement for the people of India—" a change in relation to their ideas of morality, ways of thinking, and modes of acting in the ordinary affairs of life."

I have, &c.

MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE.

Villa, Byculla, Bombay, 4th August 1853.

No. 13.

The Chairman of the Select Committee of Parliament to inquire into the operation of Act 3 and 4 William IV. Cap. 85, "For the better Government of Her Majesty's Indian Territories,"

Westminster Hall,
London.

SIR,

Finding by the advice, last night received from England, that the new India Bill had passed the Honorable House of Commons; that it went through its second stage (without opposition) in the Peers; of there being no doubt of its passing, by this time, as law; and that your Committee's labour, with the passing of this Bill, might, in all probability, cease, I will defer going into those subjects adverted to in the concluding paragraph of my letter No. 9 till a suitable opportunity, which I look to occurring at no distant period.

2. I cannot, however, terminate the present series of letters to your Honorable Committee without noticing those prominent changes which the new Bill has held out. These might be divided under three heads, the chief of which relates to regulating the constitution of the "Home Government of India," as it is called, or, in other words, the Government of India in England.

3. This is a measure upon which no additional information, evidence or suggestions, could have been gathered, than what have already been before the British Senate and British public. Certainly nothing worth consideration could have been, or might be, expected from the Natives of India, under the circumstances I have set forth in my previous letters; and in what I therein stated, I find I am borne out by the concurrent testimony of the most competent witnesses.

4. The views and opinions on this branch of legislation have been rightly sought and collected in England, from all those who have made the constitutions and the practical workings of the

Governments of India and England their especial studies, to guide the legislators in adopting the measures now about to be engrafted on the Bill for India.

5. Independently of this, it is not a new topic of discussion, nor difficult—like some of the India matters—to comprehend, but is a stale one, over and over again discussed, with renewed vigour, warmth, and eloquence, in and out of Parliament, by the most remarkably gifted men of the day, by every shade of political writers and speakers, from time to time, ever since the years 1782-83, especially on the eve of the renewals of the East India Company's Charters.

6. It would hence, I humbly submit, be unreasonable and unjust in any one to say that the British Government has acted with precipitancy, without collecting sufficient evidence or information before Parliament, in respect to this branch of the new India Bill.

7. Under the second head may be classed the local requirements of this country and its people—namely, the absolute reforms in the judicial, magisterial, fiscal, financial, and general administrations.

8. These are subjects so diffuse, so intricate, and from their being interwoven with the several national and natural peculiarities, which clog the machinery of the supreme and local Governments from being freely moved, and which are so little known and understood in England, that had the Government resolved upon having the same legislated upon, without a more detailed inquiry, it would have been justly open to the aspersions of its opponents, that a full measure of justice had not been done to India and its millions of subjects. The evidence and information already collected on the workings of the several local institutions have been generally supposed to be scanty, and that further and fuller inquiry seems indispensable, previous to reforming any of these branches of the local administration for the good of the country. And, I may venture to add, such inquiry (whenever undertaken) should be in India, not away from it in a distant region, either in the less expensive and simple modes I have humbly suggested in my several letters,* or in such other mode as, in the wisdom of the authorities, may be deemed advisable.

* Letter No. 4, para. 14, and No. 9, para. 6.

9. By the new Bill, as it has passed the Commons, and is most likely to pass the Peers, the judicial, revenue, and other local arrangements in India have been left an open question, with the view to the same being hereafter more fully inquired into and dispassionately discussed, previous to being legislated upon by the Legislative Council of India in the first instance; and for that purpose the existing constitution of that body has been proposed to be enlarged and invigorated.

10. This, doubtless, is a very sound measure, the propriety of which is not open to being questioned; but it would have been otherwise had those local requirements been hastily decided upon in England.

11. The Legislative Council of India, with the exception of giving out a few enactments of moderate value, has hitherto failed to realize the chief object for which it had been erected. The several causes of its failure have been explained in the course of the recent discussion, among others by some of its former distinguished members. The sphere of usefulness chalked out for that body by some of those eminent statesmen of the time,* previous to its creation, appear to have been intercepted by cumbrous materials, which fettered the power of its members.

12. To reorganize, therefore, this body—the "*Parliament of India in India*"—upon improved principles, render it less fettered, less cumbered in its designs and operations, and having as little resort as possible to the forms and technicalities of the English law, would unquestionably be the best move towards reforms in the right direction for the welfare of the people of India,—who, be it always borne uppermost in mind, are, as it were, by habits, ideas, and feelings, totally a different race of mankind from the inhabitants of Europe in general, and of England in particular; and that, consequently, the British idea of jurisprudence, and the refined notion of the English constitution for the administration of the empire in England, are unsuited to the wants, and uncongenial to growth in India.

13. The next head, or the last part of the new India Bill, might

* Particularly the late Lord William Bentinck, and Lord (then Sir Charles) Metcalf.

be given in one word—Patronage. This appears to have been treated by the majority of the opponents of the Government measure in England more as a personal than public question, and in respect to which the Natives of India, who have been induced or influenced to join in the clamour (which they did loudly), displayed a degree of selfishness which is sincerely to be lamented, for their sake, since it had gone far more to mar than to make their cause, *by destroying the prestige of good opinion on the part of the authorities in England, which had commenced to be created in their favour.*

14. Patronage of all appointments, as I have previously premised, appertains to the several prominent authorities in England and in India, according to the extent of its importance and responsibility; such authorities being virtually responsible for its due distribution; and that, in the case of the Natives of India particularly, it must be distributed with great care and caution, until they are generally qualified, morally and mentally, to the standard of the Natives of England, which—truth must be told—they are, unfortunately, not at present.

15. It is not so much, however, that the incumbents of Government—especially the Natives—should think of getting into the public service, as to secure their position therein when once in it; or, in other words, to prevent them from being tossed up, ill-treated, degraded, and eventually dismissed the said service, according to the whim, caprice, and influence of the superior officers under whom such incumbents might chance to be immediately placed, by summary process, on *ex-parte* representations of such officials, without inquiry, without affording the accused due facility or fair opportunity of defending or explaining himself; and this, too, at times, by discarding petitions of challenge for such inquiries, which have been sought and demanded in justification of their conduct and character, when they appeared to have been misrepresented or misjudged by Government.

16. To ameliorate the constitution, and substantiate the position, of the existing incumbents of Government—Covenanted and Uncovenanted, Europeans and Natives—who are entrusted with the administration of the laws—civil, criminal, revenue, and general—enacted with the view to protect the life, liberty, and property of the

subject, and punish those who destroy, or otherwise trespass thereon, is a desideratum by far deserving of greater consideration than picking up integral defects in this or that branch of such laws, with the view to their being amended.

17. Opening the Covenanted grade of the public service to public competition is an amendment on the existing system; but to open it widely and indiscriminately to every class of the community in England is a question on which there seems to have been some doubt entertained by some of the great and grave authorities.

18. That those who are adverse to it might or might not be just in their views, I will not venture to discuss, although there is much to be said both for and against the soundness of such a proposition in regard to Europeans, among whom, unfortunately, there are castes and barriers as inveterate and formidable, even for social intercourse, as among the Natives of India, but based upon totally different feelings.

19. Profession denotes distinction or degree of distance between one and the other classes of the community in England, whilst profession generally is not looked upon in the light of degradation among the inhabitants of India. The highest family of rank of mankind among the Hindoos is professedly that of the Brahmuns; yet the real profession, the "calling" of the bulk of the Brahmuns goes not beyond cooks, mendicants, soothsayers, and cheats! and the most opulent and influential men among the Hindoos of its inferior grade of caste would not consider himself lowered in the eye of his countrymen by keeping (many seek to keep) the most friendly intercourse with any of these sacred grades by caste, though following such low calling.

20. The highest respectable position which a Parsee, a Hindoo, or a Mahomedan, in Bombay, would aspire to, would be to become a merchant, ship-owner, or a broker to European houses of agency. The majority of the wealthy men—men of rank and station, among the Natives who move in the first walk of European society here—pride themselves in being brokers or merchants. The majority of the aristocracy of the land follow either of these professions, whilst those of the same calling in England would be but regarded as a *parvénu* ONLY; and, however respected and esteemed they might be

for their individual wealth and worth, they would find it no small difficulty to obtain a *voucher* from one of the lady *Patronesses* to purchase a ticket of admission to *Almack's*, or an *entré* to one of the aristocratic saloons of the *haute noblesse* in the metropolis.

21. In short, men of the first families among the Natives have been and are shopkeepers. A Governor's butler or a *Councillor's Khansaman* (body servant) would be found gracing the festive boards or *Nautch parties* of the Natives of the *first grade in rank* and station here, whilst a country gentleman in England would be shocked at the very idea of the thing. There is an anecdote current among us, that a distinguished member of the European society here was indignant at finding a rich Hindoo tailor gracing one of the balls in the Town Hall with his presence, but the said distinguished European member was more shocked when told that the wealthy tailor came there by invitation.

22. "It might be very fine, and, perhaps, very proper, to boast of one's aristocratic birth in a country like Europe, where the laws and constitution of the land are so different; where, by the established code of primogeniture, and other rules, (very desirable for preserving aristocracy,) immoveable property is handed down from generation to generation; where the preservation of heraldic emblems, and existence of historical and other records, which can be traced upwards for centuries; and where, above all, the deeds of valour, nobility of action, and other traits of character of one's progenitors, worthy of applause and imitation, can be referred to with safety. In such a country, I say, a man can and might well talk of his family blood. But how absurd it is to do so here, where, independently of the entire absence of all such heraldic emblems and historical records, there is scarcely a Native of wealth and influence who could trace from his fourth or fifth generation patrician blood running in his veins."* And, I believe, there will not be found a few, among even the *haute noblesse* of the day, in Europe, similarly circumstanced.

* Extract of one of my letters to Sir Erskine Perry, 15th April 1849:—And I would add, by way of illustration, the fact that not a dozen opulent families or men of influence of the day, in Bombay, among the Natives, can trace patrician descent from their third generation. My late father was one of the mighty men of his day, and held a very prominent and highly respected position in the

23. Whatever, therefore, might be the feelings, in respect to opening the Covenanted grade of the Government service indiscriminately to every class of the community in respect to Europeans in England, it would be uncharitable, to say the least of it, to have any such adverse feelings suffered to operate in the case of the Natives of India, so long as the spirit of Section 87 of Chap. 85, Act 3 and 4 William IV. is declared to remain undiluted. And it is to be hoped, whenever a *Young Bengal* or *Young Bombay*—no matter what his creed or his father's calling—is able, *by* HIS *moral* and *mental training to pave his way* into one of the Universities in England, and comes out of it loaded with the honor of the degrees, he should not return to his country disappointed in his expectation.

24. I will now conclude this by quoting the sentiments (in which I humbly but heartily participate) of one who has so justly distinguished himself as the author, orator, legislator, and philanthropist of the day—Macaulay :—

"*Under the proposed system,* it would depend on the Natives themselves, and upon them alone, at what time they should enter into the Civil Service. As soon as any young Native of distinguished parts should, by the cultivation of English literature, have enabled himself to be victorious in competition over European candidates, he would, in the most honorable manner, by conquest, as a matter of right, not as a mere eleemosynary donation, obtain access to the Service."

community in general, and among the Parsees in particular. My grandfather and his brother were the first of the few land-owners in their time among the Parsees of this place. Our family go by the denomination of Shroff (dealer in money). But whether my great-grandfather or his sire was the founder of our family, architect of his fortune, we have no historical or traditionary records. Some twenty families of like standing, to my individual knowledge, within the last thirty years, have either been destroyed, or dwindled away into insignificance. Others rose to opulence from either the old stem, or from among the surrounding weeds, by the individual efforts of their members. There have been, and are many who have destroyed, ruined, or otherwise degraded their family by mishaps in trade, over speculation, dissipation, or downright dishonesty. The changes within the last few years among some of our respectable Native families have been most melancholy. Hence I respect the saying, that "*a man who makes himself is worth a thousand men made by their forefathers!*"

25. May that day soon arrive! It will, as soon as the Natives of India will bring about a reform in their ideas of morality, ways of thinking, and modes of acting in ordinary affairs of life—and not, I fear, till then.

I have, &c.

MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE.

Villa, Byculla, 5th September 1853.

APPENDIX A.

No. 1.

Translation of an Extract of a long Letter in Guzerattee to the late FRAMJEE COWASJEE, *on the mode of getting up certain Petitions to the Supreme Government, affecting the Laws and Usages among Parsees, dated December* 11*th*, 1838.

16. Unless you particularize and define what is the "power" you want, unless you give cogent reasons for that want, and unless you support your said reasons with substantial facts, such an unreasonable request, as yours most apparently is, could never be met with any attention.

18. Under the several circumstances which I have above explained, all I have to remark at present is, that I beg to leave to you and to the other gentlemen, whether it would not be desirable to put a stop to sending in such a Petition as is now going round begging individuals' signatures, and if it has already been sent, to write and withdraw it, substituting another, if it should appear desirable, by preparing it properly and with the consent of the public body? Otherwise your transmitting to Government the Petition under review, on a subject affecting so greatly the interest of the Parsee community, and *yet without their knowledge, much less their concurrence,* the few signatures to which were obtained with the utmost secresy, and by misrepresenting circumstances, would tend, in my humble opinion, to question (rather than increase) your growing importance, influence, and reputation.

(Signed) MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE.

11*th December* 1838.

No. 2.

To J. SUNKERSETT, Esq.

Musjid Bunder, 26th May 1840.

MY DEAR JUGONATHJEE,

I feel *honored* by the circular you sent for my signature.* I detained it to keep a copy, and to read it with attention, but to which I am not prepared to subscribe myself (however insignificant the value of my vote may be) for want of examining the matter through both sides of the scale : and not finding along with your circular the Government's letter and its accompaniments, I have only been able to examine one side of it.

I could not sufficiently define the purport of the paper you sent round for signature, and to which some of our respected colleagues have put their names.

If it is meant to be a "protest," it ought to have been so headed, and differently worded.

If it is, as is professed in your note, a "minute," or the sentiments of the Native part of the Direction, the preferable course would have been to have let each individual form his opinion, and to have him express, *in his own words*, what he thinks of the matter, and not to prepare a "minute" for, and send to him to sign it, if he likes.

The paper, however, appears to me to assume a different and somewhat higher tone. However well-intentioned, its taste and style I will by no means applaud. It would seem, if you critically examine it, to be a series of absolute resolutions, come to *(not by the Native Members,* but) by the *General Committee* of the Native Education Society—whereas there was no such a thing. The absence of consulting the majority of Members, both Natives as well as Europeans, and obtaining their concurrence previous to the framing and adopting of the same, will tell you of the "chook" (error) I point out.

When will the practice which perniciously prevails among you good gentlemen cease ? I mean of getting ready papers *incognito*, and

* As one of the Directors of the Native Education Society (now Elphinstone Institution).

sending round to the people to sign ! I cannot say much for the *respected* individuals who have readily put their names to the circular in question, without having both sides of the question before them for deliberation. When the other papers, which I would wish to refer to, come from the Secretary, I will say what will appear to me to be just and " brober."

The foregoing is my opinion, *not on the merit of the question before us,* BUT on the general features of your paper ; and which I frankly offer in sincere expectation of not displeasing you, being

Yours assuredly,

(Signed) MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE.

No. 3.

To P. W. LEGEYT, Esq.

March 6th, 1848.

MY DEAR LEGEYT,

I think with you that we ought to have a public meeting to do something for Mr. Clerk, whose intended departure so soon from amongst us is indeed much to be regretted. But my only fear is that he has not *humbugged* the Native Gentlemen enough to make them come forward in a body, and take a hearty part in voting any compliment to him. Essence of *humbug* the *jees* delight in enjoying beyond other ; whilst another essence, which the Europeans so justly pride themselves in possessing, as forming a prominent compound in their character, namely, action of independence, and want of selfishness, the Natives think so little of, that they cannot be expected to value Mr. Clerk's character at its proper standard. They care not for what Mr. Clerk may have done or chalked out in his administration for the Natives *en masse* up-country, which he had no time to carry out ; what they will ask is, selfishly, What good has Mr. Clerk done US? and they will even descend to trifles, and say he appeared to be reserved with us. He has not often asked us to his parties ; we know nothing of his Government. But if a public meeting is held, and they are asked *by a great friend or two* to join it, they will readily do so, and unite in any mode of compliment intended to be proposed for Mr. Clerk.

I might give a chapter of 100 pages on the "address-making in Bombay," among the Natives, of which I have a fund of juicy anecdotes.

Yours ever sincerely,

(Signed) MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE.

No. 4.

To P. W. LEGEYT, Esq.

March 10th, 1848.

MY DEAR LEGEYT,

I return you the requisition* which I lent to Framjee, and my namesake Limjee, and got their signature. ——— and ——— promised to sign on its being sent to them, but now they will not, until they see the ———'s name on it.

I said the other day I can give you a chapter of 100 pages on the address-making in Bombay, of which I have a number of data. Now can there be anything more *apropos* than this simple fact to prove the correctness of my oft-expressed sentiments, that the Natives here do not value at its true standard one of the most essential qualities in a worthy man,—namely, action of independence?—and consequently it is so rarely to be found among them, whilst so abundantly among Europeans; in the possession of which the latter justly pride themselves. The long and short of the thing is this, that ——— and ——— will afterwards sign the requisition, not because they appreciate Mr. Clerk's character, and consider him deserving of the compliment, but because the ——— has done so, or wished it to be done. Many an address, petition, and other document have been signed by the "jees," "chunders," "setts," and "bhoys," because they knew it to be the wish of some great one among them, without knowing what they signed, or without caring what effect their doing so will have either for or against the interest of the community to which they belong, and in whose behalf they self-elect themselves delegates. I fear I am getting warm, but the fire of my feelings on the subject is kindled within me, when I see men like ——— and ——— appear themselves in such a pitiable position.

Yours ever sincerely,

(Signed) MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE.

* To the Sheriff of Bombay, to convene a Public Meeting.

No. 5.

To J. SUNKERSETT, Esq.

Villa, Byculla, 19th August 1851.

MY DEAR JUGONATHJEE,

I returned the day before yesterday, by your sepoy, the Draft Petition, &c. you sent for my perusal, respecting the New Court proposed—rather resolved upon—to be established in Bombay for the recovery of Small Debts, and I now reply to your note, for which I had then no leisure.

I must premise a few general observations on the principles of getting up such demonstrations, which is coming so fashionable among our "jees" and "setts," on matters whether necessary or unnecessary, affecting or otherwise the interest of the community whose right of representation you assume to yourself.

This you will say is "harping over the old tune" again and again. Be it so; I have been for a long period endeavouring, both by words and in writing, to suggest to you and our other friends the advisability of desisting in a course by which you are losing your ground with Government, losing your weight in the estimation of the public, and losing the very object for which you frequently display so much zeal, by causing petitions to be addressed to the authorities in the name, or on behalf of the community, but without the requisite formality of procedure, much less knowledge or concurrence of those whose rights, &c. are affected by such got-up Petitions.

You will not require me to add that any amount of petitions and counter-petitions can be got up among our "jees" and "setts." If a Jamsetjee or a Jugonathsett would but sound his wish for the same, battalions of dependants and friends, ever ready at his command to sign any such document when sent (as hitherto fashionably done by sending) round for their signatures; and that very many addresses, petitions, and other papers got up and signed by a corps of individuals, because they know it to have been the wish of some of the magnates among them, without knowing what they signed, or without caring what effect their doing so might have either for or against the object sought to be gained by such got-up

demonstration. I can cite numerous instances in support of what I have just mentioned, for I have noted them whenever they came to my knowledge.

You must now no longer allow yourself to be deceived that the authorities here and abroad are ignorant of the * * * * * which at present composes the Native society of Bombay, or of the ways and means by which addresses and petitions of the kind just described have been got up among them; and consequently they lose their weight and effect where they ought most to have produced the same. And that, if I am not mistaken, it is to this knowledge which the authorities possess, you might in a measure attribute your frequent discomfitures—rejection of your suits—without even, at times, receiving any acknowledgment of your petitions.

An individual is, or a body of individuals are, justified in giving opinions or preferring suggestions or requests which in his or their opinion appear beneficial to the country or its people; but then he or they should convey the same distinctly in his or their names, but not in that of the community, nor on behalf of the Natives of this or that place. To arrogate to yourself such right to represent the community by such petitions, is as wrong as the way in which such petitions are caused to be prepared is objectionable.

Every representation purporting to come from, or conveying the feelings and sentiments of, the "community" on matters affecting the interest of the place and its inhabitants, should and ought to be prepared after having the subject matter of such representation publicly discussed, on public ground and at a public meeting, convened either by the sheriff or by an advertisement in the newspapers.

It is on this principle, and this only, you are aware, that I have invariably withheld my subscription to any of your addresses and petitions, said to convey the feelings of the community, but which have been concocted as above described.

The subject matter of your Draft Petition is one that has for years engaged the attention of the several authorities here, at Calcutta, and in England; and a mass of correspondence of the size of a thick folio volume has already been published, as previously passed between those of whose competency to handle the subject in a masterly manner there cannot be a doubt.

You should have read the correspondence I have just alluded to, and what has since passed, to make yourself acquainted with the views and opinions of some of the most learned law makers, law expounders, and law advisers, for and against the several matters then (as it still continues to be) discussed between the legislative body at Calcutta and our Supreme Court Judges. This you have not done; until you do so, you cannot be in a position to judge accurately of your present movement.

In January 1848 the Government of India, on the recommendation of Sir Erskine Perry, concurred in by Mr. Cameron, then at the head of the Law Commission, published a Draft Act, then called "Cameron-Perry Act," for enlarging the jurisdiction of the existing Small Cause Court. You then got up a Petition (dated February 7, 1848) in praise of that Court, and in support of the passing of the said Draft Act into law, with a few alterations to suit your peculiar notion of justice and caste prejudice.

The Court of Directors, on hearing this, interdicted the passing of the said Act, which you seemed partial to, and called for all proceedings upon the subject as they, the Home Authorities, in concert with the law makers and advisers in England, were bent upon creating a Court for India, on principles not dissimilar to the English County Courts for small sums.

You then memorialized the Court of Directors (dated 20th Nov. 1848), praying that the aforesaid Draft Act should be passed into law for extending the jurisdiction of the "Small Cause" Court; and that body, after due deliberation on your said Memorial, and after consulting their law advisers, deigned to refuse your request, and recommended the Indian Government to pass an Act in effect of what they are now going to apply to Bombay, and of which a draft was published in July 1849.

You then got up your third Petition to the Supreme Government against the passing of the last mentioned Act, though in reality the very choice argument you adduced in that petition, in favor of your prayer, appeared to be quite in opposition to your views. The sum total of your last-mentioned Petition was to set the working of the existing Court of Requests into a blaze of glory. You immortalized its Judges, (how, as one of them, I blushed, when

I read your panegyric on my humble self!) by saying that it (the Court of Requests) has given general satisfaction, "and that, owing to the simplicity of its forms of procedure, their freedom from technicalities, its inexpensiveness, and its affording ready and easy means of recovering small sums, it is peculiarly adapted to the condition of the classes (chiefly small traders) who have occasion to resort to it, and by whom it would be felt as a great hardship if they were required to expend more time and money in the prosecution of their claims," &c.

Thus, then, you pronounced your deliberate judgment on the working of the Court of Requests, and the object of the Draft Act (which has since been passed into law) was to enlarge the sphere of utility of that Court from 80 to 500 Rupees; and yet you prayed against the passing of that very Act, and were in favour of extending the jurisdiction (not of the Court of Requests, which you so much eulogised, but) of the Small Cause Court!

Read the enclosed extract from the *Gentleman's Gazette* of the 14th September 1849; you have exhibited your inconsistencies so glaringly in that Petition No. 3 of yours, that the champion of your cause, the Editor of the *Gentleman's Gazette*, declared he could not defend your views; and that is enough.

The Supreme Government again rejected your said Petition No. 3, and, notwithstanding your prayer to the contrary, passed Act IX. of 1850 for all India, so far back as in March 1850.

You then appeared contented by preserving silence, but the Judges of the Supreme Court protested and addressed long Minutes to the Supreme Govenment, setting forth all the cogent reasons in support of their views, and in opposition to the application of the Act in question at Bombay. But, after the lapse of a year and a quarter, and reconsidering the whole of the premises, as embodied in the opinions you gave before in your several Petitions to Government, and what the Judges of the Supreme Court and the Bombay Government gave in their respective Minutes on the subject, the Supreme Government peremptorily ordered the application of the Act here.

The Judges are, as they have all along shown themselves, opposed to the creation of the New Court, and the Bombay Go-

vernment on several grounds suported the Judges' views, and further correspondence has been going on between this and the Calcutta Government.

If you want to support the Judges of the Supreme Court and the Bombay Government in their views, and again avert the defeat you so frequently have met on this very battle-field, you should resort to other plans than the mode in which you get up such petitions, in the name and on behalf of the community, whose representative you are not, and have never been constituted. Such demonstration, rather than supporting your object, goes far to subvert the same.

If Sir Erskine Perry and this Government of Bombay be left to themselves, they are strong enough to cope with the Government of India, without any such proffered aid of petitions, such as you get up in Bombay from time to time,—the weight and value of such demonstration being no longer unknown.

You must, my dear friend, distinctly understand that I offer no opinion on the utility or otherwise of applying Act IX. of 1850 to Bombay. I am precluded from venturing it—first, because I am deeply interested, one way or the other, by the proposed change; secondly, because the opinions of the Commissioners of the Court of Requests (of which I am one) has not as yet been officially or privately asked by Government; and thirdly, I even now am in profound ignorance of the several important data involving the question on which to ground my suggestions.

I have made this such a long communication, that I will add no more for the present, than—believe me,

Your ever attached friend,

(Signed) MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE.

No. 6.

To J. SUNKERSETT, Esq.

Villa, Byculla, 23rd August 1851.

MY DEAR JUGONATHJEE,

A few more observations pertinent to the subject of my last to you are here put to paper for your consideration, and which I trust will not be thought amiss by you.

The Natives of Bombay generally, and the influential ones among them particularly, regard, or have been taught to regard, all Government measures with distrust and suspicion, and the Supreme Court, as the bastion of protection from injuries, real or imaginary, which they think they may receive from the hands of the local Government.

Now, to be able correctly to judge of the relative merits of these two conflicting tribunals, our Native friends ought to have (which you must admit they have not) an accurate knowledge of the principles of the British Constitution and its laws, as well as of the policies which have dictated and continue to dictate various Government measures for the administration of India.

I have not as yet had the pleasure of meeting with (you will indeed gratify me by pointing out) one of our leading members of the community who has made these subjects his study, or who knows aught of the history of the rise and fall of empires, of the politics of Europe in general, and of England in particular; or of the life and character of leading senators, dead and living, of England, who by their powerful voice governed and govern this vast empire, though situated at such an immense distance from them. And we cannot effectually advance our country's cause, until we produce a set of men conversant with the above matters, which alone can enable them to judge for themselves, and not to act on the judgment of others.

So much have the Natives here allowed themselves to be prejudiced against the administration of the law and justice in the Mofussil, and in favour of the same in the Supreme Court at the Presidency, that they have ever been ready to take part with the Judges of the Supreme Court in their several battles with the local Go-

vernment, without giving themselves the trouble to inquire into, much less study, the subject matter of the difference between these conflicting powers.

The prejudice is settled down deep in the minds of the Natives; so much so, that several of our friends with whom I have conversed, have openly declared that "*whatever the Judges of the Supreme Court do* (as if mortals were infallible) *must be right according to law*"—though what that law is, they averred their ignorance of; and what is more, they added that "*self-interest, to enrich themselves and their mother country, govern* ALL AND EVERY *Government measure in India prompted by the East India Company.*" But when, how, or why that Company was constituted, or under what controlling power it has been and is kept, they (our said Native friends) are likewise ignorant of.

Now it would be a waste of words and time to argue with such a class of people, of whom, I feel sorry to add, there are not a few among us.

The knowledge of such a state of ignorance among the Natives, even at the Presidency, and yet their leaping towards the English law and English lawyers, combined with other circumstances, rendered it necessary for the Company's power in India and England to regard with a jealous eye the growing popularity of the Crown Courts with the Natives at the Presidency; and hence the endeavour to check that popularity, which you must be aware has been, and is, one of the objects of the Company's Government.

The very object of the demonstration against Government, and in favour of the Supreme Court Judges, which the Natives of Bombay got up in relation to the late Sir John Grant's move of extending the Crown Court's jurisdiction over the Deccan, was converted by that sagacious Governor, the late Sir John Malcolm, into an argument to support his view—that the Bombay Natives have been led astray by the lawyers as to the presumptive right of the Supreme Court over the local Government, &c. as it was rendered manifest by the strong language made use of in the Bombay Native Petitions, which were written by lawyers for them, and of which they, the Natives, understood little or nothing.

I will quote below an extract of a letter to me from my late lamented and highly respected friend, Sir Lionel Smith, in 1832, in

relation to the topic I have just above introduced. He writes to me,—"*But let me advise you as a sincere friend never to let any "Europeans influence you to petition in the language of bitterness "and violence against your rulers. Such petitions are always "received with suspicion and distrust, for fear of encouraging the "bad spirit such documents betray. Every real friend of the "Natives must be anxious they should represent their grievances "with their own excellent characteristics—patience and respect.*"

Previous to this demonstration of the Natives of Bombay in favour of the Supreme Court, the latter authority possessed the controlling power over all legislations for this country by its local Government, for no rule nor regulation could come into law except on the same being approved, that is, registered, by the Crown Court, which (in the interval between the promulgation and passing of drafts of any rules or regulations) used to hear all objections that were brought forward, and then decided for or against registering the same.

This salutary check against bad legislation, and the privileges which every inhabitant enjoyed of opposing any Government measure which can be shown to the satisfaction of the judges of the Crown Courts as being unsound and unsafe to be introduced, was cut off by one stroke of the pen—in a sentence concluding Section 45 of the existing Company's Charter Act—and the consequent creation of the Legislative Council at Calcutta for all India by Sec. 43 of the said Act.

The grand object of creating the Legislative Council for India was to effect "*an amalgamation of all Courts, so that there shall be no collision of jurisdiction, and no misunderstanding of power; and that no Judge should hereafter shake the allegiance of the people of India to the Government, by announcing from the Bench that he is the only representative of the King, and that Government cannot communicate with him except by humble petition.*"

These are the very words I have quoted from one of the Minutes of the best of the Governor Generals of India, and an acknowledged first-rate politician of the day, Sir Charles (afterwards Lord) Metcalf, published in relation to the proceedings in Parliament, previous to the renewal of the existing Company's Charter in 1833, and in

reference particularly to the injudicious dispute between the late Sir John Grant and the Government, in which the highest authorities decided against the former.

With the exception, however, of a few enactments of moderate value, the Legislative Council has failed to carry out its aforesaid object.

The English laws, with all their flaws, and the English lawyers of divers grades have ever been, and are, the stumbling-blocks in the way of a law reform. It is just upon a quarter of century that that great man, Lord Brougham, has been busy harping on the law reforms in England, aided as he is by some of the most eminent lawyers there. There is scarcely a season of Parliament that there has not been some debate, one way or the other, touching this (with the law reformers) all-engrossing topic, and Committee after Committee have been and are at work, but without ultimately producing as yet anything certain.

If there are then such obstructions in the way of law reform in England, the difficulties must necessarily be greater in India, where it is not for a set of people possessing one common faith that the laws are required to be compended,—like the celebrated "*Justiman Pandect*" or the "*Code Napoléon*"—but for the benefit of a multitude of nations, tribes, and castes, each possessing their peculiar prejudices, notions, and feelings, apart from the others on the subject of Government and its measures.

Our excellent Chief Justice—our worthy friend Sir Erskine Perry—has done, not by mere words, but acts, something to pave the way for doing more, with the view to the introduction of simplicity of procedure, and reducing time and expense in prosecuting law suits in the Supreme Court. His efforts deserve to be warmly supported, *but not by any such fashionable petitions as you get up in "holes and corners," and send about begging people's signatures thereon.*

Let the petition in this, as in all such cases, where you can show figures and facts in support of your object, be prepared and adopted at public meetings, after discussing the subject on public grounds, divested of all personal consideration.

If you cannot do this, let the Judges of the Supreme Court, supported as they are by the Bombay Government, fight out their own

battle in their own way—argumentatively—with the Calcutta Board. The chances are, they might yet succeed, but certainly not on the strength of your got-up Petition, if you are bent upon sending one, but which is not prepared in accordance with the mode I have suggested. All public questions must be decided on their merit, and without regard to personal influence of this or that party.

You must distinctly understand me, that I offer no opinion on the merit of the proposed Petition to Calcutta, for I am wholly ignorant of the grounds on which the Supreme Government insists on bringing the New Court Act into operation at Bombay, and am but half acquainted with all that has been brought forward by our Chief Justice and the local Government to oppose the same. What I have stated above, and in my last communication, was *generally on the mode of getting up such Petitions among us, which do harm rather than good to the cause they profess to advocate.*

Personally, I should be rejoiced were matters to remain as they are, for with my Sudder practice, and seat in the existing Court of Requests, I am quite content ; and I do not believe my elevation to the new Court would recompense me to the extent of my present emoluments. But personal considerations never influence me whenever I have public duties to perform, or when I am called upon (as in this instance) to offer my opinions on any public question.

Believe me, ever yours assuredly,

(Signed) MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE.

APPENDIX B.

No. 1.

To the Honorable W. B. BARING,
&c. &c. &c.
India Board, London.

MY DEAR SIR,

I felt gratified by the receipt of your favour of the 6th April, and by the kind concern you express for my welfare. But it was particularly gratifying to me to find that you take so warm an interest in the affairs of India, and in the hopes, fears, and wishes of its large community.

* * * * * * *
* * * * * * *

What changes the administration of the British rule in India may have wrought on the moral and intellectual conditions of the inhabitants of the other side of India I cannot pretend to say, but the bulk of the Natives of this side of it are precisely what they were in the time of Warren Hastings, except, however, at the Presidency, where even there are not many who cherish within their bosom feelings of genuine "loyalty and patriotism," nor do they entertain that reverence for, or belief in, the supreme purity of the British administration, which the English imagine they have established.

Bribery and corruption, it must be remembered, were and are a legalized traffic under Native Governments, where all the public functionaries from the Prince down to the porter, are corrupt on system, where all the Judicial and Magisterial offices are held up

to a sort of open competition,—the standard qualification requisite being the payment of "Nuzrana" (present in money); the common interest of all in power being to squeeze the powerless, and enrich themselves—no matter by what means; where justice is sold to the highest bidder, and oppression committed in corresponding ratio; in short, under the Native administration, persons and property were and are as insecure as well can be imagined.

Inheriting and cherishing the belief that bribery is, in fact, the system of all Governments; the only mode of obtaining justice and averting oppression. This combined with the lamentable want of enlightenment in the Natives of India, and their rooted prejudices, have rendered the bulk of our fellow-subjects utterly incapable of appreciating the great moral difference in the administration of power and of justice, between their past and present rulers; or, in other words, they cannot reconcile with their own knowledge and experience of human nature, a system of administration iminently pure.

Hence the Natives, *even at the Presidency,* but more especially in the interior, fancy that no object can be obtained, however fair or reasonable, nor grievance redressed, even under the British rule, without the aid (common to their belief) of bribery and personal influence. Their own inclinations moreover lead them to neglect the legitimate mode of representing and enforcing their claims on the authorities. They much prefer to resort to indirect and questionable ways and means of accomplishing their purposes.

The preliminary step in such cases a supplicant for redress will take, previous to making known his case or grievance to the local authority, will be to find out who are on terms of intimacy with such authority, and through him to try and sound the supposed friend in power, with a view to obtain his "word of assurance" that he will support the official application when made. If such assurance is not obtained, or it is known that the opposite party have made influence there, the supplicant will step over the usual channel, and go to higher authority, and endeavour to obtain influence in that quarter.

Thus in numberless instances representations come direct to Government from parties in the interior, without any application

having been made to the local officers, within whose province it is first to grant redress, and all that Government can do is to refer the applicant to where he ought to have applied in the first instance, but which either from want of influence he expected, or fear of the party in opposition having counteracted him there, he has not done, and would never do.

Thus, though they often make and fail in such illegitimate efforts, they still go on and become the dupe of others, who feed upon the credulity of the applicants for justice, and hence all those intrigues and chicanery which one hears so much about from time to time in India.

I do not make these observations now from having had personal knowledge of better administration in England, during my late visit. In England, the lower classes are as bad and as ignorant as the majority here, but *they fear justice.* They are taught to regard it with reverence; and even the vilest among them would not entertain, for a moment, the idea that it could be bought and had on payment or influence, as is the belief so commonly prevalent among the vast majority and bulk of the Natives of India.

When a correspondence took place a few years ago, which you may remember, between the Bishop of London and Sir Charles Forbes, touching the moral worth of the Natives of India, I was asked by my late respected and deeply lamented friend Sir Robert Grant to whose opinion I would subscribe, and I replied "To that of the Bishop to a great extent"; and I could cite instance upon instance to prove the correctness of this (however unpleasant the task for me), were it at all requisite.

But if you are desirous of getting an insight into the system I have been speaking of, and of the Native character generally, you will have no better opportunity of doing so than reading carefully over the proceedings lately transmitted to England by the Government here, connected with a recent inquiry that thas been going on in Bombay, into an extensive fraud practised on the Gaicowar of Baroda, one of the independent Native states in Guzerat, during the time of Sir James Carnac, who was governor here.

The reports and papers connected with this inquiry have, necessarily become voluminous, but they go so fully into the intrigues

systematically carried on, and by the Gaicowar; and show how His Highness has been duped out of several lacs of Rupees in the name of Sir James Carnac and his Secretaries, and others, that their attentive perusal will amply recompensate you for the trouble; and I would, therefore, recommend you to study this case, which by this time has arrived at the India Board.

I have now run into much greater length than I intended at the commencement of this letter, and have yet said but little regarding the Native character in general. * * *

* * * * * *

Yours, &c.

(Signed) MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE.

Bombay, 1st July 1843.

No. 2.

To the Honorable W. B. BARING, M. P.,
&c. &c. &c.

MY DEAR SIR,

I purposely avail myself of an evening's leisure, ere the mail closes, to write in continuation of my last communication to you, in which I endeavoured to point out how lamentably deficient the Natives of India in general are in their ideas of the purity of British administration, and how utterly incapable they are to appreciate the great moral difference between it and the Native administrations, past and present.

Under the latter, I mentioned that *justice was sold to the highest bidders, and oppression committed in corresponding ratio;* and an appropriate case in point has lately come to my knowledge, of which I will give you an outline here, to show the correctness of what I mentioned before, and to give you, at the same time, an idea of the insecurity of person and property in the interior, where we have less control.

A wealthy Hindoo of Guzerat,* previous to his death, had adopted a son, as it was incumbent on him to do; for a Hindoo, if childless, could not, according to his *Shaster* (sacred code), obtain a way to salvation unless one is adopted (!), and he who is thus adopted becomes the lawful heir to the property of him who adopts him. Such adoption (in some cases), however, is incomplete unless sanctioned by the Raja of the land where it takes place; and consequently the wealthy Hindoo above mentioned obtained the requisite permission of his Raja, on payment (as usual in such cases) of 300,000, or three lacs of rupees, as "*Durbar khurch*"—court expense.

The father died, and his said adopted son, by virtue of the Raja's "sunud," patent, sanctioning his adoption, took possession of all the deceased's wealth and property, and continued to enjoy the same uninterruptedly for two years.

A very distant relative of the deceased, after such lapse of time, went to the Raja, and offered him some 10,00,000 ten lacs of rupees, or £100,000 to allow him a third share in the deceased's property, and notwithstanding the patent abovementioned being granted to the son, confirming him as the sole lawful heir to the state in question, the Raja bade him either to give the new suitor a third applied for, *or* 10,00,000 *ten lacs to him, the Raja, as Durbar khurch,* to enable his dismissing the suit.

The son hesitated to do so: and his family was put into prison, his whole property sequestrated, and he himself had but just time, by eluding the vigilance of the guard over him, to leave his country and home—bereft of all that could make life dear!

As a pauper he came to Bombay, to seek the protection and interference of our Government; but he being, unfortunately, not one of the privileged class, whose person and property under the tributary estate of the Raja in question guaranteed by British Government, he could obtain no redress; and thus circumstanced, he had no other alternative left but to choose the lesser evil, by suing through friends peace with the Raja, who has promised (of course on the original understanding, ten lacs,) to set his family at liberty, and free his property from sequestration; and this individual left Bombay

* Cassiábhái Sétt, the great Jumindár of Petlad.

only a short time ago for his native country under a respectable guarantee that the Raja will settle his business.

Strange and romantic as this may appear, I assure you that I have only sketched out facts,* and leave you to fill up the picture in your imagination what must be the condition of the subjects placed under the power of such a Raja, and that Raja the Guicowar of Baroda; who plunders his subjects without compunction, and in return is plundered by others, as by this time you will have seen by the report of the late inquiries into Baroda frauds, which the Government have transmitted to the authorities in England some months ago, and the perusal of which I so particularly recommended to you in my last as deserving of your attention. * * *

* * * * * *

I remain, yours truly,

(Signed) MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE.

Bombay, 29th January 1844.

No. 3.

To the Honorable SIR ERSKINE PERRY,
&c. &c. &c.
Clare Hall, Bombay.

MY DEAR SIR ERSKINE,

The enclosed is a transcript from my draft letter I sent three years ago, on the subject of this Banian, Esquire, we conversed about yesterday.

* * * * * *

I quote below an extract translation of an article from the *Bombay Sumachar*, a Goozrattee paper of standing and respectability, in November 1846, wherein a pointed allusion is made to the case in

* From the lips of the injured man, and his Petitions to Government left with me.—M. C.

question. After commenting upon the *doings among the Justices*, it adds, literally, in these words :—

> " One of the Native Justices of the Peace brought a malicious accusation against his own brother, with the view to deprive him of his inheritance. On the case coming before our Senior Magistrate, Mr. Larken, the accusation proved to be devoid of ground, and that the said *Native Justice had taken a false oath*, (!) and notwithstanding these facts, *some of his fellow Justices, took the trouble to have the matter compromised !*"

Prevarication and falsehood are not looked upon in the light of moral offences among the bulk of the Natives of this place. The whole fabric of your jurisprudence depends on the strength of the evidence that is brought to bear on trial in a case before a Court of Justice, and an offence of this nature ought not to be lightly dealt with. But the application of the law in this respect must always remain defective, so long as there is no public prosecutor on the one hand; and, on the other, the apathy and indifference with which the Natives in general look at such offences as if of no consequence.

The Natives in this country, even among the wealthy, intelligent, and otherwise enterprizing, can scarcely form an adequate notion of that genuine feeling—truth, which forms the prominent compound in the character of Europeans, in respect to their morals. And whence the difference? The moral, as well as mental growth, from its infancy, among the Europeans, is fostered with peculiar care, which is not the case with the Natives.

In England, and among Englishmen scarcely an immoral sentence is allowed to be uttered, and when children are growing up, in school and in college, *at the very time when their ideas are forming, and it is necessary they should be correctly shaped,* they are kept in rigid order, restrained from all free intercourse with those by whose immorality in thought, words, or deeds they might be corrupted.

Call an English child in its little coat *naughty*, or a boy in his frock *liar*, and watch the effect of the *rouge* rushing over their countenances, either from shame or anger, and witness the little boys challenge each other to revenge insult by fists and boxings.

These are feelings to which a Native youth, in such cases, is an utter stranger ! Then, again, with men : nothing short of taking each other's life can satiate some to revenge such insults, exclusion from clubs and societies by others, of individuals whose moral conduct forms the theme of common talk in such respects.

These are the effects of moral as well as intellectual culture among Europeans, from their very youth, and the entire neglect of the same among the Natives. The case is absolutely opposed in these views by the Natives. Their ideas, prejudices, habits, and manners, are totally subversive of any change for the better.

Individuals, for their misdemeanours, even of lighter shade than that of this Banian, would be scouted out of all societies, whilst he goes on running himself into new ones, and retains a Commission as Her Majesty's Justice of the Peace.

Whilst the European philanthropists and our Government have done something towards the introduction of education among the Natives, what have they done for the other—the improvement of their morals? Here is a grand field for the Europeans to distinguish themselves on, by their precepts and by their examples.

* * * * * * * * * *

I have been thus far free in the liberty of this communication, because I yesterday observed your views on the conduct of this Banian agreed with mine, when you thought he ought not to have been bundled into the Asiatic Society, and allowed to be a J. P. ; and also, because I know you will not do injustice to the feelings which have actuated me in this address, if I may so call it, to you.

Believe me, &c.

MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE.

Villa, Byculla, 23rd September 1849.

No. 4.

To J. P. WILLOUGHBY, Esq.,
Westbourne Terrace, London.

MY DEAR WILLOUGHBY,

I feel gratified by your kind letter of the 20th ultimo. The manner in which you speak of my pamphlet, the honor your have done me by quoting it in your evidence before the Committee of the Lords, make me feel proud, as naturally one must under such circumstances; but it is much more satisfactory to me to find that you bear me out in the facts I have worked out in my feeble attempt to destroy the delusion which so largely prevails in England among the body—the mass—who know nothing of India and its inhabitants, and, therefore, are easily led or misled by those designing ones —the Indian agitators—into extravagant belief and ideas in regard to the feelings, character, and capacity of the Natives of this land. Opinions of such men as Mr. Elphinstone, yourself, and others, who have devoted their life to the study of those matters, I value by far above the opinion of a herd of nobility and gentry who venture to offer suggestions, and talk and speechify about India and Indians.

* * * * * * * * * *
* * * * * * * * * *

I will now reply to the other part of your letter. On the moral and mental worth and intellectual capability of the Natives of India you do not require to be told much. I said before, that some of these young people in connection with the Bombay Association have resorted to all sorts of dodges: they gave out falsehoods in abundance; but there they have not stopped: they resorted to even forging, and in clandestinely publishing and circulating spurious evidence, and IN YOUR NAME, too, to further some of their pet schemes. You must have been made acquainted with all the circumstances connected with the scandalous act on the part of the leader of this Young Bombay,—one of the would-be regenerators of the rising generation, a graduate of the Grant Medical College—Bhawoo Dajee. He stands gibbetted forth in respect to the part he took in concert with our * * * Sewree Doctor, in this dirty transaction, and also in another of those low,

mean purvoe-like tricks. Vide *Bombay Gazette* of the 5th April,* and its *Overland Summary* of the 14th. Read the same, and it is enough. Show it to * * * * and ask him what he would now say in respect to the character and position of the foremost of the band of his protegees—"Young Bombay," whom he declared fit for everything, and short of nothing!

They say that I have been hostile to these rising regenerators of their country, and speak ill of them from envious motives. Far be it from me to do so; I shall be unworthy as a man to entertain any such feeling. I, too, at the outset patted these young folks, encouraged their efforts, as rested in my way, and should have been proud to have been of any help to them, though humble my means, in regard to any of their schemes, had I believed them to have been founded on solidity, *pro bono publico*, and not for personal aggrandizement. But I found the latter out—found that they, like their forefathers, are fond of telling tales, indulging in fibs, &c. &c., and I kept aloof from them, and recommended others, on like premises, to take care of them. They (these tag-rags of the other day) are unmanageable when raised to a position for which they, by their acts, have shown they are not fitted.

It is the "QUALITY, NOT QUANTITY," *of education and enlightenment that can ever work out any great moral change in the character and condition of the Natives*, and I am rejoiced you coincided with me so completely in this view of the case. If I had been envious of these young men, I would have very many of them shown up for acts of which Europeans would shudder to think, but which are thought nothing of among the Natives. I have my portfolio full of them. But this solitary simple fact, so glaring in relation to the conduct, character, and position of this graduate Dajee, is enough. It is worth a hundred facts to exemplify to the fullest extent the correctness of the doctrine I have ever preached, in public and in private, as just above quoted.

Now what did the Native public in general, and this graduate Dajee in particular, do, after the publication of his such scandalous conduct? He never contradicted the charges which, it would seem,

* No. 5, Appendix B.

happened to be uncontradictable; and the Native public and the Native gentry think nothing about the same, as if such doings are of common occurrence among them. Graduate Dajee moves on in his glory, contrives to keep up his head, attends societies, and transacts the business of his profession, as if he has been innocent as a babe;—as if these grave charges were never left at his door, and never proclaimed to the public!

Now, what would be the position of a European *Gentleman* if so circumstanced? Why he would have been hooted out of all society, have lost his practice, and be forced to retire in disgrace from public life.

Your address to the successful students of the Grant Medical College in 1851 was not only the master-piece of your mind, but daguerreotyped your real feelings for their welfare. Every Native who heard it or read it should have it stereotyped on his mind. This graduate Dajee was one of the successful candidates whom you addressed, and who heard your address on this occasion. What impression did it make on him?—What? Behold the result, as proclaimed in the *Bombay Gazette* of the 5th April 1853. Of the same person, and others, I might give other instances to show your sound advice had no effect on him and them; but these are not published to the world, and I will not publish them here.* This very man, in signing and getting signed the second Petition to Parliament, prayed (do you ken the end?) that successful candidates of the Grant Medical College (he and his brother being the successful ones, among others) should be made to obtain the Covenanted Grade of Assistant Surgeonships (!) and that the Natives should have seats in the Council, (what magnificent figures would our friend * * * * * * and *Jada Bhai* make when sitting by the side of my Lord Falkland!) and to get other high grades of Civil appointments.

Really it pains me for their sake to think that they, the veritable Natives, should actually have trusted to such visionary prospects being now attainable for them, and which they are to be declared

* Since the date of this letter, the fact of another Native graduate of the Grant Medical College having committed a *very unpardonable offence*, though himself a married man, has been made public. (Vide No. 6.)

fitted for: the worst of their enemies could not have advised those forward few Natives of Bombay to get up and send in such a petition as their last one to Parliament. Its nature and effects are much more ugly than those of their first-born.—It smells of the "Shop" throughout!

* * * * * * * * * *

Yours &c.

MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE.

Villa, Byculla, 29th May 1853.

No. 5.

THE IMAGINARY WILLOUGHBY EVIDENCE: THE BOMBAY ASSOCIATION, AND THE "BOMBAY GAZETTE."

The subjects above-named demand some notice at our hands, and in conjunction with each other, as it happens.

The Willoughby Evidence—by some called an innocent squib, by others a diabolical forgery, and by few people in Bombay very much noticed or thought of, for better or for worse—comes first in order. It commanded the early attention of our able and spirited local contemporary of the *Telegraph and Courier*, who thus wrote of it under date the 26th February last:—

"In a small way there is certainly as much, or more, rascality going on in Bombay as in any part of the known world. We say this with reference to a printed paper, purporting to be a copy of Mr. John Pollard Willoughby's evidence before the Indian Committee, but which is nothing more nor less than a disgraceful forgery, and, although a forgery of the most awkward kind, it is one calculated to lead astray any person not in possession of the Indian Blue Books. We have compared the false extract with Mr. Willoughby's evidence, and find that not one particle of the same in any way tallies with this lying paper which has been sent us. The object of the forgery, is plain and distinct: it is to annoy certain parties whose names have lately been dragged before the world by an unscrupulous writer in Bombay. The person who has gone so far out of his way to tell a few falsehoods has mixed up a little truth with a great many lies, and although we might serve

good men and punish bad by publishing the truth and refuting the falsehood, yet we prefer having nothing to do with a paper which carries the word 'forgery' on the face of it. The quarter whence the document emanated—where it was printed, and by whom it was written—the reader can very easily guess. For ourselves, we think it both better and wiser 'not to do evil that good may come of it.' The disgraceful personal attacks which this base forgery contains upon the late Mr. Danvers, and upon Mr. Rivett, make us doubt whether the author is a man who has been refused one of the appointments held by those gentlemen, or whether he has been at any time fined, or confined by them, in their capacity of Police Magistrates—we are inclined to think that the latter must be the case. But, again, when we notice the attacks in this forgery upon Messrs. Simpson, LeGeyt, and Grant, we are led to look among the higher ranks of Society for the author of this precious document. Truly men must have a bad cause to advocate when they are obliged to use such means as these to forward their views."

Not content with thus "spiflicating" the unlucky authors of the squib, or falsity, or forgery,—or whatever else it should be called,—our knowing friend came out upon them on his next publishing day —Monday, the 28th February—with the following flap :—

"It was with considerable surprise that we read in the *Bombay Times* of Saturday, an article rather approving—certainly not condemning—the disgraceful forgery of Mr. John Pollard Willoughby's evidence, which, on Friday and Saturday last, was sent about in blank envelopes to different parties in Bombay.' Our contemporary speaks of the paper as professing to be leaves taken from the forthcoming volume of evidence on Indian affairs, but does not tell his readers—what the youngest hand in Bombay at the printing trade could inform the *Times* or any one else—that the document was printed in this town, and that the very press where it was printed is perfectly well known. The 15th December, the day upon which this forged evidence purports to have been given by Mr. Willoughby, the Indian Committee, as formed in the new parliament, had not yet sat in either house—in fact, no intelligence of the Indian Committees having sat at all since the late Premier 'went to the country' has yet reached us.

"But what surprises us most is the *Times* saying that this discreditable forgery 'very well illustrates the facts that might have been elicited had the witnesses been properly examined, and shows how easy it would be to obtain information in reference to all our grievances had we a commission of inquiry on the spot.' If by the

above our contemporary approves of the purely personal matters which the forged paper investigates,—the raking up of the ashes of the dead for the purpose of annoying the living,—we must say that we cannot commend his taste. The paper from which he makes such copious extracts is not a harmless squib, but a malignant forgery ; and if every man had his due, the writer thereof should be placed—where he will find himself some day—in the felon's dock of the Supreme Court."

Once more at least—and we know not how much oftener—our valiant friend came to the breach on the 1st of March, when thus again he slew the slain :—

" The *Poona Observer* takes as a true extract, the stupid forgery of Mr. J. P. Willoughby's evidence which was sent round in blank envelopes to a number of individuals on Thursday and Friday last. Our contemporary must surely have seen that this malignant fabrication was not printed by Hansard, nor was it even of the size of the Parliamentary Blue Books ! Moreover, the writer of the document has made Mr. Willoughby speak of several facts—such as the inquiry into Mr. Danvers' affairs, the two agencies of London Booksellers, and other matters—which took place after our late Member of Council left Bombay ! This is an oversight of course, but forgers always do make ugly blunders.

" We beg to assure the *Poona Observer* that the paper of which he makes so much was written and printed in Bombay. Who the authors were we know perfectly well, and one single link in the chain of evidence is wanted to enable us to publish the whole affair. That link we hope to have in a day or two. These disgraceful prostitutions of the press—these making matters of public interest and public welfare the means of resenting private injuries—whether real or supposed—have become too common of late in Bombay, and, with the help of a few honest and determined men, the practice must and shall be put down. As we said above, one link is wanting to make the whole affair as clear as the sun at noon day, and so soon as we get that link everything shall be published. The writer of the forgery, as well as he that sent it about, may as well be told at once, that if convicted of what they have done before a Magistrate, they may be committed to the Sessions to stand their trial for a misdemeanor ; and so soon as the evidence is complete, several gentlemen are determined to prosecute the man who has put such barefaced lies into the mouth of Mr. John Pollard Willoughby.

The public know what was our (the *Bombay Gazette*'s) share in

this horrid affair, on account of which we were kept quaking in our shoes all this time; for, innocent as we were, we do confess that we thought, by all this talk, that the diabolical contrivance was to be brought home to us by some means or other. A Native gentleman—whose counsel we kept after he had ceased to deserve it at our hands, and whose name in connexion with the business was the common talk of the town before we disclosed it—had been with us, to offer the matter as a contribution to our paper. This was Doctor BHOW DAJEE, Secretary to the Bombay Association. We simply declined it, and gave Doctor Bhow his paper back again. It now turns out that he was in league with Dr. Buist, and, foiled in their attempt to make a tool of us, between them they got up this paper at the office of the *Bombay Times*. We know not the share of each—they can settle it between them at their leisure.

Our acquaintance with Bhow Dajee originated with his becoming Secretary to the Bombay Association. Some months ago he proposed to us, on behalf of the Association, to purchase a number of our *Overland Summaries*, at a greatly reduced price, with a view to its more extensive circulation in England, and promoting the views of the Association, as then promulgated, so far as we could. A similar arrangement was, we understood, made with the *Bombay Times*. On the occasion of our last *Summary* going, it was natural that we should take notice of this Willoughby paper, about which so much stir was being made, by others, if not by us, and if Bhow Dajee thought that the circumstance of his buying up a number of copies was likely to influence our remarks, he must have found out his mistake by this time. Besides the articles that appeared in our daily paper, the *Overland Summary* contained the following :—

"A singular episode in the discussions about the Bombay Sudder has arisen, in consequence of an attempt to pass off for genuine certain spurious Parliamentary evidence about Bombay affairs, in the name of Mr. Willoughby, which was got up in a clandestine and illegal manner at the *Bombay Times* office. The indebtedness and degradation of the late Sudder Judges, and a number of other gentlemen in Bombay, were made the subject of offensive remark in this forged paper, by one who has been their chief champion before their faces! The friends of Mr. Willoughby have possessed them-

selves of adequate evidence to convict the perpetrators of this offence, which is highly penal; and they fully expect that he will prosecute those who have taken such an unwarrantable liberty with his name."

The *Telegraph and Courier* of yesterday says, with reference to this, "in justice to the Bombay Association, that the copies of the *Bombay Gazette Summary* with they had ordered for circulation at home and intended to send off by the last Mail, were suppressed by them, *after being taken away and paid for*, as they conceived it criminal to aid in giving currency to the falsehoods with which they found that paper filled."

We are sorry to say they are *not* paid for yet! If Bhow Dajee will pay for them in full,—as we expect either that he will do, or will be made to do,—our business-account will be squared with him up to date. When he sent for those papers on Mail-day, he said nothing of not posting them, and it was only by our suspicions of his tricksy nature—of which more hereafter—that the thing was found out. An assistant in our office traced him to the office of the *Bombay Times* before the Mail was closed,—no doubt chuckling over with his brother doctor on the neatness with which, between them, they had done the trick,—and rather astonished he was at being found out! As Bhow had left it to us to send the Association papers wherever we pleased, a number of our own exchange and personal-gratis papers were included in those kidnapped by him in this way. But he has taken little by his motion:—within four-and-twenty hours of that Mail's arrival in London, more than double the number of papers which he thus surreptitiously withdrew from circulation will have been printed there and circulated, as we intended them to be, and elsewhere.

Bhow Dajee—the Secretary of the Association that is to regenerate India and do so much good—next turns up very like a Suborner. He sent several times last Sunday for a purvoe in our office (Wittoba Dadoba), and after meeting with him, began by hinting to Wittoba, that a man of his education and ability should get more than five and twenty Rupees a-month, and wound up by trying to get secret information from him of certain matters connect-

ed with our office. We know not if he has tried on this trick with any others of our establishment ; but as to Wittoba at least, the trickster made a mistake. The first thing that Wittoba did yesterday morning in coming to our office was—to tell us all! We shall think better of Wittoba for this, as much as we think worse of Bhow Dajee, and *shall* think worse of the Bombay Association if they do not repudiate the act and agent both.

As for the Association generally, if it is to be represented by a low trickster like this, in league with a disappointed European suitor at the hands of Government, for every place they have had to give away, these some years past, that he could hope to obtain by any amount of begging and of baseness, we shall be sorry for it. It will be a fresh confirmation of the opinions of those who think that the Natives of this country are fit for nothing better than the tools which the foremost of them thus voluntarily make themselves. But as for us,—all our education, our antecedents and our career, have put us on the side of Peoples and of Principles against arbitrary power ; and nothing that individual traders in patriotism can do, or refrain from doing, will alter our course in that respect. We had thought, indeed, at this momentous time for India, to join with a well nigh unanimous press and people here, in requiring of the noble and generous people of England farther securities for good government, in publicity of proceedings, and in exacting a guaranteed responsibility in public men ; and we know how ready Englishmen were, and are, to assist those aspirations in a becoming spirit. It will be a great disappointment to us if these our prospects are all blighted ; but we are assured that there are many about the Bombay Association who know nothing of the tricks that Bhow Dajee has been playing off in their name so far ; and it is open to them to identify themselves with him, or disavow him, now that they know what he has been about. There are certainly *some* among them who do not think that great causes are benefitted by petty arts, or that empires can be regenerated by pettifogging tricks like those which these two doctors have been trying on.—*Bombay Gazette, 5th April* 1853.

No. 6.

We regret to hear that a Parsee Graduate of the Grant Medical College—who has himself a wife and family—induced a young girl, one of his patients, to elope with him ; she after a short absence having returned to her home. It is said to be intended to deprive him of his diploma, at all events he has sacrificed every hope of employment in his profession. No family would admit into their house a medical man who could thus violate the confidence reposed in him, and take advantage of his position to betray those entrusted to his charge. He deserves not the slightest mercy, and we trust will meet with none ; conduct such as his is injurious to the whole Native profession, however blameless or exemplary—and we believe it to have been above all reproach—their own conduct may be.—*Bombay Times, 17th June* 1853.

APPENDIX C.

No. 1.

To JUGGONATH SUNKERSETT, Esq.,
Chairman, Committee Bombay Association.

MY DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN,—Some time after the appearance of my printed papers or Minutes, addressed to your Association, I had heard that some one had made an attempt to answer them, and the appearance of this answer in public, or a copy of it being sent to me, I have been looking for ever since.

A gentleman, however, gave me a little printed pamphlet on the subject, said to have been written by one of your Members. But before giving it to me the said gentleman had extracted a pledge from me to return it him immediately after perusal, as it was given to him to read *only*. The party who gave it him wanted it back, and he, the gentleman, was told that it had been suppressed or otherwise not to be freely circulated.*

I returned this pamphlet on the same day I had it, with a note, of which the following is an extract :—

"Here you are, &c. Thanks. Be assured I am in duty bound to keep the pledge you have extracted from me, even were I inclined to gibbet the person for his impudence, and I would have done it in a manner that would have astonished his puny wits and panged him for the rest of his life. But I see there is nothing after all in his spleen, decked out in types, except, however, that he has shown to advantage his true character, that of a despicable cur. He has, or rather his ideas of answering my pamphlet have, enabled me to add another leaf to my portfolio of facts in support of my views of this 'Pigmy Bombay.'

* And yet I heard it had been circulated to several parties with the like injunction—"Read and return."

"He himself seems ashamed to put his name to the fourteen pages of his miserable attempt, and you told me that the Bombay Association caused the enclosed to be suppressed; in that case it must be added to the credit side of their account that this, at least, is one act in which they have shown that they are not devoid of discretion.

"They ought to congratulate themselves on the step they took, or they should have been made to exclaim—'Oh save us from our friends!'" &c. &c.

I have since heard nothing about this miserable pamphlet. I asked several persons to get for me a copy, but none was to be had, and to tell you the truth I felt indifferent about it afterwards, or would have written to you for it.

I am, however, now prompted, by circumstances which I shall presently notice, to ask the favour of your sending me copy of any paper or Minute, printed or otherwise, which is on the records of your Committee, having any reference to any of my communications addressed to your meeting, and what I have written, printed or published, about the doings of your Association, in order that I may, if I deem it deserving of notice, take it in the way I think proper.

This, in common fairness, you will not, I trust, refuse me. Of whatever I have printed, though for private circulation, on the subject, I failed not to furnish you with a copy.

Some of the Members of your meeting, it appears, have not stopped short of manufacturing spurious evidence, or forging it to support their party purposes, as in the instance of the surreptitious circulation of the concocted evidence attributed to Mr. Willoughby. There is no knowing where these clever *protegés* of yours might stop, or what other schemes of like cast they might have resorted to, or yet resort, to decry the merit of my pamphlets. The premises therein contained have, to my knowledge, as yet been by no one controverted. My pamphlets remain to this day unreplied to; if otherwise, I shall be glad to be told where and by whom?

The miserable print above referred to has not answered a single thing.

Yours faithfully,

MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE.

To MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE, Esq.

SIR,—In acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 26th ultimo, we have to inform you that, as you are not a Member of the Bombay Association, the Committee decline furnishing you with copies of any papers on its records. With the proceedings or publications of individuals the Association has no sort of concern, unless when these are formally sanctioned by the Committee as a body.

We have the honor to be, Sir,
Your most obedient Servants,
BHOW DAJEE,
VENAEKROW JUGONATHJEE,
Joint Secretaries to the Bombay Association.

Bombay Association Office, 15th June 1853.

No. 2.

THE BOMBAY ASSOCIATION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TELEGRAPH AND COURIER.

SIR,—Not finding in to-day's *Gazette* a letter I addressed your cotemporary on Saturday, you will do me a kindness by inserting the enclosed transcript of that letter in your paper of to-morrow.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE.

Villa, Byculla, 29th August 1853.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE BOMBAY GAZETTE.

MR. EDITOR,—You have thought fit to publish in your Wednesday's paper an epistle from one who signed himself "*A Member of*

the Managing Committee of the Bombay Association." You will, I trust, not refuse to publish what I now sit to indite in reference to that scurrilous production, apparently from one of those herds of Natives, amongst whom indulging in fibs is thought nothing of,—a national vice to which they owe much of their grievances, supposed or real,—and but for which they should have deserved, and might deserve, all that their ardent advocates wish for them.

Either your correspondent has commenced his said epistle with a lie, or with a lie concluded it, under the signature he has assumed, as is apparent from what follows.

He commenced by saying that his "attention was directed by a friend to a statement in my letter to Mr. Sunkersett, published in the *Gazette* of the 4th instant." Now, if he is, in truth, as he signs himself, "A Member of the Managing Committee of the Bombay Association," he must have seen that letter in the month of May or June last, when it was addressed by me to Sunkersett as Chairman, and replied to by its Secretaries on behalf of that Committee. My said letter must have been submitted before your said correspondent, or circulated to him among other members of that Committee. That letter could not have been deliberated upon, and replied to by its Secretaries, without being consulted by its other Members, and without even circulating it for their information! Fie! fie! if they did it otherwise. And hence, either your correspondent is not what he assumes to be, "A Member of the Managing Committee" of that (as it is now termed) school-boy Association, or is one of those nominal, or occasionally called-in Members, to put him up to work out some of their questionable clandestine acts, or for stabbing their opponents in the dark, or that he has (like some of them) a convenient memory, to recollect and forget according to circumstances.

The admission your correspondent has made that "it is quite correct no reply has yet been published" (was it ever given otherwise?) to my pamphlet, is not of trivial importance at the present juncture. The reasons he assigns for not doing so, however, are so false and so puerile that I will not waste words to take further notice of him, beyond telling him that "when a party is beaten in controversy his best policy is silence, because there is room for a

doubt whether his failure to reply arises from his inability to answer, or either from dread, or diffidence, or contempt of his opponent" ; but when one deliberately, (like your correspondent) pens a wretched reply, he, then, instead of serving his party and their cause, virtually sinks both into deeper disgrace.

Your anonymous correspondent would fain have it believed that my pamphlets contained "mere assertions," "malicious accusations against old and young Bombay, the proofs of which rest wholly and solely upon my own *ipse dixit*," &c. &c.

Those who have read my pamphlets, and are the best judges of their merits, from their personal knowledge of what I have stated, do not require to be told how utterly devoid of truth is what your correspondent has presumed to advance. But those who have not read my pamphlets might chance to be misled by the dust which your correspondent has attempted to throw into their eyes, and in order to prevent that I send and request the favour of your publishing, along with this letter, one of my Minutes (the last) I addressed the Association, with its accompaniment, vide pages 45—49 of my first Pamphlet, and your readers will observe the reasons why I joined and why I seceded from the Association, and a sample of the tone and tenour of my remarks generally on the doings of the would-be patriots, regenerators of their country, and what not, of Bombay, who composed that body.

If I have made use of any assertions, they are upon mathematical demonstrations, that 2 + 2 = 4 and not 5. I have endeavoured to give a faithful outline of this infant Association in its cradle, its origin, its hidden and its obvious schemes, its strength, and its progress, throughout my printed papers.

The circumstances which induced me to write aught about the Association I stated at the very outset of my Minute No. 1, addressed to its Managing Committee, dated 26th August 1852, in these words :—

"I commit to paper my individual views in relation to the proposed move among the Natives, contemplated at a select meeting at the house of Juggonath Sunkersett, Esq., on Wednesday last. Threefold objects prompt me to do so.' First, to comply with the wishes of some of my friends; secondly, to prove that I am no enemy to

the welfare of my countrymen; and thirdly, to leave it out of the power of any man or any set of men to misconstrue or misinterpret my sentiments, founded, as they have been, and are, upon a number of irreproachable facts."

Throughout all my Minutes addressed to the Association, and my subsequently printed letters to the "Parliamentary Committee," I have drawn my individual observations from several premises, which I laid down as my text. If the latter disproved, the former *ditto ditto*.. My chief object in printing my pamphlets was, as I have clearly mentioned in concluding my Minute No. 3, dated 5th September 1852, addressed to the Association, to wit—

"It was and still is my intention of writing a small work on some of the subjects I have mentioned. I am not without facts and materials for the same, and I may, perhaps, avail myself of the present opportunity of working up the same in a shape to be afterwards remodelled for general publication. I intend, in the meantime, to print a number of these papers, or Minutes, for circulation among my personal friends, and such friends of the Natives of India, who, I believe, are able, from their experience of the several subjects, to suggest amendments, and enable me to enlarge my views thereon."

Here, as in the accompaniment I send you for publication, your readers will see that all I wanted was to challenge a fair disquisition, to have me set right where I might have been in error as to matters of fact.

Has the Association, or any one of those connected with it, or put up by it to advocate its cause, done this at any time within the last twelve months? No; but some of its dependents, members or advocates,—apparently school-boys,—have once or twice discharged, or caused others to discharge, a few *pop-guns*, as if to frighten me with abuse, making me appear an enemy to my countrymen, exciting them against me, and this by distorting and misquoting sentences and sentiments from my pamphlets; and when they exceeded the bounds of liberty, and I came out to give my pigmy assailants a mild thrashing, they took to their heels.

The last of my letters on the subject in your and your cotemporary columns, in the latter end of October 1852, have not been replied to, and which I thought had the effect of *chooprowing* them

ever since. I see, however, some of them again lifting their heads up, which they may, to their cost, find soon crushed, if they renew their old game of distortion, misquotation, and misrepresentation of what I have said, written, and done about the Association.

Messrs. President, Vice-President, Secretaries—learned Thebans all—composing the Bombay Association, appear as if they were treading upon gunpowder: they are laying the train themselves to be set fire to, which I will not do by stealth. Let them be assured of this, that when I do fire a shot at any of them, it shall be from their front, after warning them of my approach.

I know I have created more enemies than friends. I have raised a legion of the latter from the ranks of the "Young Bombay," and a few also from among the old ones too, by telling some (to them very unpalatable) truths. Truth, I consider, ought not to be wrapped up in the language of mystery, but plainly told. Personally I have been otherwise than benefitted by this, but of which I am indifferent. I coincide completely with one whose opinion I value, and which, in fact, is incontrovertible, that "*he is the best friend of the Natives who speaks the truth, and points out their failings, in view to their amendment.*"

Whether in discussing a public question, or advocating one of those cases coming under the head of "Right *vs.* Might," I have hitherto endeavoured, to the extent of my poor ability, to speak out my mind boldly, without regard to pleasing or displeasing this or that party,—Government or its opponents,—friends or no friends,—and I trust, by God's aid (which I meekly supplicate to enable me), to follow the same course in future, no matter how personally disagreeable or inconvenient it may be to me. I have said enough, perhaps more than I ought, in this. I remain,

Yours obediently,

MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE.

Villa, Byculla, 27th August 1853.

—*Telegraph and Courier, 30th August* 1853.

[The above letter, like my last on the same topic, in October last year, has never as yet been answered by any one.—M. C.]

A FEW PASSING IDEAS

FOR THE BENEFIT OF

INDIA AND INDIANS.

Third Series.

BY

MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE,

MEMBER ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, AND FELLOW ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, OF ENGLAND; AND OF SEVERAL OTHER LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC BODIES ON THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE.

"The mould of a man's fortune is in his own hands."—LORD BACON.
So is the prosperity of a country in the enterprise of its people.

Bombay:

PRINTED AT THE
BOMBAY EDUCATION SOCIETY'S PRESS.

1854.

INTRODUCTION.

THE extent to which the existing land tax in, or any other popular grievance from India, hawked about last year, appears to be a bar to the cultivation of the soil, or an obstruction to the national industry of the people of India, is the subject matter humbly treated of in the following three letters, which comprise, for the present, my Third Series of "Passing Ideas for the Benefit of India and Indians."

In order to guard against being thought presumptuous in venturing to treat of a topic on which the most distinguished public writers and orators of experience have dilated with warmth, and from some of whom I happen to differ, I would premise that my personal experience of the fiscal administration of India is but small. Circumstances, however, threw in my way a mass of papers, official and demi-official, published and unpublished, and these, added to the information I had collected from both Europeans and Natives practically conversant with the subject, have enabled me to take for my groundwork a number of data, the correctness of which appeared to me to be unquestionable, in support of the views I have propounded.

I have had these letters printed, like the former series of my "Ideas," for private circulation only among those friends of the Natives of this country, who, I feel assured, are interested in advancing the prosperity of India and the condition of its people, in the hope that from among them some, from their elaborate experience, would set me right where I might have chanced to have erred, and thus enable my enlarging my ideas on this interesting question at a future opportunity, for general publication.

M. C.

To

RICHARD COBDEN, Esq., M.P.,

LONDON.

DEAR SIR,

To you I must make no apology for the freedom of this letter, interested as you have shown yourself for the prosperity of India.

You stand at the head of one of the political parties in England, which has done much for its manufacturing districts, by drawing the forcible attention of the Legislature to the wants of the people of those districts, and public sympathy in their favour. Actuated by the same laudable motive, you have from time to time laboured to excite in and out of Parliament alike attention and sympathy for the people of India; considering justly, that to infuse vigour into the growing commercial importance of England, and to place it beyond the possibility of any untoward mishap, by rendering it independent of America, it is of the utmost consequence to ameliorate the resources of the British Colonies, particularly East India.

Entertaining these sentiments, I ventured on the liberty, a few weeks ago, of sending you a set of pamphlets containing my poor ideas on some of the Indian subjects lately discussed in Parliament, in which you took a liberal part, according to your view thereof.

The cause you have especially espoused, namely to augment the productive resources of India, is also one of the topics which I humbly attempted to discuss in those few pages. The circumstances under which I wrote them, and the feelings which have influenced me to enter the field of discussion, have been so fully set out by me at the commencement and conclusion of the "First Series of Ideas" addressed to the Bombay Association (pp. 1 and 45—59), as well as in my introductory chapter of the Second Series addressed to the Parliamentary Committee, that beyond soliciting your attention, and dispassionate perusal thereof, I could not here advert to the same.

Your able efforts, and those of your compatriots in the cause of your country, have in several instances resulted beneficially, because in what you undertook to advocate you first knew how to measure off your ground, how exactly to reckon on the strength of your information, and you were able to test the correctness or otherwise of your data from your personal knowledge and experience; whilst when, as in the instance in question, you, or the party of which you are the chief, undertook to battle the cause of this country, you naturally had to depend, in a measure, on the data supplied by others, and when those happened to be overdrawn or defective, failure was necessarily the result.

Had the Young India party formed into an Association here (as in Madras and Bengal) confined their labours to the legitimate objects, (with which in fact our said local Association was launched into existence,—*vide* its Inauguratory Address,) to collect information and study facts in relation to the actual and not superficial requirements of this country and its people, before talking of the same; or had they grounded their representations to the Authorities here and in England on facts thus previously collected and ascertained, they would not only have realized the expectations formed of their efforts by their patrons and well-wishers, but they would also have been the means of aiding your efforts, and that of your compatriots for the objects aforesaid.

But, as it was, this Young India party, whilst yet in its cradle, set to over-swinging themselves, and unfortunately for themselves, and unhappily for the cause they assumed to advocate, in their ignorance of the data thereof, they took to echoing the [redacted] and sentiments of those political movers, in and out of England, prejudiced against the East India Company's administration, and crying for a radical change in almost every one of its branches.

This was the fatal error on their part, whilst taking for granted their general statements as conveying the genuine feelings and sentiments of the Natives of India, by their sympathisers and advocates in England, combined to damage, rather than support the cause of Indian Reform in the right direction.

Had the opponents of the East India Company's government, here and in England, been content with picking out the real and not the superficial defects in its working, defining such defects,

and suggesting practical remedies thereon, they would not have enabled the legislators to hasten the measure of the new Charter Act in its incomplete measure, which was rendered necessary to check the late agitation, (certainly mischievous on the part of the Young India party in this country, for causes aforesaid,) which "embarrassed if not precluded their inquiries into the real evils and requirements, from which much internal improvement and greater advance of Native interest and pretensions might have flowed."

In short, by making much of a little,—fighting for a shadow instead of the substance,—making a show of the quantity instead of the quality of Indian grievances,—by polishing up to European gloss the moral and mental worth of the Natives,—by declaring them ripe for taking an enlarged share in the administration of their country, without European supervision, without discrimination, &c., produced the most unwished for result, viz. it diverted the public—or rather parliamentary—attention off the most pertinent topic under discussion, and left it an open question, for parties to discuss or agitate it anew whenever they choose to renew it.

"What has been done, and what is required yet to be done to render happier the ryots of this country" by reforms in its judicial and fiscal administration? is the question now which the Supreme Authorities in India have been enjoined to deliberate and determine upon—and wisely so; for these are subjects better known and understood by the Authorities in India than by the Parliament of England. Notwithstanding which, it is not improbable that the topic will be renewed at the sitting of Parliament this spring. In that case, let us hope that "the heat and excitement occasioned by the last year's debates and controversy may have cooled down, and that these important questions may be discussed, if at all renewed, in a more calm and temperate spirit, and from which measures calculated for the benefit of India may be more likely to emanate."

That there is much to be done by Government no one, not even Government and its warmest advocates, can deny. But it is equally undeniable, on the other hand, that much more is required to be done by the people, and those interested in the welfare of the country. *It can never be expected—it is irra-*

tional to expect—that Government should originate everything, undertake everything, and support everything.

All that the opponents of Government clamour for, is to free the soil and its produce from taxation, or lessen therefrom the burden of such taxation. To do so would be to draw so much out of the Government treasury, which it can ill afford, consistently with other calls on its exchequer. But were this, even, done, will it ever improve the aspect of the country? No, never, until the people of this country will also exert and do something for it themselves, independently of its Government.

To look to Government for every national undertaking is one of their great misfortunes, perhaps the greatest, in the way of accomplishing all that which their ardent well-wishers like yourself would wish for them. Something more than talking, printing, and publishing, appear indispensable, to mend the existing state of matters. That something, I apprehend, is the transfusion of British capital and British enterprise with the capital and energy of the Indians. This combination, and this alone, can alter the aspect of India. In short, *such a combination would do India a greater amount of substantial benefit than if its people were to have the entire command of all the disposable cash in the Government coffers placed at their service.*

The very first step on the part of the advocates of the Indian interest in England, towards effecting this amalgamation, is to ascertain accurately the character, feeling, habits, and peculiarities which denote the most marked distinctions between the people of India and the people of England—in respect to which a lamentable degree of ignorance prevails in England.

It has been truly said by a distinguished authoress,* "that neither is the Shaker of New England a good judge of the morals and manners of the Arab in the desert, nor the Scotch peasant can think of the magical practices of Egypt, nor the Russian soldier of a meeting of Electors in the United States." So, may I add, neither can the Hindoo comprehend English feeling and British enterprise, nor the European the character and peculiarities of the Hindoos. And it can never be otherwise

* Harriet Martineau.

until the one is brought into closer contact with the other by the firmer ties of social and commercial bonds—until there is a community of feeling and interest created within the bosom of each, and cemented on firmer bases for their mutual benefit.

There is no place on the surface of this orb possessing such an enormous field for foreign enterprise as India, whilst its people remain in a state of inactivity to reap the advantage within their reach. *Its extent is vast; the population immense; soil and labour cheap; the bounty of Providence in the seasonable supply of moisture great; its temperature varied and congenial; its agricultural resources not liberally encouraged, from want of national enterprise on the part of its people; its geological and mineralogical resources, owing to the same want, scarcely inquired into, much less tried and tested; whilst it is believed to abound with all the growth of nature, visible and hidden, above and below the surface of the earth.* "WITH SUCH A FIELD OF PRODUCTION AND POPULATION, IT ONLY WANTS CAPITAL: ENGLAND HAS CAPITAL AND POPULATION, BUT REQUIRES TO EXTEND HER FIELD OF PRODUCTION."

Both England and America arose to their existing pre-eminent positions by the enterprise of the people; by reciprocating their enterprise and their capital with each other; by looking less to, and acting independently of, their respective Governments. What, then, is to hinder India from attaining a like eminence by the like means? Nothing but the want of capital, and the indifference of its people. They require to be goaded, spurred, warmed, and incited into activity. Leave them to do anything by themselves, and they will do nothing. But propel them, incite them, induce them, encourage them, by pressure from without, and they will not be found altogether slow to shake off their lethargy.

On the eve of the renewal of the existing India Company's Charter in 1833, the great outcry then raised against its administration was grounded upon the law which interdicted Europeans from going to India without the Company's license, and that they were absolutely prohibited from purchasing land and speculating in farms there. Various arguments were then adduced by public writers and public speakers against the impolicy of that measure, pronouncing it to be destructive to the growth

of European enterprise in India, for which, otherwise, there were several inducements tempting to British capitalists.

I would here quote a passage from an able and interesting article, headed "Means of Improving the Condition of the *Nations* of India," which appeared in the "Oriental Herald," (a publication at that time exclusively devoted to advocating Indian interests,) vol ii. page 198, showing the force of the arguments—founded on data well deserving of consideration *even now*—in support of the views I have been for some time humbly advocating.

"Bengal is about the same size as Great Britain, and each contains about 30,000,000 of cultivated acres. The revenue collected in Bengal is less than three milllons and a half; in Britain it is more than fifty millions. In Bengal, the value of the gross produce of the land is little more than £1 an acre, and the expense of cultivation, from the waste of labour and inefficiency of implements, averages three-fourths of the gross produce; in Britain it is £5 an acre, and the expense of cultivation less than one-third of the gross produce. So that though the gross produce of Great Britain exceeds that of Bengal only five-fold, its net produce exceeds that of the latter twelve-fold. In Bengal, a gross produce of £32,000,000 divided by 24,000,000, the number of persons employed in agriculture, gives £1 7*s*. for each individual; in Britain, a gross produce of £150,000,000 averages £37 10*s*. for each individual employed in agriculture. In the West Indies the yearly value of the produce exported, exclusive of what is consumed by the inhabitants themselves, is £13 18*s*. 6*d*. per head, for man, woman, and child—black and white.

"The disproportioned productiveness between the eastern and western possessions of Great Britain, as evinced in this statement, is so striking as to force itself on the attention, and to compel an inquiry, even from the most phlegmetic, as to the causes which produce it. No one will attribute this difference to the superior fertility of the west, when compared with that of the east: so far from this being the case, the contrary is too notorious to be disputed. To what other cause, then, can it be owing, unless to the superior cultivation and improved means of agriculture which have been introduced by European colonists into

the west, while the inefficient practices which have been continued for centuries, and have descended from generation to generation, each blindly following, with a paramount dread of innovation, in the steps of the preceding one, have succeeded in checking in the east the bounteous gifts which nature has bestowed, and in reducing the overflowing abundance which the land yearns to pour forth, to a bare and scanty subsistence for its impoverished inhabitants. This dread of innovation, which forms the most prominent feature in the character of the natives of the east, presents an effectual bar to the expectation of the requisite improvement of the territory through them, and we are therefore compelled to seek for other means of attaining it. Analogy drawn from the West Indian settlements would indicate colonization as the plan to be adopted, and this will be found to be the only safe and effectual remedy for all the evils under which India now labours."

Now the foregoing observations, founded, as they appear to have been, upon unshaken premises, demonstrate how the aid of foreign capital and foreign enterprise, aided by the application of science to manual labour, was then considered (how much more so is it now ?) necessary to render manifold the resources of India. The obnoxious law of license has since 1834 been revoked ; the ports of India opened to the free traders ; and Europeans emancipated from the shackles of purchasing land and embarking their capital on its cultivation in India ; and yet with what little effect ? What have those would-be colonizers—the enterprising body of British merchants—done for India, for which for 20 years they panted so much ? They have benefitted themselves much, at the cost of impoverishing the manufacturing districts of India ; for since the repealing of the law of license, and opening to the free traders of the sea-ports of India, the commercial prosperity of its three emporiums—the cities of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay—have been only greatly enlarged, by the infusion of new life and vigour, through the extensive intercourse between the British and Indian merchants ; by the augmented exchange of traffic carried over the broad ocean between these emporia of India and Europe. But simultanously with the creation of this limited advantage in one respect, and that only at the sea-ports of Bombay, Madras,

and Calcutta, they have, on the other hand, destroyed the manufacturing trade of the bulk—the people, the ryots of India—in the interior of the country.

Not only our Indian markets, but also others dependent on the same, became so over-stocked with European manufactures,—British piece goods in particular,—*and these so cheap*, that it was found impossible for our internal manufacturers to compete with those of Europe in general, and England in particular.

The people in the interior of India had two sources of livelihood and profit to depend upon. They not only depended on the raw products of the soil, but also on manufacturing the same at home, for use and for traffic—for internal consumption, and for exportation to neighbouring places and foreign territories. The great source of their income and profit is now lost to them, by the destruction of their manufacturing trade. It is this that particularly pinches them so keenly—it is this that makes them cry out for relief: it is in the power of those who benefitted by their misfortunes to supply that relief. The relief consists in supplying them with capital, and by showing them how to economize labour by the application of method and science to labour. The capital, which they in their misfortune have to borrow, can only be had from a class ofextortioners in India,—petty dealers in money, "Mharwarrees,"—at ruinous interest; and as to the method of working on European scientific principles, they require to be taught and brought up to it.

As to the land tax being oppressive in India, the injurious effect of which has been much magnified by a number of public writers and speakers, has been shown, after all, on the authority of those thoroughly conversant with the subject, to be a mere *bugbear*—a sort of phantom.

My personal experience of the land revenue system of India is not large; I therefore rely greatly on the official returns, and other statistical papers published by Government and others, when I venture an opinion that it is neither the land tax, nor any other popular Native grievance, hawked about in England, that has much to do with the increase or decrease of the trade of the country. On the authorities of those disinterested critics who happened to have probed into the question, and who had the

best means of ascertaining facts for themselves, it has been shown "*that in no country in the world has the tenant so large a share (in proportion) of the produce, after paying the rent, as he has in India.*"*

The land tax, or any other tax, has not prevented the increased cultivation of opium and indigo on the other side of India, or cotton on this and the Madras side of it—trade in these commodities having been to some extent fostered by the combined capital of the merchants of England and merchants' agents and brokers who are benefitted thereby at the respective cities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. Few cities, if any, can boast of their augmented commercial importance so much within the last 15 or 20 years as Bombay. Land rent in the Bombay Presidency has been stated to be higher in comparison to what it is in Bengal. If it had, then, any effect on the trade, it ought to have destroyed or reduced that of Bombay. But the reverse is the case: Bombay, with its higher rate of taxation, has had its trade rising, both in the raw materials for exportation, and foreign manufactures by importation, within the last 15 or 20 years, at an amazing rate of rapidity, whilst that of Bengal, with a lighter pressure, has been declining.

How desirable is it, then, to extend the operation of that enterprise from its present limit—from the borders or surface into the heart of the country.

You, and those like you, dear Sir, who manifest sympathy for the people of India, have a vast deal in your power to effect the most wished-for object, namely, the amelioration of the prospects and condition of this country and its people, by deputing, or causing others to depute, pioneers, possessing talent, capital, and enterprise, to employ the same in conjunction with, or independently of the people,—the ryots,—and to show them and our capitalists here how much, by uniting the capital and enterprise of the one nation with the other, the mutual prospects of both can be improved and augmented, and that, too, without the aid of their respective Governments.

* Captain Harvey Tuckett's Letter to the Manchester Chamber of Commerce and Manufactures, published in 1840.

The deputing of the late Mr. Mackay,—a gentleman who, when out here, was well known to me,—who agreed with my views above propounded, (and whose death I do most truly deplore,)—and the recent arrival of Mr. D. Seymour on the other side of India, personally to ascertain the resources of India, and the condition and capabilities of its people, deserve commendation. The labours of such visitors among us, if rightly directed, —with their minds purged of all bias for or against the Government or the governed ; if they are not crammed by interested and designing parties ; in short, if they would *see by their own eyes, hear by their own ears, and be not swayed by the views and opinions of others,*—their mission must naturally be productive of solid and permanent advantages to all parties.

There ought, however, to be more such Commissioners sent out, each taking a separate branch of inquiry : the territorial and revenue system by one ; the judicial ditto by another ; scientific researches by a third ; and so on. That such Commissioners should not pay flying visits here and there, nor be contented with visiting some of the chief towns, nor by taking people's dry depositions ; but that they should remain long enough in the country, travel deeper into its very heart, go over its trunk and branches, nooks and corners ; to draw indiscriminately into conversation intelligent individuals from among the several classes and grades of the community ; leading them to explain, argue, or otherwise demonstrate the correctness of the several propositions for or against the Government system, or any other system having for its object the improvement of the resources, agricultural, geological, mineralogical, or of the manufactures of the country, and of the condition, moral, mental, and political, of their fellow-subjects.

I remain, dear Sir,

Your faithful Servant,

MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE.

Villa, Byculla, Bombay, 14*th January* 1854.

No. 2.

To

RICHARD COBDEN, Esq., M.P.,

LONDON.

DEAR SIR,

When I commenced writing to you on the day of the departure of the last mail, I had no thought of lengthening my letter to such an extent ; but the subject I entered upon was so fertile—so replete with interest—that I went on writing till I was warned by my Clerk, who was copying it, that there was little time left ere the closing of the mail. I am glad I reserved what I then intended adding for another opportunity, as it has enabled me to-day to take a retrospective view of the main question, and to discuss it calmly and deliberately, viz. whether the land tax in India is really so oppressive as to impede the development of the indigenous products of the soil, as has been represented by one set of writers and speakers, or that the real impediments can be attributed to other sources, as set out by the other.

There are, doubtless, individual instances, which might be cited, of high rates of assessment being paid by some of the landholders, and the acts of Government or its officers in individual cases reprehensible, because apparently illiberal or vexatious, and as such discouraging to individuals. But such cases should be taken as exceptions to the general rule. Such cases of grievances ought not to be taken as samples of the whole system until they become more numerous, agree in details, and proofs be forthcoming that they have been correctly represented to competent authority, but without redress. Until this is done, such individual cases, I have always contended, should form subject matter of individual complaints to the authorities, and ought to be judged and decided upon their respective merits.

There are, I believe, few public writers, unconnected with the East India Company's Service, who appear to have so very assiduously studied the "India Land Revenue System" as Captain Harvey Tuckett. His published letter to the "Man-

chester Chamber of Commerce and Manufactures," in 1840, is a document of permanent value and interest, on account of its being the production of an Officer in Her Majesty's (not the Company's) Service, who was, to use his own words, " an idler by profession, but who, during the residence of fifteen years in India, had been led by that very idleness to consider of the subject" ; and that after giving many years of study to the subject, though highly prejudiced when he commenced the inquiry, " the result has been, as regards the land revenue in Upper India, highly favourable to the East India Company." And the conclusion he arrived at nearly fifteen years ago was, that although Government is the lord of the soil in one sense of the term, "*in no country in the world has the tenant so large a share in proportion of the produce after paying his rent as he has in India.*" And this he has, it appears, clearly demonstrated, by copious extracts from a mass of tabular statements, prepared with care from official records.

The land revenue system of India, except to those who happen to be engaged in its management, or, from the nature of their avocations, might chance to be conversant with it, is a system imperfectly understood in India, vaguely so in England. The gallant author above mentioned, in writing on the subject, has given, among others, the following terse illustration of, and at the same time the death-blow to, one of those popular delusions so generally prevalent in England, in reference to the very topic under review. He writes in his letter to the Manchester Chamber of Commerce :—

> " As a proof how easily persons are led to adopt the *past* for the *present*, I would refer you to Mr. Montgomery Martin's Statistics of the British Empire, published in 1839, where that gentleman gives a very elaborate table of the Inland Customs and Town Duties of Bengal and Agra, brought down to 1832-33. Looking at the date of Mr. Montgomery Martin's work, and this table, one would imagine inland customs and town duties to be still in existence ; whereas the reason why no later returns had been received at the East India House was, simply because the inland customs and town duties were abolished.

"Another error I would here allude to, is one perpetrated by the learned Lord Brougham, but which has been adopted on his responsibility by others. In a speech made by his lordship at the Freemasons' Tavern in favour of the 'Friend of India Society,' his lordship asserted that the Government seize $\frac{9}{10}$ths as a tax, leaving the remaining $\frac{1}{10}$th to the Zemindars; thus the Government seized the hundred out of one hundred and ten, and were devising new methods by which they might secure the remaining ten. A few minutes' consideration were sufficient to show whence his lordship derived his information, and on a reference to Mr. R. Rickards' 'India, or Facts, &c.' published in 1829, there stood the passage, vol. i. p. 360: 'of which $\frac{9}{10}$ths were seized by the Government as a tax, and $\frac{1}{10}$th left to Zemindars.' His Lordship, however, had omitted the previous portion, which shows a different state of things; —for first, certain expenses are to be deducted,—then half for the cultivator; and then comes the $\frac{9}{10}$ths for the Government, and $\frac{1}{10}$th for the Zemindar; and this with reference to a state of things near fifty years ago; when the rent was fixed on the then cultivated land, fixed as Mr. Rickards admits, 'never to be increased.'"

The writer has correctly stated that the subject of the India land revenue system, "at the same time that it is one of the greatest *importance*, is one of the greatest *difficulty*" for foreigners to comprehend. The following anecdote, though piquant, is, I believe, perfectly true:—

"There is an old anecdote well known in India, of a French traveller, who having run over the East, arrived at Calcutta for embarkation to Europe. His book was ready, all he had seen and all he imagined he had seen, accurately described; for Indian travellers, from Emma Roberts to Jacquemont, consider themselves authorised to describe scenes as from actual observation, if chance has taken them within three hundred miles of the spot. The only thing wanting was an account of the Revenue System. By chance he met, on the eve of his departure, Mr. Holt Mackenzie at a dinner

party,—was introduced, and preferred his request, 'that Monsieur Mackenzie would accord him the favour of *ten minutes*' conversation to explain the Revenue System of India, and thus enable him to complete his book.' 'Sir,' Mackenzie is reported to have replied, 'I have been employed on the Revenue System of India for the last thirty years, and do not yet understand it myself.'"

The revenue system has since been attempted to be simplified; and those few from among a multitude who have studied it declare it to be the opposite of oppressive to the people—praiseworthy rather than blameworthy in Government. I will quote a few more extracts from Captain Harvey Tuckett's publication above mentioned, in which he has gallantly grappled with the question "The India Land Tax and its effects on Commerce." He says, in his letter to the Manchester body :—

"Should I not have already convinced you, gentlemen, that the revenue system of India is not quite so bad as it is represented, I trust I have at all events afforded you some information on the subject; and such as will enable you to arrive at a just conclusion. This is the age of superlatives; and when you are told everything is bad, there must be a consolation in knowing things will mend in time. There is no use, however, in giving way to general reprehension, and at the same time shutting our eyes to the truth. I am unfortunately placed, by the position I have taken, in opposition to every writer who has preceded me,—in opposition to the preconceived ideas of 999 persons out of the thousand who may take the trouble of reading this letter. I am aware that every word, every figure will be cavilled at, and the slightest unintentional slip of the pen magnified to an extent sufficient to render the entire evidence useless. I therefore rely upon your candour in taking the whole, not a part.

"Under such circumstances, you, I am sure, will scarcely blame me if I try to strengthen my position, and presuppose the only objection which I think can be offered to the statistical tables and deductions,—deductions by which it is

shown the revenue falls as lightly as possible on the population. There is a preconceived idea of the worthlessness of Indian agriculture. The general average produce of wheat is, I believe, 28 bushels of 60 lbs. or 1680 lbs. per acre in England. Is it then possible to believe that in India, where the natives were so decried for ignorance, want of skill and industry; where they only scratch the ground instead of ploughing it; and use two half-starved bullocks instead of four fat horses; where they have neither barns nor threshing machines,—is it possible, I ask, a people like this, who only sow 110 lbs. to the acre instead of, as in England, 210 lbs. per acre, should obtain a return, as assumed, of 1400 lbs. to the acre?

"In a district infinitely inferior in cultivation to those from which the tables have been taken, a number of trials were made as below:—

"The number of trials were—

Wheat.	Barley.	Gram.	Rice of sorts.	Bajra.	Ràb.
512	349	326	236	65	53

And the result of these trials was, on an average of 11 different villages, only 1046 lbs. of wheat. This I admit may be construed as telling against the previous information given to you. But I consider it fair and honest to afford all the information in my power, even extending to details formed for the purpose of proving the amount of produce as small as possible.

"The discrepancy may, however, be accounted for in a very simple way; viz. whether the land is employed for only one crop of wheat in the year? or whether a crop of corn is taken, and then a second crop of oil seed, pulse or millet in the same year? which I fully believe is the case where the average is as low as 1046 lbs. per acre.

"By a reference to the Ayeen Akbery, or set of tables formed in the Emperor Akbar's reign, the result of nineteen years, (a lunar cycle, in which the seasons are supposed to run through all their variations,) the average produce of wheat *all over India* is given at 1153 lbs. per acre, and this,

be it remembered, two centuries since. Allowing, therefore, that I am wrong in assuming 1464 lbs. as the produce per acre, and that the amount given in Akbar's time is more correct for a general inference, then the produce would be wheat 1153 lbs. per acre, selling price 80 lbs. per rupee, (two shillings value) 14 rupees 6 annas, or 1*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.* per acre, from which deduct average rent paid to Government 2*s.* 10½*d.*, and the sum left to the tenant is 1*l.* 5*s.* 10½*d.* The return in India to the proportion of wheat sown is $\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{1}\frac{5}{5}$ ten-fold, while in England only eight-fold.

"In England the average rent on cultivated and meadow land is 22*s.* The average gross produce taken as rent, according to Loudon, is a quarter to a *fifth*. Therefore, if you take a mean of these, the average gross produce will be in England 97*s.* 9*d.* per acre. The wages of a common day-labourer are in England on the average about one shilling a day; in India two-pence, or one-sixth. The average price of wheat is now in England 70*s.* the quarter, in India 80 lbs. the rupee, or 40 lbs. for a shilling—the price in England being about 7 lbs. for a shilling. The price of wheat in India is therefore about 6 times less than it is in England, or in proportion to the rate of wages—founded on the tables of Akbar. In times of famine the price in India would be about 10 lbs. for the shilling.

"Allowing money to be five times more valuable in India than it is in England, and the produce of an acre according to the Ayeen Akbery to be worth at present 1*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.*, this would give in English money value of an acre 7*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.*; of which, by the same calculation, 2*s.* 10½*d.* × 5, or 14*s.* 4½*d.* per acre, would be rent; leaving for the tenant 6*l.* 8*s.* 4½*d.* In England we have taken the rent at 22*s.*, the produce at 77*s.* 9*d.* per acre, leaving the English tenant 3*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.* A balance remains, therefore, in favour of the poor, degraded, oppressed Indian, of 2*l.* 10*s.* 7½*d.*, admitting the different value of money. But the English tenant, out of his 3*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.*, has not only to pay the expense of cultivation, but he has to pay his pro-

portion of forty-eight millions of taxes. The landlord does not say I will take 22*s.* an acre, and out of that defray all the demands of the State against you; and the wildest dream of Chartism never arrived at such an anticipation. But in India the State says, 'I acknowledge no landlord *but the State.* Pay 2*s.* 10½*d.* Indian, or 14*s.* 4½*d.* English money, and you are free from any other demand on account of the State (except on salt, spirits, and stamps).' "

The foregoing is the opinion of one not in the interest of the India Company, and it was published nearly fifteen years ago. When I was in England, in 1841, a printed prospectus of the formation of an "East India Cotton Company" was sent to me by a friend of mine, with whom I had then some correspondence on the subject. The objects aimed at by that Company were praiseworthy, viz. to assist the cultivators of the soil with money, and by other practicable means to improve the quality, as well as to augment the quantity of Indian cotton. But I have since heard nothing further of the Company. Then came into existence this great Manchester Association, of which we hear so much, the members of which, both collectively and individually, certainly drew Parliamentary attention to the importance of improving the indigenous resources of India, and the mode of transit thereof; and this was a move in the right direction.

It was in consequence of this effort that, I believe, the Cotton Commission was appointed at Bombay, under instruction from the *Home Authorities*, and the report of that Commission or Committee is another valuable document, that has cleared much mystification which had previously prevailed as to the efforts of Government towards improving the quality and augmenting the quantity of our cotton supplies to England. Their report showed that Government, far from being lukewarm in the matter, has been as warm and active therein as could be wished; that it has not been sleeping over its own advantages, as well as of those of the traders in that valuable commodity; and that it was, as it is, the continuance of the Government exertion that has, in a measure, kept alive and invigorated the Indian cotton trade, as the following concluding passage of that report proves:—

"On the whole, your Committee see reason to apprehend that if the exertion of the Government were relaxed, the cultivation might turn to its old course, unless this subject was taken up by men of capital and enterprise, or some other means adopted to supply that stimulus to exertion and improvement which is now afforded by the Government."

The Bombay Cotton Commissioners held their meetings at the Bombay Custom House. The then Collector of the Sea and Continental Customs were the official members appointed on the part of Government; the rest were from among the merchants, European and Natives of Bombay, of whom no one took a more active part in the examination of the proceedings and preparation of the report, than the senior partner of one of our distinguished European houses of agency here, Mr. R. W. Crawford, a gentleman who had devoted more than ordinary attention to the study of the Native character, and their wants in the country. I was then an Assistant Collector of Customs, and the correspondence relative to, and the report of this Commission, which I then happened to have read, confirmed the view I had previously formed of the immense importance of developing the resources of this country, by the combined help of foreign capital and enterprise with the capital and energy of the people of India, and which ever since that time I have been impressing on the attention of those in this country and Europe who take an interest in the question, and who, I believe, possess the means of accomplishing that end.

Since the date of the Bombay Cotton Committee's report, masses of statistical details relative to the revenue assessment of this side of India have been published by Government, which have thrown a flood of light on the subject. These publications exhibit that public officers, eminent alike for their talents, experience, and energy, were selected by Government for the performance of a great work—making revenue settlements for the several Zillahs; that throughout their labours they appear to have acted strictly up to the injunctions of Government, and have been actuated by no other consideration than to render the pressure as light as possible on the people. The several

instructions conveyed by Government to the officers engaged in this branch of the public service, and the suggestions which emanated from several of them evince a degree of liberality for the people unheard of in the days of their past rulers. The correspondence embodied in the published "Selections from the Records of Government" of this Presidency deserves attentive and dispassionate perusal, in order to place or judge of the conduct and character of Government in their true light.

Previous to the publication of the selections just mentioned, and of a series of articles in one of our local newspapers, by Professor H. Green, then of the Poona College, an altogether disinterested critic, reviewing them, the old story of the land being heavily taxed in India, its occupants bent down by over-pressure of taxation, &c. was much ventilated; and this was to have been made, by the Young India party here, one of their formidable shows of grievances in the course of the late agitation on the Charter question. The publications in question, however, appeared at a most opportune period. They had the effect of silencing completely the infant agitators here opposed to the existing administration of India, at least on this branch of the subject, since their "Puntoojee," the distinguished Professor aforesaid, has declared that the revenue survey and assessment of the Deccan, which has been "voluntarily granted to the peasantry of a portion of the Bombay Presidency, and is about with all practicable speed to be extended to the remainder," is, to use the Professor's own words, "*one of the bright pages in the history of our Indian administration.*"

Though I have, I fear, much engrossed your attention, and may have exhausted your patience, by the lengthy quotations I have already given from Captain Tuckett's book, I cannot conclude this letter without extracting a passage or two from Professor Green's pamphlet "On the Deccan Ryots and their Land Tenure," which, for the facts it contains, the soundness of the views its author has taken, and disinterestedness of his position while discussing the subject, deserve every consideration. After carefully analysing the published records of Government, and epitomising every requisite tabular statement therein embodied, the Professor continues:—

"Our readers will, no doubt, have been struck with the extreme lowness of the rates generally. The four Poona Talookas, with all the advantage of the lowest market for agricultural produce in the Deccan, pay an average rent, it will be seen, of only seven annas and seven pies, or something less than a shilling an acre! In the Indapore Talooka the average is 8*d.* an acre! ! In Dharwar the land of the best class, the famous black soil of India, that on which cotton is grown, pays on an average but 14 annas (1*s.* 9*d.*) —the rate for the most eligible portion of this again being but 1 rupee, 7 annas, and 9 pies, or something less than three shillings! What would an English, or even an Irish, farmer say to such rates as 8*d.* an acre for a whole district, or three shillings per acre for the best land to be had? The bold reduction of their demands to such rates as these reflects, certainly, the highest credit on the liberality of the Government, and one cannot but rejoice to see such a policy rewarded by an extension of agricultural industry, and the gradual restoration of the gross revenue to its former amount. But what volumes does the necessity for such rates tell of the wretched industrial character of the people, and their extreme unproductiveness. We must not, however, enter upon so large a subject as this at the end of an article, and defer it, therefore, till a future appearance."

Then, in his next article, he observes :—

"Liberal and admirable a measure as the new settlement is, and essential as it undoubtedly was, as the first step towards any improvement in the province, it is clear that something much greater still remains to be accomplished. It is altogether impossible that a people raising merely bulky and coarse agricultural produce should ever be able to pay a money revenue of any amount; and not only so, but they themselves, however liberally treated, can never be otherwise than wretchedly poor,—in favourable seasons living, perhaps, in rude and coarse abundance, but reduced to poverty and distress at the occurrence of every unfavourable one.

"The great desiderata are more varieties of industry, and, above all things, more eligible and more abundant exports. Under our rule an unheard-of portion of the revenue of the country is spent for foreign commodities. A Governor, a Member of Council, a Judge, or Collector does not, as a Native Rajah or Jaghirdar would, spend his income on crowds of retainers and hangers-on of all kinds, creating a large demand for bajree, jowaree, ghee, and goor—he requires Long-Acre carriages, Arabian horses, French and Spanish wines, Parisian and London millinery, and a long list of foreign etceteras. The rich Native, also, now imitates him in almost all these things, and even the comparatively poor one expends whatever revenue he may have, beyond what is just sufficient to supply him with necessaries, in English cloth and copper, and China silver and silk. This intense demand for foreign commodities renders it of vital importance that the exports which are to pay for them, and to provide also, if we are considering the case of all India, for the large tribute which in various shapes we exact, but of which the Deccan probably pays no portion whatever, should be such as are in their turn greatly in demand among foreigners, and contain considerable value in small bulk, so as to be easily and cheaply transported. Our rule will be light or heavy in India almost in exact proportion to the facility, or the difficulty, which the country has in creating a demand abroad for its products.

"Let us suppose a Native prince and nobility, such as Bajirao and the Mahratta Sirdars were, to suddenly change their tastes and habits, to dismiss the swarms of Brahmins hanging about them, and the suwars, peons, ghorawallas, and troops of idle servants, to whose maintenance their revenues had hitherto been devoted, to keep but few horses, and these purchased from the Persian Gulf instead of from the valley of the Bheemthurry, and to spend, as we do, the revenues which supported all these dependents in every variety of foreign luxury. The first effect, evidently, must be great misery to the classes thus deprived of their accus-

tomed means of living; the second, that the money no longer finding its way through these to the grain and other provision dealers, and through them to the producers, these latter will not have it to return to their rulers as revenue; there will be a general inability to pay the former rates for land, and every symptom of poverty and distress. In the meantime the foreign luxuries in question being at first paid for in silver, the drain of this from the province will have produced falling prices. When these have fallen low enough to make it profitable to export the rude produce of the country, the drain will stop, and the foreign goods be henceforth paid for by these greatly deteriorated products."

Than the following highly complimentary notice with which Professor H. Green has summed up his pamphlet, nothing can be more gratifying to Government and its officers. He says:—

"In concluding this series of articles, which it is proposed now to collect and publish in the form of a pamphlet, it will be well, perhaps, to state briefly what have been the writer's sources of information; and also to gather up, from the nine articles over which they are scattered, the chief results to which his inquiries have led him.

"He has in the first place to confess his obligations to the Revenue Survey Commissioner for the unwearied kindness with which his numerous, minute, and, perhaps, in some cases, almost unnecessarily cautious and sceptical inquiries, have been replied to, and for the stores of valuable information placed at his disposal in the Revenue Survey Department.

"He has also to thank the present Revenue Secretary for the liberality which has allowed the most ample access —not to favourable specimens merely, or select portions, but —to the whole of the revenue records relating to the subject in the Government archives. And he wishes to record his very high admiration of the perfect candour with which the inquiries he has presumed to make in this department have been answered; of the willingness, so evident, that every part of the subject should, to the full extent of the writer's

capabilities for his self-imposed task, be thoroughly sifted and examined; and of the scrupulous anxiety to abstain, while yet supplying every requisite elucidation, from the suggestion of any *inference* from the evidence, leaving it in every case to produce its legitimate effect on the mind of the inquirer.

"He is bound, too, after reading some twenty volumes of revenue records, containing everything connected with the revenues of the Deccan Collectorates for the last four or five years, to state, that the liberality with which the Survey Settlement has been planned and carried out pervades the whole of the correspondence and orders of the Government on the subject of revenue generally. In no instance where a low assessment has been proposed, or where large remissions have been granted, as in unsurveyed districts they frequently must be, has he met with a single phrase implying that the Government looked wistfully or regretfully at the abandoned revenue. The response, wherever it proceeds beyond the expression of a simple sanction, is invariably either a hope on the part of the Government that the remissions have been sufficiently liberal, or an expression of apprehension lest they should not have been so. It occurs, occasionally, that two Revenue Officers differ about the amount of remissions to be granted, and the writer has been struck by the fact, in every case of this kind which he has met with, it is the more liberal officer whose opinions have been adopted by the Government, and this although he may even be the junior and subordinate one,—considerations of discipline, or of the propriety of maintaining authority, having apparently no influence on the decision whenever it is a question of the possibility of an oppressive collection.

* * * * *

"We have now arrived at the end of our inquiry, reserving some attempts at a history of prices which we have prepared, for an Appendix. We have striven above all things to be perfectly truthful throughout, to the utmost

of our ability. Admiring greatly, as we do, the liberal feeling, the sound principles, and the skill and energy which have been brought to bear upon the new settlement, we have certainly greatly *desired* to find that the promoters of it had met with their reward in the increased and increasing prosperity of the districts into which it has been introduced. But we have been at least equally anxious that our wishes should have no influence on our judgment; and we must so far risk incurring the charge of want of modesty as to state that we are satisfied, that on the whole we have succeeded in depicting the Survey Settlement and its results, and the general condition of the ryots in the Deccan, as they really are."

The published revenue records of Government relative to the land revenue settlements in Guzerat and Dharwar exhibit just as favourable a picture as those of the Deccan, in the praise of which Professor H. Green has been so eloquent. The staple products of the Concan, northern and southern, are grass and bhat (*rice*). The share apportioned between Government, as the lords of the soil, and the ryots (the tenants), is one-third for the former, and two for the latter, all *mooturfa* and other taxes on trade, town duty, &c. having long since been abolished and relinquished by Government.

I hope to resume the subject in my next, to show you, notwithstanding all this, what Government might yet do, if it could be made to assist the ryots, combined with the capitalists of England and India, to further the prosperity of both countries.

Yours, &c.

(Signed) MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE.

Villa, Byculla, Bombay, 26th January 1854.

No. 3.

To

RICHARD COBDEN, Esq., M. P.,

LONDON.

DEAR SIR,

I have endeavoured in my last letter, on what I believe to be unexceptionable authorities, to show that if there are any very great impediments in the way of developing the resources of India, especially in respect to its cotton growth (which seem to be the most cared about in England by its manufacturing mass), it should be attributed to other causes,—to the want of national enterprise on the part of its people, and the consequent want of extensive circulation of capital among them,—than to any excessive burthen supposed to be inflicted on the soil by its Government, in the shape of assessment or rent, misnamed tax.

Two circumstances occurred within the last fortnight, which most opportunely afforded additional strength to the view of what I have just stated. The circumstances are the perusal of the late Mr. W. Mackay's posthumous work, and secondly, a long and interesting discussion personally with Mr. Danby Seymour, who paid us a flying visit. Both of these gentlemen were commissioners, or missionaries, to collect information as to the actual state and capability of this country, particularly its cotton-growing districts, and of the condition and worth of the producers and dealers in that commodity—the "life and soul," as it were, of the British Commerce.

Although the late Commissioner Mackay's published report appears to have been framed with the above great object, and throughout its length one cannot fail to observe a degree of hostile feelings *fiercely* to attack the East Indian Company's Government for its alleged niggard policy, he has published enough which, like the "*two-edged Damascus blade*," cuts both ways—cuts the Government and cuts its opponents at the same time; for whilst he has found fault with the Government, according to his light, in not doing what it should or ought to have done,

he had taken to task the unenterprising people of India, and the enterprising merchants of England, for not doing what they should or ought to have done on their part.

The late Commissioner, Mr. Mackay, has ably depicted the nefarious system at work among the Natives in respect to the depreciation of the cotton by mixture of impurities. The divers shapes and shades of frauds and extra charges perpetrated, and preferred through and by different hands, down from the *Ryots*, the *Bhageedars*, *Talookdars*, *Jageer or Enámdars*, *Tulatees*, up to *Patells*, in the first division of the spoil; then from *Vakhareeas*, *Ahruteeas*, the local agents of the Bombay merchants, *Marfuteeas*, the shippers at the ports of Guzerat, the boatmen, up to the consignees or their brokers and agents at Bombay in the second division; each of these intermediators between the producers of cotton in the field and its final exporters from the harbour of Bombay to England having severally to add his little to make up the muckle by way of adulterage, pilferage, brokerage, and other *ages* in the profit of the trade; and after paying by no means a flattering compliment to the Natives of India generally, and those Natives entrusted with the offices of superintendents, &c. in the Government service particularly, (who, he says, "*are so used to corruption*," and "*amenable to temptation and influence, from which European superintendents would be exempt*,") he suggested the advisability of altogether doing away with the various grades of Native agency, and of having European superintendents entirely if possible, or otherwise of placing "the Natives playing subordinate posts under a comprehensive and efficient European control." And finally, after being thus severe in running down the Native probity and worth, he has impressed on the attention of his constituents the essentiality of exporting to India British capital and British enterprise in bulk, to enable the importation into England particularly of its cotton supplies in arger quantity and better quality.

The late Mr. Mackay has summed up his observations on the above heads in the following impressive words:—

"For this disgraceful state of the Indian cotton trade a portion of the blame attaches to the Bombay merchants, and

the manner in which they conduct their business. I am not about to join in any clamour against them that others may pass uncensured; but the system whereby the European merchants transact their business through Shroffs or Native brokers does not favour the improvement of the trade. The merchants leave too much power in the hands of their brokers, who unfortunately have in many instances been found to have had interests of their own to subserve not very reconcileable with those of their employers.

"It would be both loathsome and tedious to recount the multiform aspects which the frauds perpetrated have been made to assume; all of them, of course, being turned to the advantage of the go-between.

"Such being the evil, whence is to come the cure? Some rely much on the exercise of a superior degree of vigilance on the part of the merchants, and others again are disposed to lay much stress upon the establishment of European agents and capitalists in the cotton-growing districts. That much good would be effected by the gradual supersession by Europeans of the Native dealers, who play so early and so conspicuous a part in the frauds which are perpetrated, can scarcely be doubted. They would introduce with them European notions and principles of business, and infuse new life and activity into an industry which is now very languishing. So desirable indeed does this arrangement appear to be, that many call upon Government to spare no efforts on its part which might lead to their establishment. To this there are objections, which are either overlooked, or too easily made light of. Government may open up the country, and bring the coast and the interior into easy communication, thus affording a field for European enterprise and capital, but if private enterprise is to succeed, it must rely entirely upon its own energies, and not on any extraneous help it may receive from Government."

This is a truism. Mr. Danby Seymour, too, in the course of his flying visit to these shores, appeared to have been impressed with the same conviction; for although loud in his condemnation of the several measures of Government withholding due

support, as he believed, in furtherance of the objects beneficial to the country, he has strongly urged on the attention of his Native acquaintances, whom he met here, that "the means of communication should be increased all over the country; they should promote education: all this should be done by private enterprise altogether, and not to be dependent on Government."*

Now, Sir, this is precisely what I have been so long endeavouring, *but in vain*, to recommend my countrymen to turn their attention to, namely to "*look less to Government, and do something for themselves.*" *This, and this alone, can improve the aspect of their country.* England and America rose by the energy and enterprise of their people alone. What is to hinder the Hindoos from doing the same for India?

Those who happily know aught of the state of matters in India and England require not to be told how wrong, unreasonable, and unjust it is for that class of agitators for India (whose views the Young India party, unhappily, have adopted,) to say that the people of India have been pressed down by taxation. The case, however, in this respect appears to be otherwise, if the correctness of the authorities I have before quoted, and am presently going to quote, are to be relied on.

Captain Harvey Tuckett, in his letter to the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, (referred to in my last,) demonstrated, more than a dozen years ago, that the revenue system of India was not quite so bad as it had then been represented by the opponents of the East India Company. For that of the Calcutta side he made out a particularly favourable statement. The system, I believe, has been improving since. The report of the Bombay Cotton Committee gave by no means such a black picture of the efforts of Government towards the improvement of the country as the said opponents expected. The reporters on that occasion, by the way, had entered on the very same field, pointed out very many of the defects Mr. W. Mackay had trodden over and pointed out (vide his posthumous publication); and with such faults the people of the country (and those who

* Vide *Bombay Gazette*, 14th Feb. 1854.

advocate their cause) are shown to be as much chargeable as their Government. The former had done nothing, would do nothing, to help and meet the latter some way in the development of the resources of the country.

The subsequent surveys, or rather the publication of the selection of the Government records, show the revenue settlement of the several zillahs appertaining to the Bombay Presidency to be by no means unbearable by the ryots. That of the Deccan—a large division of the Presidency—according to Professor Green's pamphlet, has been "one of the brightest pages in the history of our Indian administration." In four talookas, says he, the average rent is 7 annas and 7 pies, or something less than a shilling an acre; whilst in one talooka, Indapore, the average is 8*d.* an acre. In Dharwar the land of the best class, the famous black soil on which cotton is grown, pays on an average 14 annas, *i.e.* 1*s.* 9*d.*; the most eligible of this again being but 1 rupee 7 annas and 9 pies, or something less than 3*s.*

In the zillahs of Guzerat, extracting the very figures from the late Mr. Mackay's report, that of Baroch is about 2 rupees and 8 annas, as the average of a beega, or 8*s.* 9*d.* per statute acre. In Surat it is a little higher, the average there being 2 rupees 14 annas per beega; or, deducting for the difference of measurement, (the Surat beega being larger than that of Baroch,) it would be 2 rupees 8 annas, or about 10*s.* per statute acre; and in Kaira 2 rupees 6 annas, or, reducing the measurement to the Baroch standard, (the Kaira beega being larger even than the Surat beega,) it is 2 rupees and 2 annas, or 8*s.* 6*d.* per statute acre. This includes all lands, those highly as well as lowly assessed, from garden land, paying on an average 6 rupees per beega, to pasture land, paying on an average a rent of three quarters of a rupee per beega. The land producing cotton pays less than the general average rent.

In respect to the two Concans,* no authentic surveys are, I believe, yet reported upon, and therefore it is impossible to

* I made an error in my last, in saying two-thirds for the ryots, and one for Government, as if a settled thing, which is not the case, as I now explain.

cite an exact figure on any reliable authority. But the maximum rent or assessment on the soil would, I have been informed, scarcely exceed one-third of the value, in coin, of the crop produced, though considerably under on an average. The surveys of the Concan zillahs are in progress, and great changes are in contemplation, to reduce yet further the existing rent on the soil as much as practicable.

To display more glaringly at a glance the gigantic extent of the real taxation in England in comparison to what is so called in India, I would here quote the following from a very high statistical authority of the day, Colonel Sykes, than whom, though connected with the Direction of the East India Company's Court in England, I feel assured the Natives of India have not a more sincere friend or ardent advocate of their just rights and pretensions.

In speaking of the pressure of taxation in India, the gallant Colonel, in addressing his constituents at the India House meeting last year, said—

"The present total population taxed by us, including Punjaub and Scinde, is 105,169,633 souls, and the revenue £26,291,180. The taxation per head, therefore, is 4*s.* 1*d.**—the taxation of the United Kingdom being £2 1*s.* 9¾*d.*" (! ! !) "But this disparity," he added, "gives no just idea of the relative pressure, unless it is viewed in respect to agricultural wages in the two countries, and I find the pressure of taxation in relation to wages in India, at 6*s.* per month, is 6·94 per cent., and in England, at 10*s.* per week, 8·04 per cent., being in fact lighter in India, and the Native labourer has greater facilities for maintaining himself than the European labourer, in the great cheapness of food, clothing, and rent. I might have made the comparison still more marked, by adding to the pressure of taxation in England the rent paid by occupiers, and the self-imposed taxation arising from the consumption of spirits, beer, and tobacco;

* This including mint duties, post office collections, stamps, Calcutta excise, miscellaneous, civil and revenue, judicial fees and fines, land, sayer, abkaree, &c., customs, salt, opium, interest in arrears of revenue, marine, morturfa, and tobacco.

but I purposely abstained from doing so, to avoid any cavil about uncertain elements being introduced into the comparison. The mean pressure of the salt tax is $5\frac{1}{4}d.$ per head, or 164th part of a labourer's annual wages; and 2*s.* worth of salt will last a man from eight to ten months in different parts of India, depending on the local price."

In order to render the contrast still more marked, I am tempted to give, or rather reproduce, here, the following vivid sketch, and to the point, on the sources of taxation in England, given by Lady Leicester, in her instructive work headed "Glory and Shame of England," upon a distinguished authority. "Lord Brougham," says her Ladyship, "once wrote the following words on the subject of taxation in England; the description is so graphic that I must give way to my own words for them:—

"'The Englishman is taxed for everything that enters his mouth, covers his back, or is placed under his feet. Tax is imposed upon everything that is pleasant to see, hear, taste, or smell: taxes upon warmth, light, and locomotion; taxes upon everything on the earth, in the waters, and under the earth; upon everything that comes from abroad, or is grown at home; taxes upon the raw material, and upon every value that is added to it by the ingenuity and industry of man; taxes upon the sauce that pampers man's appetite, and on the drugs that restore him to health; on the ermine that decorates the judge, and on the rope that hangs the criminal; on the brass nails of the coffin, and on the ribbons of the bride. At bed or at board, "*couchant ou levant*," we must pay. The school-boy whips his taxed top; the beardless youth manages his taxed horse by a taxed bridle on a taxed road; and the dying Englishman, pouring his medicine which has paid 7 per cent. into a spoon which has paid 30 per cent., throws himself upon his chintz bed, which has paid 22 per cent., and having made his will, the seal of which is also taxed, expires in the arms of his apothecary, who has paid £100 for the privilege of hastening his death. His whole property is then taxed from 2 to 10 per cent., and beside the sixpence of probate, he pays large fees for burial in the chancel, and his virtues are handed down to

posterity on taxed marble; after all which he may be gathered to his forefathers to be taxed no more.' "!!!

Really those, and particularly the people of India, who never could form, nor having the means of forming, an accurate conception of the enormous extent of taxation in England, or rather the comparative difference of its pressure and buoyancy between the two countries, cannot but be amazed at the above "*bird's-eye view*" thereof when presented to their observation. It would be a riddle to them, apparently hard to solve, how a nation so overburthened with taxation could spring so lightly upon the board of prosperity, whilst those in India, comparatively so very lightly burthened, sing out to have their burthen reduced and made lighter still!

The solution is simple. It is this. It is the characteristic difference between the two nations in respect to their habits, ideas, and notions. It is the energy and enterprise of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom, undaunted in their pursuits, untrammelled by clogs of caste, prejudices, and other peculiarities, religious and mundane, to advance, which enable them to thrive apparently so prosperously on: whilst the apathy, indolence and indifference on the part of the people of India, peculiar, as it were, to its climate, added to the clogs aforesaid on the free exercise of their minds and limbs, have hitherto been, and will always be, a formidable bar to their regeneration from their existing state; and until those several defects in their character are effectually cured, they can never rise to eminence on a parity with those of the United Kingdom, as their ardent well-wishers and advocates of their rights, &c. would wish and desire for them.

It behoves, then, I reiterate again and again, those who, like you, have the power, and I believe the inclination also, to benefit India and its people, to resort to the most practical means of effecting that cure, and such means, according to the extent of my humble ideas, I have already pointed out in the concluding part of my first letter to you.

The city of Bombay has, within the last fifteen years, wonderfully flourished, chiefly, they say, and I believe truly,

owing to the enterprise of a number of the Parsee merchants. The Kojahs and Mehmons* have been following the Parsees' example. But who let the current of that enterprise into them? Who set the example before them? Who goaded them—warmed them—roused them from their past lethargy? The British merchants! The British merchants, by their extended commercial intercourse with them; by transfusion of some of the British capital and British enterprise with the capital and energy of the Bombay merchants. Let, then, the same transfusion be extended, particularly in the interior. Let the British capitalist and philanthropist look to colonizing Eastern India, and doing towards her what they did for the West Indies. "They would not fail," I say, in the late Mr. W. Mackay's words, "to introduce with them European notions and principles of business, and infuse new life and activity into an industry which is now very languishing," &c. "I am persuaded," continues the same writer, "that the introduction of European capital and enterprise is essential to the thorough regeneration of the Indian cotton trade, but that cannot be accomplished without the aid of Government, for by it alone can the country be opened up, and its means of communication put on something like a civilized footing. Such would be a legitimate exercise of the functions of Government; for the facilities which it would thereby afford to the naturalization of European capital would be of Catholic application, of facilities alike to the Native and to the European. Let Government do this, and it will entitle itself, with justice, to that credit already claimed for it by many of its friends. I am quite aware of the difficulties, in addition to the physical obstacles to be encountered, with which the European in the interior has to contend. But were the country opened up to enable Europeans to find a field for the investment of their capital and enterprise, most of these difficulties would readily be overcome."

The country is not shut, but has, since 1834, been "opened up to enable Europeans to find a field for the investment of their capital and enterprise." There are, and ever will be, difficulties at the outset of every national undertaking in every country, and more so

* A class of Mahomedans hitherto distinguished for their plodding energy.

in India, especially when such undertaking has for its object the eradication of pre-existing evils, or prejudices deeply seated in the minds of the people, or when such undertaking, on the part of its introductors, might otherwise happen not to suit the aims and designs of its rulers, on political basis. But such difficulties, as far as I am able to judge, for reasons I will presently set out, appear to me to be easily surmounted, by the people putting their shoulders to the train, by perseverance, by firmness, not to break down half way, and by boldness in seeking the removal of any such difficulties or any of the impediments, evils, or defects in the law, or in the mode of administration in this country, after first pointing out the injurious effects of their existence on *unerring* premises.

This the undaunted Briton, conversant with the constitution and laws of his country, knew how best to do by straight-forward means. The manly independence with which to seek redress of grievances, after establishing the existence of such grievances, is one of the happy traits in the character of the British. Its want on the part of the timid Hindoo, coupled with other peculiarities which denote the marked difference between them, the latter owe much of the evils to. The longer, therefore, the intercourse between the enlightened and enterprising Europeans and the unenlightened and unenterprising Natives of India continues,—the more the well-born and well-bred Englishman (not the dross of England) is brought into close contact with the Natives of India, especially in the interior, —the greater the facilities, not only for enlarging the bounds of the commercial prosperity of India, not only (to use the late Mr. Mackay's words) to the thorough regeneration of its cotton trade (which I have before said appears to be the very palladium of objects with a host of advocates of India's interests in and out of the Parliaments of England), but it will and must also bring about a great moral and political change in the character, habits, and ideas of its people.

When the Europeans are united with the Natives in larger bands, particularly in the interior of the country, they can, by adopting proper modes of inquiry and better methods of representation, force the legislative and administrative

authorities to pay a greater amount of attention to the real and not superficial wants and wishes of the people—the mass—than what is now accorded to them. The land tenure of India might then be sooner defined and equalized; the occupants of the soil suffered to hold permanent interest therein (though the rent, miscalled tax, thereon, appears to be not so burthensome); a judicial tribunal totally independent of Government might be created, for the adjudication of all questions of difference between the Government, as the lord of the soil on the one hand, and its occupants, the ryots, on the other; and divers other measures calculated to advance the prosperity of the soil and amelioration of the condition—moral, intellectual, and political—of its people, duly effected.

This is a branch of subjects I have already adverted to, commented upon, and impressed on the attention of those who have the means of benefitting India and its people, in my early correspondence with them.* The subject is not new to me now, nor have I taken it up at this epoch to serve any party purpose or political squabble in reference to the late discussion, in and out of the Parliament of England, on the affairs of India.

Some of the abovementioned requirements and alterations in the existing system of Indian administration are, I believe, under the consideration of the authorities. But these appear to me to be of secondary importance, in comparison to what I have endeavoured to demonstrate, and I trust sufficiently, in my several letters, namely the destruction of the manufacturing trade of the country; its causes and effects on the people; the want of natural enterprise on their part; how that want can be supplied by uniting the capital and enterprise of the peoples of the United Kingdom and of India, for their mutual advantage, and this independently of, and by looking less to Government. Every national undertaking, based upon the soundest footing, for the benefit of a country, is sure to meet due support from its Government, *if wise*; for "by augmenting the resources of the country, Government augments its own power; and a Government

* Vide "A few Passing Ideas for the Benefit of India and Indians," 1st Series, pages 29—39.

like the British can never be slow to avail itself of such advantages when sufficiently obvious."

If those figured statements exhibited by the organs of Government and the advocates of the East India Company, and emblazoned forth from time to time, in and out of the British Senate, that so many millions of pounds sterling, or crores of rupees, have been actually laid out on the work of this or that class, in the several Presidencies, for the improvement thereof, are shown to be incorrect, or over-calculated, then the Government deserve to be blamed for doing little or nothing for the country they govern. But if, on the other hand, it is shown that those figures are correct,—that Government has laid out such a mint of money for objects set forth,—though the outlay might fall short of the expectation of others of what it should or ought to have done; combined with the lamentable facts that the people of India have not bestirred, would not bestir themselves,—have done nothing, would do nothing for themselves, but look to Government for everything, then the case is clear—the governed deserve rather to be greatly blamed for the neglect of their country than the Government.

I trust that I. may not be thought unjustified, hence, in the conclusion I have years ago formed, and which I have, I repeat, from time to time impressed, both in public and private, on the attention of my countrymen, and those who, like you, appear to feel an interest in their welfare and their benefit, that "it can never be expected,—it is irrational to expect,—that Government should originate everything, undertake everything, and support everything. That there is much to be done by the Government, no one—not even Government and its advocates—can deny; but it is equally undeniable, on the other hand, that much more is required to be done by the people (and those interested in their welfare and the welfare of their country), and that independently of Government."

I remain, &c.

MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE.

Villa, Byculla, 28th February 1854.

A FEW PASSING IDEAS

FOR THE BENEFIT OF

INDIA AND INDIANS.

Addressed to the Bombay Association.

BY

MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE,

MEMBER ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, AND FELLOW ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, OF ENGLAND; AND OF SEVERAL OTHER LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC BODIES ON THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE.

"Let the facts I have stated be scrutinized, and let my reasoning on those facts be examined; and if the one be shown to be unfounded, and the other erroneous, I shall acknowledge that my authorities are invalid, and my opinions groundless."—"CONCILIATOR," *on the Catholic Emancipation.*

Bombay:

REPRINTED AT THE

BOMBAY EDUCATION SOCIETY'S PRESS.

1853.

PREFACE.

" That the business of the Association cannot be expected to be conducted with prudence and advantage even in the first instance by young men who have not yet left school, and seen anything of the world."

These are the words in which the Chairman of the Bombay Association* at first recorded his opinion on the formation of that institution, which was inaugurated with objects professedly different from what some of its leaders were since bent upon following, and which led to a disruption among its Committees,—secession of a large body of its influential members, and the consequent loss of its influence and position in the estimation of its original advocates and friends.

The following pages contain my Minutes addressed to the original members forming the Bombay Association, and no one who would read these throughout without a bias for or against my views of the questions therein propounded would accuse me of having acted unfriendly towards those connected in raising up this high-sounding body (but manifestly without a sufficiently strong foundation to rest its weight upon), in having pointed out the prominent defects in its constitution, especially since the fundamental principles upon which it was originally based were altered and shaken.

Much depended upon the prudent management of its

* Mr. J. Sunkersett.

working men. Had they followed its original objects, namely to seek information and get enlightened in respect to the constitutions and laws of the Government, and the practical workings of its several branches of administration, before venturing to condemn them in general and sweeping terms, and joining in the outcry raised against the Government of the East India Company by its political opponents, they would have done some good. Their motto should have been what I wished them to take—"First creep, then walk, then run," or in other words "not to attempt to run before getting strength in its limbs, and not to ask for that which it is unreasonable to expect."

The pith of all I earnestly wished for, suggested, and urged on those remaining, who clang to the Association after the disruption aforesaid, was to guard them against the several shoals—dangers—they appeared to me (as to others) to be rushing on. The synopsis of the whole of my ideas on this subject here printed are comprised in the following para. with which I concluded my second minute, namely:—"We ought to side with no one party, but stand aloof on our own ground; think for ourselves, judge for ourselves, and then act for ourselves. Seek and receive (no matter from what source) all and every information, in favour of or against the existing Government, but to use the same very sparingly, and with the greatest possible amount of caution; and not overleap the bounds of discretion in asking what reasonably we could not effect, nor maintain if we had. Otherwise the very object of the Association would be subverted, and its managers fall into an inextricable mesh of discredit and ridicule."

How far this was acted upon, and with what result, will be seen by my Sequel—my subsequent Ideas, however humble—addressed to the Parliamentary Committee. Vide the Second Series.

M. C.

A FEW PASSING IDEAS

FOR THE BENEFIT OF

INDIA AND INDIANS.

No. 1.

I COMMIT to paper my individual views in relation to the proposed move among the natives, contemplated at a select Meeting at the house of Juggonnathjee Sunkersett, Esq., on Wednesday last. Threefold objects prompt me to do so. First, to comply with the wishes of some of my friends; secondly, to prove that I am no enemy to the welfare of my countrymen; and thirdly, to leave it out of the power of any man or any set of men to misconstrue or misinterpret my sentiments, founded as they have been and are upon a number of irreproachable facts.

2. I heard it mentioned that I left that meeting with an impression on the minds of some of the parties there, that I was (to use the very words I heard) for *tumbling down* the contemplated organization of a society whose object was to see what it could do to benefit our countrymen. I must, indeed, be an arrant antipathist to attempt to frustrate any move among my countrymen having such an object in view. Those who thought, or now think so, do me injustice, and exhibit their ignorance of my very character by misconstruing my feelings on the subject.

3. I have frequently been misrepresented, both by parties who knew nothing of me, and by those who ought to know much of me. I have been ill-fated in this respect, even with several of my friends. It may be my misfortune, not my fault, that we could not always pull together; or rather I would not suffer myself to be pulled by them towards their views in all public matters; which must be dis-

cussed on public and not private considerations. Truth, I consider, ought not to be wrapped up in the language of mystery, but plainly told. I would not speak one thing whilst I mean or think another, without regard to pleasing or displeasing any one, be he my friend or otherwise.

4. In order to render intelligible my feelings on the subject under discussion, I must on the outset take a brief review of what passed previous to the last meeting above-mentioned. And to state what led me to appear so warm against raising such large sums of money for the purpose, as it was then believed, of being squandered away.

5. Several months ago, when it was given out that a few young men, or "Young Bombay" (as they are now called), bent upon making a *demonstration* against the existing Company's Government, founded upon a number of alleged grievances, I was asked by, amongst other of my friends, Messrs. Juggonnathjee Sunkersett and Bomanjee Hormusjee, what I thought of these young men's project: and I told them what I thought of the same. I said I feared (though I hoped otherwise) the competency of these young men to handle the subject of the real wants of this country, either with accuracy or effect, prone as I have found them to be to exaggeration, and to abuse everything in Government, whether with or without grounds; and that I fancied their grand aim was to collect money, and spend or squander it away in fruitless pursuits.

6. In reply, I was told we should hear them; and we heard them, or rather two of their prominent members. This was several months ago; I will not dilate on what passed when we met at Mr. Bomanjee Hormusjee's house, except that the result was self-evident in support of what I had thought. They theorized without a basis to support their theory upon. They then appeared to be quite rampant, and a paper which they subsequently sent in, containing the heads of grievances, &c. more than confirmed my previous belief of their ignorance of the subject-matters they professed to handle; and the precipitancy with which they afterwards went round the houses of the Native gentlemen to raise subscriptions beforehand, and before defining or maturing any plan, as to what was to be done with the large sum of money thus precipitately and privately raised, confirmed what I had before merely fancied, that securing *a capital*

in money, was their grand move—perhaps the only object. I hope, and indeed I shall be glad to find, I have been mistaken in my calculation on the subject, and that these young men will then receive their due meed of praise for their disinterested exertions, if successful, for the benefit of our country.

7. I will leave the paper I have just mentioned to speak for itself. It obviously needs no descriptive remark. Here it is :—

" I.—Abolition of the East India Company's seminaries at Hayleybury and Addiscombe.

" II.—Abolition of the Covenanted Service.

" III.—Reduction of the emoluments of the Civil and Staff Appointments in the Military Services.

" IV.—Admission of Natives into the higher grades of the Civil Service.

" V.—Augmentation of the emoluments of the Native functionaries, so as to secure their independence and integrity.

" VI.—Necessity of raising the standard of qualifications of the Civil Service.

" VII.—Reform of the revenue system now prevailing in British India.

" VIII.—Reduction of taxation and duties, especially the duty on salt.

" IX.—Increased and suitable annual allowances out of the public revenue for the construction of roads, bridges, travellers' bungalows, wells, aqueducts, canals, &c.

" X.—Reform of the Presidency and Mofussil Police of British India.

" XI.—Reform of the Mofussil system of judicial administration, so as to ensure superior, speedy, and cheap justice, instead of ruinous and prolonged litigation.

" XII.—Reform of the system of judicial administration in the Queen's Courts at the Presidencies.

" XIII.—Modification of the Act for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors in India.

" XIV.—Modification of the Acts relating to Liberty of Conscience, Statute of Limitation, Rights of Converts, Right of Adoption, &c. &c. &c.

" XV.—Reform of the present system of legislation.

" XVI.—Formation of municipal corporations in British India.

" XVII.—Publicity of the proceedings of Government, both in England and India.

" XVIII.—The necessity of assigning reasons for the acts of Government and its subordinates.

" XIX.—Reform of the political system of Indian administration.

" XX.—Reform of the present system of the East India Company's Constitution and Home Government.

" XXI.—Education of the masses of the Native population of British India.

" XXII.—Establishment of Medical Dispensaries in the villages and hospitals in the towns and cities of British India.

" XXIII.—Abolition or reduction of the East India Company's Ecclesiastical Establishment in India.

" XXIV.—Abolition of the East India Company's opium monopoly.

" XXV.—Encouragement of the indigenous manufactures, agricultural and other productive arts, handicrafts, trade and commerce.

" XXVI.—Admission of representatives into the British Parliament.

" XXVII.—Admission of a certain number of Native or European members, elected by each of the Presidencies to represent their interests, into the Court of Directors for the affairs of India.".

8. As all discussion of the subject-matter of the above paper was carefully eschewed at the select meeting of Wednesday last, though I wished to have the same brought on for discussion, I reserve my comment on the several items or heads thus formidably arrayed for a suitable opportunity.

9. They say " A ware is to be judged by its sample" ; and judging of the views of the young men as manifested on this paper, I suggested to my friends the advisability of letting these young men alone, if they had no better stock of the knowledge and experience requisite for subjects of such grave importance.

10. They, from whom I verily expected better things, could not have manifested grosser ignorance of the laws and constitution by and under which India and England are respectively governed ; or

had they at all been conversant with the judicial, financial and political administration of India, or of the policies which have dictated and continue to dictate various Government measures in relation to India by the Home authorities, these young men could never have been so unreasonable or so extravagant in so many of their demands.

11. On the other hand, it is a fact which I am grieved to be obliged to maintain, that I have as yet not the pleasure of conversing with any of our leading and influential Native gentlemen who appear to have made these peculiarly interesting subjects their study, and who could enlighten me thereon, and now it is undenied on all sides that they are in possession of no "figures and facts" as to the real, and not fancied, wants of the people of Western India.

12. Thus circumstanced, and yet to be led (perhaps wiled) by a few young men, whose knowledge and experience of the subject they propose undertaking I have already remarked upon, appears to me to be a step fraught with evil rather than good to Western India.

13. When I endeavoured to impress this on the minds of several of my friends, the reply was: they frankly confessed their defects in the above essential respects, but they professed their resolve *not to do anything without consulting several European gentlemen* (whose names were mentioned, but which it is not necessary to state here) *who are friends of the Natives, who recommended the formation of the Society, and by whose suggestions and advice the proposed body, before and after its formation, would generally be guided.* This was a candid acknowledgment; and shows, beyond question, that the Natives of Bombay are not yet in a position to think for themselves, and to act on their own judgment in matters of such public importance; and yet they would be for forming themselves into a body to be called *exclusively* their own, and make it so appear!

14. To consult European gentlemen of sound judgment and experience in such matters is far from being objectionable. On the contrary, it is, in the present position of the Natives of this Presidency, both advisable and expedient, were we to confine our doings within a limited compass; namely, collecting a compendium (which I had understood was ready collected and possessed by these young men) of actual facts, and laying the same before such judicious friends of the Natives, among the influential European gentlemen

in India and England, without pomposity, and with a request to have the same brought, if approved of by them, to the notice of the great men who have voices, or otherwise are interested, in the Charter discussion.

15. Any plan or project for ameliorating the condition of the people of this country, no matter with whom originated or how obtained, if founded on accuracy, would be sure to receive due attention from the Parliamentary Committee, and people of England in and out of the British Senate, who feel desirous to benefit India; and that such a mode of procedure would not lose, in the least, its effect or object, if adopted by any individual, or set of individuals, whether forming or without forming themselves into an association, and giving it a formal title.

16. But to do more than this: to cling to a loftier aim; to make a show of the thing; to hire agents here and in England; to make an outcry, by furnishing such agents with all sorts of gross grievances, without regard to their quality or accuracy, in the existing state of the Native mind, Native ideas, and Native feelings, in relation to the Government and the governed of British India, would be the most ill-advised course of proceeding that could be devised by the worst enemy of the Natives of Bombay.

17. I have drawn these conclusions or suggestions (which I impressed on the attention of several of my friends) from the following premises, and in order to render it more telling, I put the same in the form of a dialogue:—

A. Do not you think it is time now that we should do something for the Natives of India at the present crisis in England? The Young Bombay is now up, and goes about raising subscriptions to redress grievances.

B. What grievances? where are they? I have been wanting to see them defined, not merely because they appear to some to be grievances, but the cause and reason why they are grievances. What we want is, to ascertain for fact the actual requirements of the people of India; or, in other words, *what was the state of the country before to what it is now? and if not prosperous, to what would they attribute the want of prosperity? and what should be done to render it prosperous?* As to the fund being raised by these young men, I feel curious to know what

they require it for, unless those who have a hand in it mean to make *good* use of it.

A. But they say the money must be *first* raised for the very purpose of getting information from the people in the interior, and as associations have been formed with the same view at Manchester and Calcutta, it would not look well if something of the kind is not done here in Bombay.

B. It is then because the people of Lancashire and Bengal formed themselves into associations that you think it will give Bombay people some *abroo* to have a like body formed here. In truth, you thought nothing of it before others had done it. However, it would not be unadvisable, *if* we could stand on a parity with the inhabitants of Bengal and Lancashire to raise a contest against the Government.

A. Let me interrupt you. I don't mean Lancashire, but Manchester.

B. Well, now what is the difference between Manchester and Lancashire ?

A. I confess, I don't exactly know, but I suppose it is all the same.

B. In one sense it is, in another it is not the same. Manchester is a city or *Gaum*, and Lancashire is a district or *Zilla* in which that city or town is situated. But let me resume : I am not accurately conversant with the character of the Bengallees, but suppose they do a questionable act, are we bound to follow them ? ought not we to think and judge for ourselves ? But with respect to the character of the people of Lancashire, you seem to be labouring under this grave, perhaps fundamental error, which might lead you on to others, and which ought therefore to be first corrected to prevent further misconceptions or miscalculations.

A. What is the error ?

B. Listen then. If you consider the inhabitants, even in Bombay (those in the interior are supposed to be inferior in intelligence), are up to the standard, morally, mentally, and physically, of the people of Manchester or Liverpool (which is also in Lancashire) or London (which is the metropolis of England), you have been far, far out in your calculation ; and thereby deceiving yourself, and others who might rely upon

you. The difference between the feelings and ideas of the people of England and we of India is as wide and marked as any two distinct visible objects well could be. And the difference in the character of the Association formed at Manchester and the one it is proposed to form in Bombay, is in this respect remarkable. The *Manchesterians* have formed their body for two objects, political and commercial, in both which the inhabitants of the manufacturing districts in England are peculiarly interested. To be equal to them you should be conversant (which you have admitted you are not) with the politics of Europe in general, and England in particular, as well as with the public characters of the most prominent men forming the different parties in England, each pledged to distinct principles which they manly contest for. The people of England generally never form themselves into any public body without a defined object, without having figures and facts before them in support of that object, or without a study of circumstances for or against that object. The case in all these essential respects is altogether opposite as applied to the people of Western India, whose general character, moreover, for timidity, want of accuracy, and fondness of exaggeration, is strikingly in their disfavour.

A. Yes, in all these respects it is true the English people have advantage over us.

B. Because we are not accustomed to discuss such matters in the way the English people do. We can scarcely take up a public question without mixing private considerations therewith. We could not, or would not, judge for ourselves, but are ever ready to side with the view of any one who may be supposed to be superior in ability, without caring to ascertain how far his views might be sound ; we are all mortals,—a mortal is not infallible, be he ever so able or great in erudition. I have observed with pain our countrymen rush headlong, even blindfolded, if led only by any one who knew his part and their character well enough to raise all sorts of hopes in them, no matter upon what foundation. In their ignorance, our countrymen willingly swallow anything that is palatable to their views, expectations, or prejudice. In all these respects, generally speaking, the comparison between the Europeans and the Natives is impracticable. It is a task in itself great, but deeply interesting, to

study the character of the people of the different hemispheres; and until the people of India generally, and the inhabitants of Bombay particularly, are able to comprehend the same, as well as the principles of the British Constitution and laws, as applicable to this country and England, they would not, in truth could not, be able to discriminate the vast moral difference between their past and their existing rulers; or learn to be consistent and reasonable in their requirements from Government.

18. The above dialogue is not altogether an imaginary, but in abstract a real one, in which I took a part. I have omitted names.

19. I had been particularly asked to attend the select meeting of Wednesday last, at Juggonnathsett's house. Its day was changed to suit my convenience. I was told that defined heads of grievances, their causes, and their remedies, would be submitted before that meeting; that its object was not, as it was first thought, to spend money in hiring agents, &c.; and, finally, I was assured that the doings of the proposed Society among the Native gentlemen were to be limited to a less ostentatious aspect.

20. I was glad to hear this, and I gladly attended the meeting. I will not go over all that passed there, except to observe that I sought in vain for the paper defining the grievances, &c. The very character of the proposed Society, however, appeared to me to have been completely changed from its orginally supposed object. I will now transcribe the letter (instead of its abstract) which I read at that meeting. I had addressed this letter, expressive of my individual views on some of the aforesaid points under discussion, and which I communicated in reply to a query from a noble quarter.

" *Villa, Byculla, Bombay,*
4th June 1852.

" My Dear ——,

" The English Mail of the 8th ultimo came in this morning, and brought me the pleasure of your kind letter, which I have just finished reading. I sit without a moment's loss of time to reply to its most interesting part, namely, your noble father's message, ' that anything I would wish altered, amended, or brought before the especial attention of the Committee on the Charter now nominated by the House of Lords,' I should ' send to him,' and that ' as soon as possible.' His lordship, you further add, desires me to state clearly what my special views are; what I conceive to be the

great needs of particular reform or alteration in our government of this splendid empire, &c.

" The information he thus covets does his lordship infinite honor. It is a proof positive of the largeness of his soul, to take a part with a sure aim, for the benefit of this immense country and its people in the approaching discussion, in and out of Parliament, involving questions of momentous import.

" I read the other day what I had often heard, that an introduction into the House of any Indian subject is a sign, or ' ring-bell, to its members, for dinner.' I believe this vast empire is day by day beginning to attract greater attention in England. It is nevertheless an admitted fact, however deplorable, that in both Houses, not one in ten know what is what (to use a common phrase) in relation to the India question, on which they might chance to be called upon to vote,—hard and unpronounceable names of places, creeds, institutions, coupled with the peculiarities of forms and procedures connected with the administration of this country, being so foreign to their mind and understanding, that one must not wonder at the poorness of the meeting in the Lords and Commons on such occasions.

" I speak this of the generality of the British Senators. There are exceptions. There are members in both Houses, though few, whose knowledge and information respecting this country and its people, and their wants, is as great as creditable to them. But, I say again, they are few, very few, in comparison. Whilst, on the other hand, a number of writers and speakers on Indian subjects, (unfortunately for India they are not few, for they do it more harm than good,) who, on the strength of their imperfect, incomplete, or superficial acquaintance with the subject they write and speak on, arrogate to themselves the title of ' friends and advocates of the Natives,' and who are ever ready to take up and deal in any quantity, without regard to quality, of grievances or complaints from India.

" Again, although the state of ignorance in England with respect to India is lamentable, reversing the case it is worse. The ignorance of the Natives of India with regard to England, its constitution, its institutions, character, and peculiarities of its people, &c. is so vastly greater in the scale, that they generally neglect the legitimate, and resort to questionable sources of seeking redress for their grievances, much of which they themselves create, and fancifully lay at the doors of their rulers; whilst the remedy for others, though very simple, and at their own doors, they would not, in fact could not, comprehend, and go to seek it at far and out of the way places, where often it cannot be obtained.

" I wish there were many like your noble father, who would first seek information, study and examine the same, and then bring their judgment to work for the good of this country.

"The subject on which your noble father has caused you to write to me for information is so vast, so comprehensive, and of such grave importance, that I much question my competency to handle it, at least to my satisfaction, concisely and clearly as I could wish. I may, however poor my ability, resume the topic in detail at leisure, of which I have scarcely any, ere the outward Mail closes to-morrow; and I intend crossing over the harbour with a friend in the morning. I have been writing this by candle-light. In the mean time, I have the pleasure of enclosing transcript of correspondence on a kindred subject, with a distinguished and rising member of Parliament, wherein I have endeavoured to compress my views on some of the requirements for India, consequent upon Mr. Bright's move in 1850, to get a parliamentary commission sent out to this country. Such a commission, I find, has recently again been asked for in, but refused by Parliament—perhaps for proper reasons—to save expense and inconvenience attending such commission, composed of strangers to (for it is of no very great use sending out those that have been here or conversant with) this country, *simply to take depositions of the people.*

"The object might be equally achieved without such expense and inconvenience, by sending out properly prepared queries on all requisite points, under distinct heads, with instructions to the local Governments to appoint local committees, composed of Natives and Europeans, and cause *vivâ voce* examination (not written, for reasons I shall presently advert) of such as are supposed to be capable of furthering the object of the inquiry.

"There are not many Natives who have made the civil, judicial, financial, and political administration of this Government their study. But there are, or have now sprung up, many who, having gained no personal knowledge or experience, invariably re-echo the sentiments (often trash) of the newspaper writers, and others, who are either prejudiced or interested in abusing or lauding Government acts. Consequently, if written answers are taken of them, the answers generally, in all probability, will not be their own, but prepared for them by the class I have just described. To test, beside, the competency of the Natives of upper and lower walks of life, and of the accuracy and value of their opinions, by the unerring standard, should, unquestionably, be by taking oral and not written answers (prepared perhaps by others) to each written question distinctly.

"I could humbly suggest this as the most advisable preliminary course for the Committee to follow; I have another reason for this suggestion—it would put an end to a monstrous 'humbug' which is in full play among the ignorant herd, at the instance of some of the rapacious rupee-seekers, who inveigle those they call 'Young India' (fresh from school and ripe for anything) into the belief that the best

course is to form associations, depute persons to England, raise grievances and complaints in and out of Parliament, and last, though not least, raise subscriptions to bear the expense of such commissions (of course these money-seekers themselves forming the commission); and thus 'Young India' has been making, or rather attempting to make, some outcry of the kind.

"Subscriptions seem to be a touch-word here with every undertaking now-a-days, as if, without raising funds to meet expenses (a term to fill pockets), nothing whatever could be done. I have no sympathy with such a class of thinkers. I half suspect many such start ostensibly 'pro bono publico,' but in truth for individual benefit, or, in other words, a *refined species of pick-pockets.*

"Kindly place this letter into your noble father's hand, with my respectful remembrance. I shall feel gratified, provided his lordship approves of my ideas as herein and in the enclosed conveyed, if he will show them to such of the members of the Lords' Committee and others who take a sincere interest in the welfare of India and Indians.

"It is in this respect gratifying to observe, that within the last several years all parties and party feelings of this or that side of the House are eschewed in discussing India matters. The Whigs, as well as Tories, Radicals, Conservatives, Liberals, or Peelites, all unite in a wish to do India justice. Union is strength, strength power; and, no doubt, when that power is propelled by the united efforts towards one common object, sure good will be its result, and no mistake.

"Though personally I have some cause to be dissatisfied with Government measures, in denying me justice which I expected, and had a right to expect, at the hands of one of the late acting Governors, and our present local Government, I would not suffer, for a moment, personal feelings and personal considerations to commingle in discussing general questions of Government administration, which require to be discussed purely on general and public grounds. 'Measures, not men,' in reviewing such questions, alone distinguish a disinterested critique from a partial and interested one. No Government is free from defects in its management. If the Company's Government is faulty in several respects, there is also much that is commendable in it in other respects.

* * * * * * * * *

"I may, instead of taking up this greatly interesting topic now and then, by fits and starts, in my correspondence with friends, as in this instance, write a short work treating under several heads—*what has been done, and what might be done, to render happier the people of this empire than what they now are.*

"As I look upon this to be a letter entirely on topics of general

public interest, I will reply to the personally interesting part of yours under acknowledgement, by next opportunity."

21. When I had finished the above at the said Select Meeting, it was openly declared by Mr. Hutchinson, that there was to be no association for the purpose of representing Native grievances to Parliament, by means of hired agency, in relation to the Charter discussion. And it was further declared by that gentleman, that no accurate information had been yet collected to ground any specific requirement of the people of the interior thereupon. This precisely supported the view I had long ago formed of the strength of our capability in the existing state of the Native mind, &c., to undertake (what was first given out) a contest with Government on the several points of grave importance.

22. The simple question raised, discussed, and subsequently carried in the affirmative, as there was no objection to it, was—Would or would it not be desirable *to form* a society—*a permanent society*—to collect information relative to the requirements of the people of Western India, to have the same from time to time submitted to the authorities in India and England?

23. There could be no valid objection, I said, and I say again, to forming a permanent body with such an object, which in itself is laudable. People, however, in Bombay and out of it, had hitherto been led to suppose that the young men and others, who have raised so many thousand rupees in support of their scheme, have been in possession of the requisite data in aid of their previously supposed views; and that, although it will look shabby when it comes to be heralded forth that the intelligent inhabitants of Bombay have actually for the first time commenced, in the middle of the English year 1852, to collect the requisite information, and thus display their ignorance of the state of the country they reside in, and of its people's real wants, yet, I do not consider it a disgrace to receive enlightenment at any time, and from any source.

24. "Better late than never" is a home phrase. Let us form a society, even now, to collect accurate figures and facts, and represent the wants of the people, founded on such figures and facts, to the authorities, in a tone becoming the character of the Natives of Western India.

25. The next question I then put, as I now do—namely, If the object of the society was to be confined to what was thus decided,

what was the use of having raised such a large sum of money, and that before knowing what to do with it ? There was no occasion for any extensive outlay. A limited current subscription of 1 to 5 rupees a month from individual members would be ample to meet all petty outlays attending the object contemplated by the meeting ; and after some discussion it was left to be decided at the general meeting (which is to be held to-day) whether the large subscription already secured was to be collected, or a limited current one should be collected.

26. When a large amount of subscription is privately and precipitately raised for an object, without defining that object, it has a foolish appearance ; whilst, also, on the other hand, it is shown that there is no cause for such an outlay, and the object contemplated can be effected by a very moderate outlay, and still the parties exhibit eagerness to retain the sum already secured, and to augment it by further calls, it gives them a very questionable appearance, and their undertaking a damaged aspect.

27. Many good causes have been damaged, especially in England, (it may be thought, perhaps, differently in India,) simply from the fact of their being known to have been advocated by parties for a pecuniary or personal consideration ; and many men, otherwise useful and zealous, have from this circumstance lost their position, and the causes they professed to advocate. The feeling of the English in this particular respect is untranslatable to the Natives of India, and I fear even our alumni of the colleges cannot comprehend or go into that feeling.

28. The slightest mixture of selfish or personal consideration by any man, or any set of men, whether formed or not into a body, loses or otherwise injures their very object. I therefore hope and trust those wishing well of their country will always guard against this danger.

29. The third question that I raised was, whether the meeting, if it was to be a general one, should be open to Europeans, or restricted to the Natives only ? and it was considered expedient to confine it to the Natives only.

30. I thought, and still think, it would have been correct to display, in its true light, the existing strength of those interested in getting up this Society. It has not been, and it could not be, denied that the Natives of Bombay are as yet not in a condition or position,

from various causes, to manage such a formidable body, or undertake a discussion of such important public matters by themselves, except on the suggestion and advice of their European friends. In fact, from what I learnt, the originally proposed lofty pretensions of the contemplated body have been softened down by the advice of some of the judicious European friends of the Natives ; that these European friends have been from the first consulted in this matter, and they are to be timely advisers in managing the proposed body when formed. Let us in candour throw off the mask, and not exclude them, or rather exclude ourselves from the benefit of their advice and suggestions ; always, however, acting on our own judgment to discriminate how far such advice is for our real good or otherwise.

31. I have another reason, too, in wishing the Europeans to co-operate with us in this proposed corporation, if it is to be a general one, with such comprehensive views, and not limited to individual or sectarian objects. Truly speaking, the merchants and people of the manufacturing districts in the United Kingdom are as largely interested in fostering the resources of India as the Indians themselves. A combination of their energy and capital with the capital and energy of people of India would do India a greater amount of substantial benefit than if the Indians were to have entire command of the disposable cash in the Government treasury and mint placed at their disposal.

32. But the people of India must put their shoulder to the wheel, and meet the people of England half-way in their united enterprise, and must not look to Government *for everything*. By-the-way, the settled habit of the people of India always looking to Government for everything is another misfortune, which in no small measure retards the prosperity of the country. What have the natives of India, like the natives of England, by themselves done for their country? Precious little, or nothing worth noticing.

33. For these reasons, I would suggest that the merchants of the manufacturing districts of England, by their agents and factors at Bombay, and other Europeans of enterprise and sound sense, ought to be requested to join with us in the undertaking of the association about to be organized, they having as hearty interests in the prosperity of this country as any of its inhabitants can have.

Villa, Byculla, 26th August 1852. M. C.

No. 2.

I left with the Secretary of the Association the paper I alluded to in my speech* at the General Meeting: this paper I drew up consequent upon a conversation I had with our President two evenings before that meeting, at which it was my intention, did time or occasion occur, to recite it in abstract.

2. The meeting of last Thursday was virtually a general one in the double acceptation of the term, since all that was done there was the appointment of a General Managing Committee, to do generally all that may appear desirable, and placed the funds subscribed before and on that day at the disposal of the said Committee, without either going into any detail, or defining a specific purpose or object

* "Mr. Manockjee Cursetjee rose and addressed the meeting. He observed that it was necessary that he should embrace that opportunity to make a few remarks in explanation of the belief, which he was aware prevailed with many of his friends, that he was strongly opposed ('No, no!' on all sides) to the formation of the Association, and that he had done everything in his power to impede its accomplishment. He hoped that the gentlemen present would admit, that considering the serious nature of the objects which, as he understood before, his friends had proposed to themselves in meeting together that evening, it was highly desirable, nay necessary, that he and all his friends should have well weighed in their minds the propriety of the measures they were going to adopt. So far as he knew, deputations were to be sent out to places like *Hydrabad*: much ado was to be made, and a clamour in regard to the present grievances of the people raised. But as he now perceived the whole aspect of the meeting was changed, and had become quite the opposite of what he understood it would be,—such being the case, he must confess that whoever did not come forward to assist the Association was an enemy to this meeting, the community at large, and, in a word, to the whole world—let the curse of them all be on his head! He heard of no grievances brought forward, nor was an attempt made to ascertain whether the people had any grievances. He had much to speak on those points, but as he found there was no necessity of so doing on the present occasion, he would not do so, but, as occasion might require it, he would communicate his sentiments on those points to the Executive Committee."—*The Watchman*, 4th Sept. 1852.

calculated to advance the welfare of the country and its people; and without saying what was to be done with, or why requisite to subscribe, such lumps of money.

3. The erection of the "Bombay Association" for its professed objects looks very attractive, and I hope and trust will prove substantially advantageous to the people of this side of India. But much depends upon the prudence of management in that body. Its motto should be—"First creep, then walk, then run,"—or, in other words, not to attempt to run before getting strength in its limbs, and not to ask for that which it is unreasonable to expect.

4. The Association, I am glad, is now differently modelled to what it was formerly proposed or supposed to be. Its very character is changed from what it was thought to be at first, and to that change must, in a measure, be attributed the harmony that prevailed at the General Meeting on the 26th August 1852.

5. The previous project, as it appeared to me and others I had conversed with, was to do as certain parties forming themselves into associations respectively at Calcutta and at Manchester had done—to raise an outcry against the Company's Government in India; to give publicity to all sorts of gross grievances through the medium of the Press, and parties in and out of England, with the view to get a radical change in the administration of India; to have the most, if not all, the Government patronage and privileges in the power or within the reach of the Natives of India,—in short, to raise the latter *en masse* on an equality with the people of England by one grand move or sweep!

6. To many, at first, I appeared singular in my views of opposing such an attempt, which in itself appeared to me to be a suicidal one, in the existing state of the Native mind, Native ideas, and Native feelings and prejudices, in relation to the Government and the governed of British India. I thought, and still think, the Natives generally, in their ignorance of the actual working of the Government, coupled with their habit of exaggeration, make much of a little; and also know that no Government can be free from defects in its administration; and if the Company's Government does appear faulty in a few respects, there is much in it worthy of commendation in other respects. I and several of my friends have had warm discussions on the subject.

7. I knew that a change had come to pass in the minds of several parties, within the few preceding days, but I was not quite prepared to receive without a dissentient voice such testimony in favour of the Company's administration of India as the following, which I quote from the recorded proceedings:—

"The word grievance has now-a-days become very common; it is in the mouth of everybody. But I apprehend few have any idea of the real import of the term. Under the British Government, we do not suffer any great *zoolum;* we are comparatively happier under this kind Government than we would be likely to be under any other. (This was much cheered, and not a dissentient voice raised against it.)

"The anxiety of the British Government is to improve the condition of the ryuts, as well as of the other classes. The Government have the power to do much good, and we have many proofs they have the will also." (Much cheering.)

8. In June 1850, Mr. Bright, in support of his motion in Parliament for a Commission to India, had, however, quite reversed the picture, for, in charging the Company's Government with misrule in India, among other things, he stated—

"Here was the evidence of a Native of India, to which he might refer on the subject. It was that of a gentleman, a native of Delhi, who was in England in the year 1849. He (Mr. Bright) never met with a man of a more dignified character, or one apparently of greater intelligence; and there were few who spoke the English language with greater purity and perfection. That gentleman had written a pamphlet, in which he stated that throughout his whole line of march from Bombay, he found the Nizam's territories better cultivated, and the ryuts in a better state of circumstances than were the Company's territories, or the people residing within them, who were plunged in a state of the greatest poverty."

9. To the above part of Mr. Bright's charge, Lord Broughton (then Sir John Hobhouse) replied, as I quote below from the parliamentary debate of the day:—

"He might mention an anecdote from his own experience. He had a conversation one day with a Native of India, a person of great intelligence, who spoke English almost as well as the Hon'ble Member for Manchester himself, and who said—'If any man makes any complaint of the English management of India, ask him one question—When were life and property ever secure till the country came under the rule of the British? If one can point out a time when life and property were so secure as under the British sovereign, then' he added 'will I agree to give up the defence of the English Government.'"

10. If ever my Lord Broughton or any other senators need a more effectual battery to overthrow sweeping attacks, such as Mr. Bright made on the Company's Government, as above, let his lordship quote from the recorded proceedings of the Bombay Association (as published in all the local newspapers) of the 26th August 1852, and show in what light the existing Company's Indian administration has been viewed by those then and there congregated to organize the said Association, with the view to supply the wants of the people of India.

11. I believe His Lordship made an allusion to me in what he said, as above mentioned, and as I was then (not long after reading the debate) writing to a warm friend of the Natives, on the subject of the great political misfortune to India as well as to England, —the death of Sir Robert Peel,—I took occasion to observe—

"The loss of that truly great man, Sir Robert Peel, I read with tears gushing from my eyes—not because I had the high honor of his personal acquaintance, nor because he condescended to show me civilities when I was in England, nor that he entertained opinions of me by far too gratifying, nay flattering to my feelings, as conveyed in the letter addressed at his desire by the Home Government to this: I feel the loss more on public than private grounds. It is not only a national loss to England, but also to every country under the sway of the British rule. It is a calamity, in fact, as great to the East Indies as it could be to England, for I believe him to have felt more than any statesman of the day the importance of augmenting the resources of this country, and improving the condition of its inhabitants. Had he but lived a few more years to take the part for which he was preparing in the momentous question,—the renewal or non-renewal of the Company's Charter,—he would have implanted a more lasting name among us, here, than any durable monument to his memory the people of England could raise in their metropolis. Like the famous Pitt's great India Bill, we should have had the Peel's memorable India Act, conferring greater privileges on the Natives of this land than they already enjoy, with the view to raise (in due course) their condition, and enabling them (by degrees) to take a due share in the administration of their country.

"I have not as yet met with one of my countrymen (excepting poor Bal Shastree, now dead,) who has an accurate conception of the constitution of England, its politics, and its power, moral and political. Nor is there any among us who know aught of

the character of the leading senators of the day—who, in fact, govern the empire. Unless the Natives know and study these things they cannot be expected to produce any set of great men among them, capable of advancing their country's interest; and the knowledge of these alone can make them appreciate the great difference between their past and existing rulers.

"It is refreshing, indeed, to watch the growing interest with which the affairs of India are now listened to, and thought of in Parliament. It is peculiarly touching to my heart to find, in reply to Mr. Bright, on the motion for his Cotton Commission, that Sir John Hobhouse made, I think, an allusion to me, by quoting my authority (vide the Parliamentary debate of the 18th June last) for the sentiments quoted by him, which I not only mentioned to the [then *ex*] President of the India Board, but also declared openly at one of the public dinners, when answering a complimentary toast proposing my health. I then said, (I recollect at random,) that ever since that memorable sentence *I glory in being a Briton!* was uttered by one of your illustrious monarchs, it has become a household word with every Englishman; and I assured the party that every Native who knows how to appreciate the blessing of the British rule, say—We glory in being British subjects!—for where could they have found a *Raj* under which their life, their liberty, and their property, would be so secured to them? The late Lord Haddington, and the present Earl of Arundel and Surrey, between whom I sat, paid me high compliments after this and what followed from me, and among other of the great people they took me by the hands, and became my friends from this incident. But I said this not to purchase popularity with Englishmen. I gave faithful utterance to my hearty conviction, and I defy any one to prove it otherwise. I little dreamt then, that ten years afterwards, these my very sentiments were to be quoted by such a great man, in such a senate, and in a manner so complimentary to my feelings. I have almost made a political essay of this letter, so *vale*."

12. I am open, I fear, to the charge of being thought selfish, by introducing personal incidents, and quoting from personal correspondence. But those who know me long and intimately will, I hope,—nay, am sure,—bear me out when I say I despise egotism as much as any living mortal can. My reasons for quoting these are to disabuse the minds of those who have frequently before, and so recently, laboured to misinterpret my character; and I wish to show them that the sentiments, such as I have here given utterance to, and in my last paper, are not of a recent formation, but that they have

been long, long ago formed by me, from what has come under my personal observation, or by conversations and correspondence with those who appeared to me to have been quite competent to judge of the same. I may have occasion to draw from such correspondence from time to time, should I continue placing before the Committee, in this strain, my views on several topics grounded upon data within my knowledge.

13. The intelligent native of Delhi, whose authority Mr. Bright had given out (vide para. 8), is, I believe, Shamut Alli, a *protégé* of Sir Claude Wade. His pamphlet, alluded to by the said hon'ble gentleman, I have read, of which also I shall hereafter speak.

14. Few, very few Natives, verily, if any, (even from among the Young Bombay,) I believe, are yet conversant with the different schools of politics in England. That of Manchester is composed of some very well-disposed, able, and energetic men, principally connected with the manufacturing districts in the United Kingdom, and bent upon different species of reform for a change, political and commercial, according to the best of their belief, for the benefit of England and India.

15. Their feelings are commendable, but their zeal, or rather over-zeal, for the cause they espouse, at times blinds their discretion, and they run fierce, or (as they say in England) "go the whole hog" in pursuit of their objects, without discrimination. They, therefore, form a faction. The Chamber of Commerce of Manchester, I believe, owes its creation to this faction.

16. There is also in Manchester another faction, the majority of whom are the originators and conductors of the "Manchester Commercial Association," a body totally distinct from the "Chamber of Commerce of Manchester." Each, at times, espouses different and distinct political and party objects.

17. These might properly be called local factions, such as we have here at Bombay, among all creeds and classes of its inhabitants; and these factions are little streamlets, branching forth from various sources to unite in one volume—their political party—as the Whigs, the Tories, &c.

18. Now each of these great political parties, and their several branches or factions, attack, in and out of Parliament, and through the press, by pamphlets and other serial publications, the several

Acts emanating from any of the opposite parties, and according to the side which each would take with or against the Ministry of the day; the Ministry, again, being not a fixed, but changeable body.

19. Hence it might not be improbable that Shamut Alli either got hold of, or (perhaps to serve a political object by some) was put in possession of a selection of all that was said, written, printed or published against the Company's Government, without a single notice of what was said, written, printed or published in defence of that Government, by equally as many speakers and writers.

20. I have not Shamut Alli's pamphlet by me, and therefore cannot review its merits or demerits in detail at this moment. But I recollect it to have been a compilation of extracts of what other people had said or written in relation to India; and the impression on my mind is, that it was a one-sided version of the case.

21. Shamut Alli has given it as his evidence (vide what Mr. Bright quoted) that on his passing through the Nizam's territories, on his route from Bombay, he observed the country and the ryuts under the Nizam's comparatively better and happier than the country and the ryuts he had seen under the Company's territories. Might not, independently of the above surmises, the national feelings of prejudice (both Shamut Alli and the Nizam being the Faithful of the Prophet) have had a share in Shamut Alli's praising one raj at the expense of the other, and in his running down the raj of the common enemy to their religion?

22. But now to Shamut Alli's facts. He has given out as his deliberate opinion, though upon a casual inspection, what is above mentioned. Shamut Alli could have observed little or nothing during his transit from Bombay. He has not said he was ever an inhabitant of the Nizam's country, or had been there a long resident. He might have chanced to pass through a district peculiar for the richness of its soil, or on some of the holidays, when the Natives are better clad, to make a show of themselves.

23. I will here present another picture, by quoting, *verbatim*, an extract of a letter from an officer high in station—one who had held important military, civil, and political offices, both in the British and foreign territories; who had been a very long resident in one of the principal parts of the Nizam's domain; and, finally, whose knowledge and experience of the Native character, feelings and

habits have been acknowledged to be of a very superior stamp. The letter is addressed to me, and is dated ————, 28th August 1842. After speaking of the Nizam and his then Minister, it runs thus :—

"The latter is a rapacious, unprincipled scoundrel, who after having by mismanagement ruined the resources of the country, is now plundering the sowcars, and the few good 'talookdars' he ever employed. Where will this end, and when? He plunders every one; pays nobody but us, and that only by force; and we get the odium *(budnám)* of all his villainy. He made arrangements for securing eight talookas from the Tarapoor Raja, who recently died—some say by poison, but whether by the hands of others or by his own, opinions differ. *Our rule may be bad, but from all the Native governments I have seen, the Lord deliver even paria dogs!*"

24. Since the date of the above letter, (just this day ten years,) it has become patent to the world that nothing can exceed the misrule and misery (which I take to be synonymes) under the Nizam's administration. For particulars, one need only refer to the public and private records, in and out of newspapers, of all the three Presidencies.

25. I would cite but one instance, which I think bears strongly in support of my view, to show how party feelings sometimes blind the judgment and discretion of some of the most able and most pains-taking men. One of the Manchester factions above adverted to, in their desire to make out a strong case in Parliament against the Company's misrule in India, petitioned and remonstrated against a certain impost, as detrimental to the growth of cotton in India; and in relation to the same subject, afterwards discussed in Parliament, the then President of the India Board completely confounded the said party, by the following short but sharp rebuke:—

He said: "It might be mentioned, as a proof of the obscurity in which the question was involved, that not many years ago a memorial was presented to the Government by the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, pointing out the evils resulting from those very duties which at that time had been repealed in one Presidency eight years, in another four, and in a third two. The inference to be drawn from this fact was, that charges made against the East India Company were not uniformly true, because they happened to proceed from the Manchester Chamber of Commerce." (A laugh.)

26. Now a little precaution and inquiry on the part of these Manchester advocates of the territorial and commercial reforms in

India would have saved them such a hard hit as the one just above described, which was very damaging to their reputation and future efforts for the good of their mother and adopted country, in the amelioration of which they appear to take such warm interest, and doubtless with very good motives.

27. The "Young Bombay," but without the strength to maintain their stand, either on the score of information or experience, appeared to me recently to have been infected with the Manchester jaundice against the Company's rule in India; and it was, indeed, most fortunate some of our friends were able to nip in the bud the original scheme (as given out) of these young men, and of adopting the present one for a far different object, (as far as I am able to understand,) and yet comprehensive in itself.

28. We ought to side with no one party, but stand aloof on our own ground,—think for ourselves, judge for ourselves, and then act for ourselves. Seek and receive (no matter from what source) all and every information, in favour of or against the existing Government, but to use the same very sparingly, and with the greatest possible amount of caution; and not overleap the bounds of discretion in asking what reasonably we could not effect, nor maintain if we had. Otherwise the very object of the Association would be subverted, and its managers fall into an inextricable mesh of discredit and ridicule.

29. I reserve other items for a future Minute or Memorandum.

Villa, Byculla, 28th August 1852. M. C.

No. 3.

There is one circumstance, above all others, which ought not to be lost sight of, and which I always wished, and do wish, my friends and others interested in the welfare of this country generally, and the members of the Association particularly, to bear in their minds: namely, that "*the English are in India by their conquests, not by the affection of the Indians.*" It is the flash of two hundred thousand British bayonets that has kept India in subjugation, and restored order and quietude among its one hundred and twenty millions of subjects.

2. I do not mean by this that the British subjects are not happier than they were under their old unconstitutional Raj's of "*sic volo sic jubeo*"* notoriety, or that they have any very great causes of complaint by the change of their rulers. The British-Indian subjects, on the contrary, "*are comparatively happier than they would be likely to be under any other Government*": and this, I am glad, has been openly avowed at the public meeting on the 26th August 1852, without a dissentient voice.

3. But if one knows anything accurately of the character of the people of India, he would not gainsay what I opine, that whatever amount of blessings or advantages they have enjoyed or might yet, to a greater degree hereafter, be made to enjoy, in the protection of their life, liberty, and property,—the bulk, the mass (with a small exception) would not, or could not appreciate a constitutional Government at its correct standard; and this chiefly from their ignorance of the laws of the country, and the forms of the Government (so foreign to all their notions) under which they virtually appear to be so well off.

4. National prejudice to a foreign conqueror has invariably governed, and will govern, the feelings of any uncivilized nation—no matter in what clime, or of what creed. But when a nation, though it is known by one common appellation, is divided, as in this vast empire, into so many fractions—of divers creeds, tribes,

* "My will is my law."

and sections—the pride and lofty pretensions of each humbled down in turn by a comparatively small band of foreigners from the most remote corner of the globe—the national hatred (call it by any other hard or soft name one pleases) must naturally enhance in virulence.

5. The Mahomedans and the Hindoos, as a body, would ever delight to talk over the exaggerated accounts of, and prefer, their respective old Governments, with all their several singular imperfections, and in abusing in corresponding ratio the existing rule over them.

6. They would always say,—"Oh! our *Bashaws* and our *Rajas* were of superior make; we were in their times happier to what we now are; then we had no such heavy taxation!" and so forth. But if you ask them to draw a defined comparison between their past and their present rulers, or to state in what particulars the country was better managed before to what it is now, and to explain their relative causes and effects, they would either evade a direct answer to any such direct question, or go on, in their fashion, abusing the existing Government without stopping, on every trivial, personal, or desultory cause of evil; and which, whether real or fancied, they would not stoop to discuss.

7. Individual and desultory cases of hardship there are; and that some of the people have causes of complaint, I am not willing to deny; but if one would go dispassionately and disinterestedly to inquire into such, he would in the majority of instances find out, what I have often found, that much of the evils complained of have been of their own formation, and might with safety be attributed to either of the following circumstances, namely:—

Their ignorance of the principles of British justice, and of the laws of the country they reside in.

Their want of manly dependence with which to seek redress at the proper quarters appointed to administer the same.

Their habit of resorting to a questionable, rather than legitimate source of justice, which they, with the utmost timidity, supplicate as a matter of favour or compassion, rather than seek it as a matter of right.

Their fondness for exaggeration and introducing extraneous matters so as to confuse and confound a simple case and the authorities who have to decide thereon.

They always prefer to give strong colouring to their one-sided

version, without taking up or noticing the other side, and thereby grappling with their opponent's facts and arguments.

8. I am in possession of a number of data in support of the above views, and which I shall elucidate, when I have (as I propose hereafter) to treat in detail of the particular branches of the administration of Government, and other matters, with which I am, I humbly conceive, to a certain extent conversant.

9. But to resume the topic with which I commenced this Minute. I believe, nay, am almost certain, that the feelings of loyalty and patriotism on the part of the people of India, is a virtue so exceedingly rare among them, that, render them however prosperous, it is a matter of doubt if you will secure their affections in favour of a foreign Government, of whose motives they have most exaggerated, strange, and absurd notions.

10. In the existing state of Native mind and Native feelings, it is as unreasonable in the Native of India to expect to be invested, as it is highly impolitic in the Government to invest them, at once with the gross amount of patronage and privileges which exclusively appertain to Government. Every precaution seems absolutely necessary to guard against this step ; and that, except by a gradation in the due course of events, and under watchful supervision, and until the people of India by their acts of loyalty and patriotism—by their fidelity and zeal—generally manifest themselves deserving of a greater degree of trust and confidence from their employers, they could not be well entrusted with everything.

11. There is nothing that I see which would prevent Natives of India attaining the higher offices they aspire to, if they qualify and fit themselves for the same.

12. They never, till lately, had opportunities allowed them to have their competency tested. They are now on their fair trial to distinguish themselves. They are now selected, either from their supposed intelligence or past service, to hold offices on a parity with the Junior Members of the Covenanted Civil Service. They are now accustomed to receive much higher emoluments than their ancestors or they ever before dreamt of getting from Government. Prove that they are deserving of yet further advancement, and they will have it by degrees.

13. The time perhaps is not yet come, but coming, and may not be far hence. There is, from what I know, every desire on the

part of the higher authorities in England, to pave a way for the further gradual advancement of the Natives of India.

14. The patronage of all appointments of trust and confidence must always remain in the hands of the Government. Government is responsible for the distribution of its patronage, and must, in the case of the Natives particularly, (for the above and other reasons,) distribute the same with care and caution.

15. To say, that the Natives (I am speaking of course of this side) of India generally have qualified themselves to the standard of the people of England, and are fitted by their education and experience, and feeling of loyalty and patriotism, for all and every office of trust and emolument, however high, without discrimination, would be to affirm what is not correct—a few isolated cases will not suffice.

16. Let the Natives of Bombay endeavour to maintain their position, to which a number of them have lately been raised. They are attaining steps by degrees. Let them be neither clamorous nor over avaricious, and not, by asking too much, at once destroy the current of good-will on the part of the authorities which has commenced to be created in their favour. This motto should be the motto of the Association, "FIRST CREEP, THEN WALK, THEN RUN," or, in other words, not to overleap their strength.

17. In what way can the Natives ameliorate the prospects of their country, and the condition of its people? What is requisite to raise them on an equality with the people of England? What are they required to do for themselves? and what should, and ought, Government to do for them? These questions will severally form the subjects of my future Minutes.

18. It was, and still is, my intention of writing a small work on some of the subjects I have mentioned. I am not without facts and materials for the same, and I may perhaps avail myself of the present opportunity of working up the same in a shape to be afterwards remodelled for general publication. I intend, in the meantime, to print a number of these papers, or Minutes, for circulation among my personal friends, and such friends of the Natives of India who, I believe, are able from their experience of the several subjects, to suggest amendments, and enable me to enlarge my views thereon.

5th September 1852. M. C.

No. 4.

What is required to be done to augment the resources of this country, and better the condition of its *Ryuts?* I fear, from the wordy discussions I have had in and out of the meetings of the Bombay Association (before and lately) with several of its members, and others, that the above question cannot be well answered; and this is apparent from the same being neither discussed nor even adverted to by them.

2. This great requirement is comprised under two heads: 1st, A combination of energy and enterprise on the part of the people of India, with their capital. On this I will say a few words first. Two of the most remarkable nations on the surface of this orb—I mean the English and Americans—rose to pre-eminent distinction by the energy and enterprise of the people alone.

3. If the people of India were to look less to Government and more to themselves, in raising up capital, and combining capital with "energy and enterprise," in founding and rearing national undertakings for the benefit of their country, like the people of England and America, they would outshine even the people of the United Kingdom and America. But it is hardly to be expected that the people of India, *if left to themselves, and not led on by some* propelling nation, would bestir themselves in any national undertaking.

4. The requirement under the second head, therefore, is the union and transfusion of British capital, energy, and enterprise, with the capital, energy, and enterprise of the people of this country. On this second head, as well as on a third, namely, to what extent Government is bound to redeem its pledge* in fostering up such

* *Extract of a Letter from the Chairman and Deputy Chairman to the President of the Board of Control, dated 27th, and passed at the Secret Committee of the whole Court, 26th February* 1833.

"The first consideration which presses itself upon the Court's attention, and that which they feel to be paramount to every other, is the obligation under which the Company lie towards the people of India. Connected as the Com-

most desirable combination and transfusion of the capital, energy, and enterprise of the respective nations, I have already endeavoured to express, in a correspondence with a distinguished Member of Parliament in 1850, in relation to some very interesting matters affecting India which were then discussed in that great Senate. This said correspondence, and which I referred to in paragraph 20 of my paper No. 1, is as follows:—

"*Villa, Byculla, 1st November* 1850.

"————————, M. P.,

"London.

"My good Friend,

"In acknowledging, on the 29th May, your kind epistle of the 15th February, I adverted to [and felicitated you on] the very favourable impression you appeared to have made on the public, on the very outset of your Parliamentary career, and said how much claim this country has on, and what little has been done for it by, the British Public and British Parliament; and I proposed to revert to the subject in a future communication, which permit me the pleasure of now indulging in.

"Shortly after I last addressed you, I read with deep interest the long debate on Mr. Bright's motion in Parliament about the Commission to India; and was not a little gratified, among other matters so ably brought forward by Sir John Hobhouse, that he had quoted from his personal knowledge the authority of the Native of India in support of his statement that the Natives of this country have their life, liberty, and property secured to them by the British, which was not the case under their late rulers; for I am inclined to believe he had honored me by that quotation, because, if I recollect it aright, at this distance of time, I not only mentioned it to him, but almost in the very words he has quoted.

pany are, and have so long been, with that country, by ties of the most binding character, and requiring, as they do, from its inhabitants, a large revenue to meet the necessary expenses of the State, a serious responsibility must rest upon the Company to do all that in them lies to advance the prosperity of the country, and to promote the happiness of its vast population. From this responsibility the Court have not the least desire that the Company should escape. On the contrary, their first object ever has been, and must continue to be, the welfare of India."—*Papers respecting the East India Company's Charter Negotiation*, 1833, p. 59.

"It is indeed refreshing to watch the growing interest with which the affairs of India are now beginning to be thought of, and listened to, in England; but it is, at the same time, provoking to observe that the information at the disposal of those in and out of the Senate, disposed to do good for this country, is generally defective; and, consequently, if the enterprising gentry of the manufacturing districts in England would but set to work quietly, and send out a number of intelligent, learned, and scientific men, to collect every information on the state, resources, and wants of this country, *and that independently of Government*, they would be the means of effecting some real good; for then, comparing the data thus collected with what are collected by Government, as found in the India House records, they might discover a deal of valuable matter, which may be made use of now, or at a future period, for the mutual advancement of the interests of both countries.

"If they are in earnest, nothing that I can see impedes their doing so *independently of Government;* and if they would but form themselves into an association, subscribe a sufficient capital among its members, and judiciously lay it out in farming, or purchasing from the Company's Government, or its allies,—the Nizam and others,—districts capable of being improved by such outlay, they would not only render England independent of America, in respect to their cotton supplies, (which appears to be their grand object,) and obtain an accession to their imports of other East Indian produce, but they themselves would reap a large profit, independently of the consideration of improving the moral and political condition of the people of the place. On the other hand, it can hardly be expected that the Natives of India, if left to themselves, would bestir themselves in any such national undertakings, their ideas and prejudices being generally against any innovation.

"'Emulation is one of the most forcible and operative principles in states as in mankind.' But the Natives of India, as a body, are neither as emulative nor as enterprising as they ought to be. Let those who think otherwise gratify me by pointing to any national work they by themselves have undertaken for the benefit of their country in this enlightened nineteenth century.

"The Natives of India are, in fact, the most unpersevering set of beings. They would go to the drudgery of producing any amount

of rough work, sufficient to earn their livelihood, without waiting to finish it to perfection, and so add more to their means of comfort; and it is hence that they forego no inconsiderable advantage, in name and purse, in regard to the very staple produce of their soil —cotton, so largely exported to England and China, by not picking it clean, or cleansing it of dirt by means of a little extra labour, on new but improved principles.

"Tell a Hindoo that he would make his fortune by introducing the cultivation of cochineal, or by extending the plantation of the mulberry to feed silk-worms upon, and he would tell you with perfect *sang froid*—'our forefathers did not do it, why should we?' or that it is a great '*Prachit* (sinful act) to destroy life in any form, and make profit thereby.' Reason with him—that if it is thought abhorrent to destroy a worm, why does he clothe himself in silk, and thus encourage its trade? 'Oh! Sir, that has been our custom!' will be his cool reply.

"This conversation is not imaginary, nor is it inapplicable to almost every undertaking wherein their disinclination to embark predominates; or which that monster 'Custom' has anything to do with; and there are few undertakings, indeed, wherein that monster would not interfere.

"The above observations, in general, are applicable to the people in the interior. At the Presidency, where the wealthier and more intelligent portion of the community reside; where extensive trade is carried on independently or in connection with European houses of agency; where, by their intercourse with Europeans, a better state of things might have been expected; and where emulation is supposed to be the ruling passion among them—the case is not very different. Yes—there is some emulation there, but confined exclusively to trade in cotton bales and opium chests, beyond which their ambition extends not; and hence it is that we have no agriculturists or patrons and promoters of agricultural interests among us. There is not one, at least, on this side of India, from among our capitalists, who can be called *a gentleman at large*—that is, who is living *entirely* on his farm, by improving and multiplying its resources.

"Land is cheap, labour is cheap, and the bounty of Providence in the periodical supply of moisture great in the interior. Yet not one of our monied men has thought fit to venture out 25 miles

beyond the Presidency, to embark his capital solely in pursuits of the kind I have just mentioned. How different is this from the numerous gentlemen in the United Kingdom, &c. living upon their property independently of aught else, and whose sole pursuits, nay pleasures, seem to be to go on extending their farms, and improving on their past methods, by applying every discovery of art and science thereto, and thus setting a commendable example to the middle and humbler classes.

"There are some impediments, I admit, on the outset, in the way of farming on a large scale in India, but they are to be surmounted by a little perseverence and firmness,—not to break down half-way in their pursuits.

"We want a Duke of Devonshire, or individuals of like enterprising stamp among us; for, *until we shall have British energy and British capital transfused with that of this country, its amelioration, in the way its best well-wishers could desire, is almost impracticable.*

"There are three grand defects, I almost consider misfortunes, in the compound forming the Native character, and which mar the very best efforts of those who take, or would like to take, an interest in this country: First, the Natives of India are not yet enlightened enough to discriminate the great moral difference between their past and present rulers; secondly, their want of consistency, and consequent absence of confidence among themselves; and, thirdly, their settled habits of looking to Government for almost every undertaking for the good of their country.

"As to the first and second, it is a fact, however deplorable, that among the mass of my countrymen around me there are not ten individuals (I have as yet not met with one from among the leading and influential members of the Native community) who have an accurate conception of the constitution of England, its politics, and the extent of its power, moral and physical; or that know anything of the characters of the leading senators and great men of England, dead or living, who in fact governed and govern the empire; and unless, therefore, they make these subjects their study, they cannot be expected to produce any set of great men, capable of advancing their country's cause, and the knowledge of these alone can make them appreciate the vast moral difference between their past and

present Government; teach them to practice consistency; and be firm in their actions of life where firmness is essential for their good.

"The spread of education, which Government does so much to encourage among the Natives of this country, will doubtless, in course of time, bring about a change in the existing state of their ideas; but whether that change be for their welfare, or the reverse, time alone can testify. Much depends upon the *quality not quantity*, of the education they should receive. Enlightening the Natives on one hand, and allowing them to remain in their debased conditions as regards their morals on the other, might result in consequences not to be wished for.

"It is a science, great in itself now-a-days, to devise the best system of education. So many and so diverse have been the opinions of those competent to advance them on the subject, that I confess my inability to handle it in the way it ought within the limits of this communication. But, if the Natives are to be educated with the view to making them good men and loyal subjects, they ought to be placed on a right field, where their talents might be developed for their country's advantage and their own happiness; and there appears to me, I venture to submit, but one mode by which this can be done—namely, by rearing and fostering their *moral* as well as intellectual growth at one and the same time, from their infancy; for whilst the latter is cultivated and the former neglected, (as I fear is the case at present,) probabilities are in favour of spoiling the rising generation. But let us hope otherwise.

"I do not mean by this that they should be placed under the guidance of the Missionaries: to make any attempt, however distant, or avail of any pretext, however slight, to Christianize them, would be sure to destroy their faith in the fundamental principles of the British Government, which is toleration and liberty. But this is a deep subject, worthy the deepest consideration of philanthropists, and our paternal Government.

"As to the third and last defect, people here will always look to Government for everything, until those of England venture out and enlist themselves pioneers for this country, and point out, by practical display of their energy, what ought to be done for their mutual benefit, not by mere words and lecturing them, but by proving to demonstration, that much might be done without the aid of Government.

" I believe there is no place on the surface of our globe, which presents such untrodden fields to gather the richest harvest from, as this country. Look at its extent, variety of its temperature, and consider what vast room there is for enlarging its agricultural products. Its geological and mineral resources are scarcely yet inquired into, much less tried and tested. India abounds with all the growths of nature, visible and hidden, above and below the surface of the earth. All that is needed is, not so much the transmission of British capital, as the transfusion into the minds and hearts of the Natives here of British energy and British enterprise.

" England and America, two of the most remarkable nations of the age, rose by the energy and enterprise of the people alone. Every national undertaking, based upon the soundest principles for the benefit of a country, is sure to meet with due support from its Government, IF WISE ; for, by improving the country, Government augments its own power, and a Government like the British can never be slow to avail itself of any such advantage, when sufficiently obvious.

" The machinery of our Indian Government is very cumbrous, and it is hardly to be expected that it can move with the regularity of clock-work ; nor can it be expected to originate everything, undertake everything, and support everything.

" I have gone this length of illustrating the several defects of my countrymen, and in support of the views generally brought forward on the part of the Government party, and so ably expounded by the President of the India Board on the occasion of the debate on Mr. Bright's motion for the Commission to India. I have taken that debate for my text in penning these observations. I would now, although this letter is so long, advert to defects or causes beyond the control of my countrymen, to which, in a great measure, might be attributed the present unprosperous state of this country ; and several of the evils, if not all, Government have it in their power to remedy.

" The land tenure in India continues undefined. The holders of land generally have no permanent interest in it, and the periodical interferences on the part of Government to disturb possession thereof by summary procedure are stale grievances, much talked of, and much written about. The creation, within the last few years, of an *Enam* commission, to probe inquiry into defects of title on the part

of the owners of lands wherein Government, as lord of the soil, is supposed to have right of ownership ; the resumption of lands on the bare reports of such commissioners, without having Government's right (based on such reports of their own officers) duly adjudicated in a legally constituted Court of Justice ; the exemption of revenue and other matters, to which Government or its officers are parties, from the ordinary jurisdiction of Civil Courts, and not having a competent tribunal, like that of the Court of Exchequer in England, where such matters might be disinterestedly adjudicated, are evils of some magnitude, not sufficiently known in England.

" There is, however, this much to be said for Government—that the illegal resumption of lands, and exercise of other arbitrary acts, were common occurrences under the past, but rare under the existing administration. There was no appeal, no redress, under the former ; whilst, under the latter, appeals can always rest, and redress be ever attainable of the higher authorities, if the Natives do but know how to seek it by legitimate sources. The bulk of them (by-the-way this is another of their misfortunes) have no idea of the manly dependence with which they have a right to look for and expect redress at the hands of their present rulers.

" Defining land tenure, and giving its occupiers permanent interest in the soil, are extremely desirable—particularly the latter ; for (to quote the sentiments of a gentleman I have lately conversed with, who appears to have given this subject mature deliberation,) 'there is nothing better calculated to enrich, from its impoverished state, the soil in the several districts, than by selling such lands, for which there are ready purchasers, for so many years' existing annual income.' A magnificent fund might thus be collected, to be applied to the reduction of the ' Loan Debt,' and the interest thus saved to Government from the reduction of its permanent debt should be especially reserved for, and judiciously laid out on improving other land not saleable, or which could not be sold.

" This would serve the two most desirable ends, by securing to the occupiers a permanent interest in the extensive tracts of land they would thus purchase, who would not be disheartened from taking a lively part in augmenting the resources thereof, when they could be certain the land they were improving was their own property, to be bequeathed uninterruptedly to their family, without the fear of

resumption, and other lets thrown in their way under the existing system. Many a cluster of independent little *Vuttuns* here and there might thus spring up, and Government, by applying only the interest of the independent fund thus created to the improvement of the land not sold, and left on its hands, or by otherwise improving the condition of the people, render the country prosperous, and be the gainer in the long run. This would also facilitate the mode of collecting general assessment, &c., and of fixing the same, either on an uniform, or otherwise less inconvenient principle.

"The above observations are chiefly meant to apply to land as at present under Government control, and not to private property.

"The Ryots (subjects) I do not think are more heavily taxed than they were under their late rulers, yet it is certain they feel its burden more oppressively than before, and this might be traced to the following causes:—India used not only to produce its raw materials, but to work the same also into goods at home, and there was a ready market in the country and abroad for their manufactures. The ports of Guzerat alone—particularly Surat—till within the last quarter of a century, used to export to and supply Brazil, and other coasts of Asia and Africa, with an immense amount of piece-goods, principally domestic. There is an entire change in these several respects.

"Instead of every district abounding with piece-good manufactories, as was before, there are districts now without any. Not a bale is now exported from Guzerat to Brazil, and scarcely a soul arrives from Brazilian Coasts, &c. for the purpose; not only our Indian market, but others dependent on the same, having been so overstocked with British piece-goods, and those so cheap, that it would be impossible to compete with them.

"This is the effect of reducing and cheapening labour by the application of science to mechanics, &c. in one country, and not in the other. The manufacturers of England get our raw materials, work them off cheap, and yet make a profit; whilst the manufacturers here are forced to give up their avocations in their several lines.

"The people here had before double sources of income and profit,—from producing raw materials, and from working the same within doors. The combined sources of profit enabled them, after payment of Government dues, &c. to reserve a surplus, which went on

accumulating year by year, and the circulation of the increased wealth of the manufacturers and traders in the country rendered its inhabitants prosperous and contented. But when a moiety of their income and profit is lost to them, as I have above shown, by the destruction of their manufacturing trade, and what is left from the remaining sources being barely sufficient to subsist upon, after payment of Government calls, and other liabilities which they are obliged to incur, it is no wonder that they feel discontented with their lots, and loudly call for reduction of assessment.

"The next cause of misfortune is the gradual demolishing of the Native *Rajs* (Governments) and their several principalities, and the consequent decrease of consumption among them of goods and merchandize, which were before requisite to maintain the pomp and grandeur, *a l'orient*, of their respective Durbars (Courts), which used before to be principally supplied from the country manufactories.

"The raising of loans in India for Government's wants is another evil in the estimation of some, as it affects the monetary interest among the Natives. The minimum rate of interest the India Government pay in this country would be thought a maximum in England,—what difficulty there can be then I am not aware of opening such loans in England. It would save the Indian capital for general circulation among people in India.

"The rate of interest in this country, particularly in the interior, and among the agricultural and labouring class, is extravagantly high. The larger the circulation of capital in a country, the lesser the rate of interest therein to those who are forced by misfortunes and other pressing necessities to borrow money.

"It rests with Government, therefore, when surplus revenue can consistently be reserved, or by raising special loans in England, under its guarantee, or by the sale of land, and creating a fund thereby, to give free scope to the circulation of capital in India, by applying available resources, independently or in connexion with any enterprising corporation, to improve the resources of the place and the condition of its inhabitants.

"There are several modes suggestive of the same, but which only need the aid of capital, and judicious and prudential management in its application. Some of these have been clearly pointed out in the first part of Colonel Grant's pamphlet on the "Growth of Cotton and

Railways in India," lately published, and by other writers, whose practical experience of the country, and knowledge of the character of its inhabitants, entitle their suggestions to the consideration of the authorities.

" I read a short time ago (about a month) in one of our local newspapers, a smart letter, purporting to be from a Native to an M. P. in England ; and although I differ with its writer on several points, yet, on the whole, that letter imparts much interesting matter, and valuable, also, if his data and deductions are all correct. Several of my European friends attributed that letter to my pen, which, I assure you, is not the case. It may or may not be a production of some European merchant under a feigned signature,—at any rate it is deserving of perusal.

" I have thus thrown my rambling thoughts on paper as they have occurred to me; but not, I beg to assure you, with any intention of seeking popularity or praise at its being quoted in and out of Parliament, but to put you and others interested in the welfare of this country, and who covet information regarding it, in possession of the genuine sentiments of a Native of India in his own words on the subject of such engrossing interest ; and if this attempt at giving my detached views prove worthy of your and their perusal, I shall have gained my object. You might show this letter, however, to ————————, with my respectful and grateful remembrance. I must now conclude this with assuring you of my sincere wishes for your and————————'s united happiness, and with kindest remembrances to her and your family,

" Believe me,

" Yours sincerely,

" MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE."

Extract of an answer to the above, December 28th, 1850.

" MY DEAR FRIEND,

" I received your letter when I was much engaged, but read it with great interest. The subject is not altogether new to me, as I have formerly, when I was not so much occupied, studied with some interest the various attempts to settle the question of the landed proprietors of India, with a just regard to the Zemindars and Ryots respectively on the one hand, and the claims of Government, as succeeding to the former rulers of India, on the other.

" But I am now so occupied by my own profession, and the great necessity of its *reform*, that I feel my first duty as a member of the Legislature is to throw light upon the subject which is most familiar to me. The House of Commons is composed of members of every station in life, and of every occupation, and every man renders himself most useful by taking up the particular branch of public discussion with which his daily occupation renders him well acquainted. Thus we have many members, on both sides of the House, who have spent their lives in India ; others who have been, and are now, Directors of the East India Company ; others who have been employed, or are now employed, in the Department of the Board of Control. These are the persons who ought naturally to take up the great subject to which your very able letter refers, and the House of Commons very properly pays more attention to the opinions of men upon their *own* subject, as I may call it, than to those of amateur legislators, who take up every subject, whether they understand it or not.

" I have myself been lately placed on a commission for the reform of our * * * and am working very hard upon it. It would be quite out of my power to undertake the *discussion* of the landed tenure of India. It is of course my duty to endeavour to *understand* every matter on which I have to vote, but that is a very different thing from *managing* the cause.

" I am very glad to have the opinions of one so competent as yourself to assist me in arriving at a conclusion, but this assistance would not enable me to open a debate.

" I shall, when the House meets (in February), show your letter to ————————, and also to some other members who take an interest in Indian affairs (———————— for instance) ; and I am sure that whether they agree with you or not, they will think you have made a very clear statement of the case.

" You shall hear from me again soon after the Meeting of Parliament. In the mean time believe me,

" Yours very sincerely,

" ————————."

" Manockjee Cursetjee, Esq."

" *Villa, Byculla, 25th June* 1851.

" To ————————,

" England.

" My dear and distinguished Friend,

" Allow me cordially to congratulate you on your elevation to the office of ————————, and obtaining the honor of knighthood from our gracious Sovereign, which you have so justly earned for yourself by your own industry in your professional career, and in your parliamentary career as a senator. I will not add more, lest one might mistake my language for that of adulation, in which orientalists are accustomed to garb their sentiments. May that Supreme Originator of all and every event grant you and Lady ———— a long life of united bliss to enjoy the distinction, and may He lead you to yet higher eminence for the benefit of mankind in general, and British subjects in particular, be whatever their creed or colour.

" I ought, ere this, to have acknowledged your esteemed letter of the 28th December, which I felt grateful for on its receipt ; but as you concluded it by saying you would write to me again soon after the opening of Parliament, I thought of waiting to hear further from you on the subjects embraced in my last letter, which you proposed showing ———————— and other Members of the House, who take Indian subjects under their special consideration.

" To find that my detached meagre ideas on the subjects affecting the interest of the people of this vast empire have been so well thought of by you is verily gratifying—nay flattering to my feelings. I shall continue to write to you in the same strain occasionally on any passing events of note occurring for your information, and of those Members who you say especially devote their attention to matters affecting this country ; but not with the view to open a debate on such communications from me, nor to have my letters quoted in the House to get popularity or celebrity.

" Shortly after I wrote to you last year, I heard of the appointment of a Commissioner by the Manchester Association, or the Merchants of Lancashire interested in the trade with India, and the Commissioner has since arrived here, and is at his work—gathering information, &c.

" I have been endeavouring to devote such small leisure as I get

after the performance of my several official duties, which I owe to Government and the public, towards collecting and studying a number of facts illustrative of the position and prospects of this country, with the view to enabling me to take a part in the forthcoming discussion on the renewal or otherwise of the East India Company's Charter, on which I am not quite qualified at present to venture any decisive opinion. We have seen how this country has been governed by the Company. With some modification, and supplying a few wants, the renewal of the Charter might prove beneficial. But we know not what changes are contemplated, or how this country is proposed to be governed in *future*. Until we know this, one is not prepared to say whether a change of administration would benefit this country, or the reverse.

" I propose, with God's help, to place my collection of the data, and observations thereon, in the hands of some of the judicious friends of this country, to be made use of, if they think it would prove for its benefit. But as I am not going to make this a long essay, or anything resembling what I addressed you last year, I must take leave of the subject for the present.

" Believe me, my dear ————————,
" Yours very sincerely,
" M. CURSETJEE."

Extract of a letter from ———————— *in answer to the above.*

" ————————, *26th December* 1851.

" MY DEAR FRIEND,

" You must not believe me to be negligent, although a long interval may elapse between my receipt of one of your kind letters, and my reply. I assure you that I have scarcely time to write to my own immediate relations and friends in England, for the office I now hold is a very onerous one, occupying all my time.

* * * * * * * *

" I wish I could give you more satisfaction with regard to the result of your long and interesting letter on India. Soon after I received it ———————— was made Lord ————————, and thus left the House of Commons for that of the Peers : I thereby lost the opportunity, which I should otherwise have availed myself of,

to *discuss* the subject of your letter whilst sitting by him during the debates. We have many opportunities of doing this during any interesting debate, and this was what I intended to do when I last wrote to you.

* * * * * * * *

"I hope, however, that your suggestions may not be wholly lost. I think the Indian Government is quite sensible of the vast importance of developing the vast resources of the soil and climate of India, with regard to cotton and other agricultural produce, and the necessity of railroad communication to bring out this development.

"I am, &c.

"_____."

5. Subjects such as the above, and others of like tendency, come within the legitimate scope of the inquiry which the Bombay Association, or any other party interested in the welfare of this country, should set about, and discuss upon, with the view to represent, either to the authorities in India or England, the real wants of the people of this country, founded upon the correct result of such inquiry.

6. In subjects like these the Natives in general, and the Ryots in particular, would naturally feel interested; and which, when explained, they cannot fail to understand, were they otherwise ignorant of it.

7. Such, in fact, was the fundamental object of the Bombay Association, as set forth in the opening and the closing address by its chairman, on the occasion of its inauguration. But I have lately perceived an inclination on the part of some of its managers to leave the local wants, and local Government measures, of which the people may be supposed to understand something, aside, and to aim at demolishing the machinery of the Indian Government in England—namely, to do away with the India Board, and the Court of Directors, and to create a new Court for India, to be composed of a number of handsomely paid members, to be elected, not by the present Proprietors of the East India Stock only, but also by people in India, Natives and Europeans, who hold Government Promissory Notes and Government chartered Bank Shares of certain value; and (taking care not to omit Young Bombay

especially) persons qualified by education, as the graduates of the colleges, and by proxy, &c. &c. A number of petitions to Parliament have been, within the last month and a half, in the course of being "cooked up," containing some such prayers.

8. If the members of the Bombay Association, and others, really believe that a petition to the high authorities, containing such prayers, and others of like tendency, are not selfish; that doing away with the Board of Control and the Court of Directors, and making a radical change in the working of the Indian Government in England, will be really for India's good; that the people, from whom the petition is professed to be sent, do know what is the machinery of Indian Government in England, or how and why that machinery has been created, as it now stands; or if the Members of the Association and others can conscientiously certify that the people of India feel any interest in, or care anything about the existence or extermination of the India Board, and the India Directors in England, the Bombay Association, and others interested in it, are bound, in duty, to support such prayers by all their might and main. But, on the other hand, if they or any of them believe otherwise, in all or many of the aforesaid matters, they are equally bound to make a bold stand against sending in petitions containing such prayers, which convey no Native feeling, written by no Native, and about which the Natives know nothing and care nothing: before finally drawing up a petition to be sent to Parliament, let it be circulated among the members of the Bombay Association generally, and of its Managing Committee particularly.

9. When I see it I will, if I have anything further to say, make it a subject of a separate paper.

14*th October* 1852. M. C.

No. 5.

As nearly a moiety of the original Members of the Managing Committee of the Bombay Association, it seems, have thought as I did of the strength and capability of that body to produce any amount of substantial good for the benefit of this country, and have consequently resigned their respective offices; and as I have committed to paper my "Passing Ideas" in relation to the Association, originally for the information, consideration, and guidance of its Managing Committee, for objects far different from what some of its petulent members attempted to misinterpret; and as my connection with that Committee has now ceased, for reasons set forth in a separate paper,* I propose addressing my future "Ideas" independently of the Association, and through a different channel, to my friends, and those who feel an interest in the welfare of this country. I cannot, however conclude the present series without the following few observations :—

2. I little thought when I took to scribbling these papers, and afterwards printing them, for objects explained in the concluding para. of my paper No. 3, that they would form the subject of newspaper discussion, or create such a sensation among these young folks,—the would-be Members of Council and what not of Bombay,—whose schemes of self-aggrandizement, and whose pretensions at blustering on subjects of so much importance, but without the requisite amount of information, knowledge, and experience of the same, I endeavoured to describe in their true colours.

3. Their first endeavour was to draw off attention from the few stubborn facts involving the simple question at issue, viz. whether the Association was or was not in a position to undertake what it has since attempted, in direct violation of its originally professed object—that object being, to quote the very words of Mr. Juggonnath Sunkersett, "*to ascertain and note the wants and wishes of the people living under the Government; to consider what measures are calculated to improve their condition, and to submit* THE RESULTS

* See Appendix A.

OF THESE INQUIRIES *to the local Government, and to the authorities in England.*"

4. They next began to ridicule and vituperate my efforts by distorting, misinterpreting, and misquoting my object, my feelings, and sentiments on the subject : this I took no notice of, and treated with contempt ; but when they overstepped the bounds of liberty, by mixing impudent falsehoods with their low lampoons to decry my family, my position, and my character, through the medium of that hired agency (which is a disgrace now-a-days in Bombay)—the discreditable portion of the Press—I gave them their just dues in a few short but sharp letters,* some of which the Editor of the *Gazette* would not publish, but which I caused afterwards to be published in the other journals, and which so completely put down my pigmy assailants, their champions, and their newspaper blackguardism, as to have "*chooprowed*" them altogether.

5. My pamphlet, on its outset, has the appearance of being written by a Government apologist, which I neither am, nor desire to be. No Government has been, or can ever be, free from defects in its administration ; but to pick up any of the constitutional defects in the existing Indian Government, and work them up with effect *pro bono publico*, would require the possession of a store of information, and study of "*pukamooda*" (substantial facts), which those forming the Association unfortunately have not, and never professed to have had, before they took to trumpeting their doings to the world.

6. In the absence of such essentiality, it would have been more befitting in the Members of the Association to have commenced their work with the commencement. To have first set to inquire into, and collect a compendium of facts, and laid the same before such judicious friends of the Natives among the influential European gentlemen in England and India, without pomposity, and with a request to have the same brought, if approved by them, to the notice of the great men who have voices, or otherwise are interested, in the Charter discussions ; or to have preferred any Petition they chose to make to the authorities in England, grounded on the result of such inquiry.

7. There are several Government measures which at the first glance would appear to be open to reproof ; but these, if carefully

* See Appendix B.

inquired into, in the majority of instances would be found to relate to individual cases, which must be treated on individual grounds, and remonstrated against by individual petitions ; and ought not to be mixed up in discussing the general policy of Government, with the view to effect a radical change in the very constitution of that Government.

8. The Natives in general have not learnt, and this "Young Bombay" in particular require yet to learn, how to discriminate public from private questions, affecting rights of nations and rights of individuals. I have had, and still have, no trivial cause to complain of the acts of our local Government, and which I have done in no mistakeable language in my correspondence with the authorities. Were these to have influenced my feelings in joining with a herd of ignorant Natives, who take delight in throwing their handful of dust on Government, *merely for the sake of its display*, I should stand the chance of being equally charged by one party as being vindictive, and my sentiments the sentiments of a disappointed man, as I have been by the other party of being a Government friend, Government partizan, and an expectant of Government—thus imputing motives which (heaven is my witness) in no way propelled my feelings in taking my stand in opposition to the views of those forming the Association.

9. I have, however, found, and since clearly shown in the course of the discussion among the Members of the Managing Committee, that they have been acting in ignorance of the subject matters they undertook to discuss, and were put up by others, whose views they would blindly adopt, and had in fact actually adopted ; and I considered it a duty I owed to my Government, my country, and myself, to have their mask torn off.

10. I have not spared Government or its officers (though the latter may have been my personal friends), and I will not spare them when writing or speaking of individual cases (my own or others'), in which the acts of the authorities deserve being reprehended ; and as I shall continue my "Ideas" in a subsequent part or series of papers, pointing out what Government should do for the people, and the people for themselves, then I will as tersely show the defects of the former as I have at the outset of these papers shown those of the latter.

11. I have not been, and am not, an enemy to any man or set

of men forming themselves into a body for any patriotic object. Those who engage in such a cause deserve well of their country. I wished well of the Bombay Association, because the professed general object with which it was inaugurated was far from being questionable, or I should not have consented to being enrolled among its Managing Committee. But when that body began to wave from its originally professed object, and courted secresy instead of publicity for its doings, I at once severed my connexion with it. Several others, I believe, on like grounds, did the same.

12. All I have endeavoured by words and in writing to impress on the minds of those connected with, or interested in, the prosperity of the Bombay Association, was to prevent their leaping beyond their strength, to meddle in matters of which they might be supposed to know something—or, in others words, "*to see with their own eyes, hear with their own ears, and then judge for themselves,*" *instead of seeing (as they have done) by other people's eyes, hearing by other people's ears, and being led on by other people's views.*

13. Nothing could have better illustrated the fitness of my above observations, nothing the correctness of the data on which I grounded them, than that *heaven-born* petition of theirs to the British Parliament, which has so lately appeared in the newspapers, and been commented upon in their leading columns. A selection of the "Spirit of the Press" is appended to this.*

14. This petition professed to be from the Bombay Association and its other inhabitants. It took two months to have it suitably prepared and properly cooked by a number of European gentlemen and others who had a hand, act, or other advising part in its being got up. The inhabitants of Bombay in general know nothing of it, whilst the Members of the Association in particular had been kept in ignorance of its contents till a quarter of an hour before the same was read and adopted at the Meeting, on the eve of its transmission to England.

15. The mode and manner of getting up Petitions and Addresses generally, the Petition in question to Parliament in particular, and the several objects sought in that Petition by a number of inhabitants of Bombay, shall form the subject matter of the new series or second part of these papers.

M. C.

* See Appendix C.

APPENDIX A.

I, in common with several original members of the Bombay Association, joined that body, and consented to be on its Managing Committee, on the express understanding that the Society was got up for no selfish object, but with that of achieving some substantial benefit for the country and its inhabitants at large; and this, it was resolved, could only be done by first collecting accurate figures and facts relative to the wants and wishes of the people, and then representing the same, from time to time, to the authorities in India and England, founding such representations on the accurate figures and facts thus previously collected.

2. The proposed scheme of the Association, as given out in several deliberate speeches at the Meeting of its inauguration, was to the same effect. It was also emphatically announced by the chairman of that Meeting in these words,—"that *the anxiety of the British Government is to improve the condition of the ryots, as well as of the other classes. The Government have the power to do much good, and we have many proofs they have the will also.*" Whilst another speaker, in eulogizing the acts of the British Government of India, declared: "*We are comparatively happier under this* KIND *Government than we would be likely to be under any other,*" *&c. &c.*

3. These and other laudatory addresses in favour of Government were received by unanimous cheerings, and without a single dissentient voice being raised in opposition by any one present at that Meeting; and yet, within a few days afterwards, the Managing Committee—or rather some of its forward members—began to break through the very objects of the Association, and commenced upon a course of procedure diametrically opposed to what its chairman and others publicly professed as aforesaid, and what was expected of them.

4. They endeavoured to shun all publicity of their doings, and courted secresy: instead of getting enlightened (they having openly professed their benightedness) as to the existing state of things at and out of the Presidency, in relation to the absolute wants of the

people, by first inquiring into the same, they attempted to rush on higher game, by suffering themselves at once to be swayed by the views and opinions of others; by fraternizing with the views and opinions emanating from the Calcutta Association, and other avowed opponents of Government, for political objects in England, as echoed in newspapers.

5. In short, when they overleaped their strength and their bounds of discretion in treading on strange ground,—speaking of matters of which the Committee, with the exception of one or two of its members, were in profound ignorance, and of which the natives knew nothing and cared nothing, and in asking "what reasonably they could not expect, or maintain if they had,"—then it was that nearly a moiety of the original members of the Managing Committee of this Association threw up their offices one after the other, in common with myself.

6. Independently of the above reasons I had others, which I shall presently recite, which occasioned my addressing the said body the following

"MEMORANDUM.

"I herewith transmit to the Bombay Association my paper No. 4 of the Series, (part of which I read last night at the meeting,) and with this, I beg to add, my connection with the Association ceases. The reasons which propel me to resign my office as one of its Managing Committee shall be stated at length in a paper for the information of my friends, a copy of which I shall not fail to forward to the Association, not as its member, nor as its evil-wisher, but as (as I have hitherto been) its well-wisher and friend.

(Signed) "MANACKJEE CURSETJEE.

"*Villa, Byculla, 15th October* 1852."

7. The truths, unpalatable, I fear, which I told the members of the Association in and out of their meetings, in relation to the several fundamental errors with which they commenced their proceedings, and among others their dreading publicity of their doings, has rendered some of their body to regard me in the light of an enemy to the Association; whilst I only gave faithful utterance to my feelings for that body, with the best of all intentions,—to set its working Committee to right where it appeared to me, as it appeared to some others of my colleagues, to have been out of its proper place.

8. The Committee scarcely knew what it was about. There

never was to my recollection a single defined subject brought before it for discussion; no discussion of a single topic of interest or advantage to the community at large was discussed by it, and consequently in all I have said or written, I scarcely ever alluded to, for or against, any specific proposition before the Meeting.

9. My observations, whatever they have been, have been my own. They were general, and directed to the preliminary course which, according to the extent of my knowledge, information, and ability—however humble the latter—I considered would have been for the Society's reputation and advantage to adopt.

10. I drew these observations from certain premises which I laid down as my text. I might be right or I might be wrong in my data. In the latter case I should have been told where I was wrong, and how. Not a solitary member of the Committee did this. The subject matter of my papers or minutes which I sent on to the Committee were never even circulated among its members, much less discussed by them. The members had not seen, and knew nothing of the same till after I had them printed, and circulated among my friends and others interested, in common with me, in the welfare of the Association; and yet I was by some designing ones proclaimed an enemy to the Association in writing against its objects.

11. I defy any one to prove from what I have written that I have been otherwise than a friend to the legitimate objects of the Association, or that I have been actuated by less friendly motives in what I have endeavoured to impress on the minds of the Committee and have suggested for its consideration.

12. My papers or minutes were before the Committee. I told it distinctly (vide concluding para. of my Minute No. 3) on the 5th September, and by a note to the Chairman on the 10th September, that I was going to print the same. I made no secret of my intention one month before my pamphlet was out. Did any one in the interim object to my sentiments, as conveyed in those minutes, being pamphleted? No: and yet after my pamphlet was out I was told by some of the members that it, my pamphlet, had done the Association's cause damage; and I ought not to have printed it.

13. I could not help smiling at their ignorance in not knowing what I had written, nor knowing that I had told the Committee, a

month before, that I was going to print a number of these papers or minutes for circulation among my personal friends, and such friends of the Natives of India who, I believe, are able from their experience of the several subjects to suggest amendments, and enable me to enlarge my views thereon.

14. Those who have read, and will read, my pamphlet disinterestedly, along with the following correspondence, will bear me out, and sympathize with me in what I have stated and have done:—

"*Villa, Byculla,* 10*th September* 1852.

"J. SUNKERSETT, Esq.,

"President of the Bombay Association.

"MY DEAR JUGONNATHJEE,

"It was more to oblige you and our esteemed friend Bomanjee that I consented to being lugged into the Association, the working of which, as it has gone, has by no means enabled me to alter my opinion of the strength and capability of those young men who seem to be the prime movers of the thing. I would therefore communicate without reserve my ideas on the subject to you in your capacity as President of the Society, and you are welcome to make such use of the same as may be conducive to benefit the object of the said Society.

"I left with Rowjee, some days ago, the paper which I alluded to in the few words I addressed to the General Meeting, and which I drew up consequent upon our conversations on the eve of that meeting, and I have sent two other papers, in continuation of the same. I may go on in this way, if you think I could do any good, or if these papers would be read with attention, and receive disinterested consideration, otherwise I may as well save myself that trouble, and take other measures of letting my friends know my sentiments on the subject.

"I received late last night a circular containing a fresh specimen of the young men's views, or the first specimen of the views of the Executive Committee; namely, they consider their number (already 15) small enough, and desire, or rather resolve, to recommend the same to be increased to 25, chiefly from among the young men; and I am pleased you have so justly recorded your opinion, in which I participate, 'THAT THE BUSINESS OF THE AS-

SOCIATION CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO BE CONDUCTED WITH PRUDENCE AND ADVANTAGE EVEN, IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, BY YOUNG MEN WHO HAVE NOT YET LEFT SCHOOL, AND SEEN ANYTHING OF THE WORLD.'

"But I go further, and as I stated when we last met, that there ought not to have been (and I still think there ought not to be) any such Executive Committee as it now stands, since all their labours appear to be confined to collecting information, and laying the same before the General Committee, and it is the General Committee that have to decide *pro et con.* (for and against) acting upon such information; and would not the Secretaries, by themselves, have done the same, namely, call for information, receive information, and lay the said information so received before the General Committee for deliberation and decision?

"If, on the other hand, it is meant that the Executive Committee or its individual members would offer learned disquisitions on the information thus collected, I fear, and think there will not be found few now who would fear also, that the Executive Committee composed as it is, principally of 'young men of inexperience, fresh from school,' would not be just the sort of Committee on whose judgment and discretion the General Committee or the Association should ground their views.

"Is the General Committee, on the other hand, (composed as it is of the Old and Young Bombay, from among the most influential and apparently intelligent sections of the Bombay community,) less able or less competent to separate the 'grain from the chaff,' and discriminately judge and decide on the collection of the information before them?

"Again, if these young men possess the ability and will to further the objects of the Association, they will, whether they are made or not made members of the Executive Committee, volunteer to serve under the banner of the Association; surely it is not to be expected that they will do their work only because they receive a title of membership from the Association and not otherwise.

"If the latter (which I hope not), and in order to do away with any misconception, disaffection, or invidious distinction among those whose names have been submitted by the Executive Commit-

tee to be added to the strength, but which the General Committee appear indisposed to accord to, or between those whose names are not on the roll of the Executive Committee and those whose names are on it, I would suggest the Executive Committee be done away with; and instead, to appoint individuals who would respond to the public notice or summons to communicate any accurate information or suggestions for the good of the Association as honorary or corresponding members of the Association, entitling them to all its privileges, except voting for the disposal of its funds (unless they are so qualified by subscription) at its meeting.

"This would stimulate many young men just as able and perhaps willing as those who have already volunteered themselves under the Association's banner; and this will, besides, put an end to bickerings and discontent among other young men who find, or consider, or suppose by their being not taken notice of, or passed over in the formation of the Executive Committee, that they have been either slighted or less thought of.

"The Executive Committee, as it is now composed principally of the young men, and on the strength of whose working the Association, as it would seem (perhaps incorrectly), has earned for it the soubriquet '*Bombay Schoolboy Association*,' and by adding more '*young men of inexperience*,' as you have very justly remarked, '*would never suffer the business of the Meeting to be conducted with prudence and advantage*,' and the Association would justly merit the epithet which others merely now jocularly apply to it.

"The thing itself looks ridiculous enough, but the farce should go no furthur by adding to the strength of the 'young men best company' which to all appearance the Executive Committee now is."

TO THE SAME.

Villa, Byculla, 13th October 1852.

"MY DEAR J.,

"I got, late last night, yours of yesterday. * * * * * * * * * My communications have been addressed with a far different motive (which I am sorry you won't comprehend) than to ferment adverse feelings, &c. &c.; my communica-

tions are on a model of a '*Junumputre*'* and '*Vurusful*'† of the Association, to prognosticate its fate up or downwards, when placed under certain constellations or positions. They (my communications) meant to point out first, what are the general defects, and where they lie, in getting up such a big body as you proposed to erect, and what should be done to avoid the danger of its falling down from want of a *puka* basis. At the present moment it, apparently, is upon a sandy foundation.

"The enclosures of my letter to the lady (which I read at the former meeting) shall come to you in due course, embodied in my future communications, (page 30,) when I shall take up each pertinent subject. I want first to see what these young men (whose views you appear so partial to in contradiction to mine) have got, and are going to get, in support of a number of things they talk of, and then show how far they are right, and how far they are wrong;—in the meantime, I have commenced picking up from my portfolio of facts, as they have come under my observation, or by communications, and correspondence with competent persons.

"Read my papers throughout, and without bias; let others do the same, and then judge for yourselves, and suffer not to be judged by the views of others in this, or in other case, is all my wishes to you for your sake, and the sake of the country to which you belong.

"Yours ever sincerely,

(Signed) "MANACKJEE CURSETJEE."

15. There is another circumstance, which it would be as well briefly to notice here. I received a note from one of the Secretaries that I should send a copy of my speech at the General Meeting of the 26th August, for the purpose of being inserted in the Proceedings which were required to be sent in to Government. I wrote him a reply that my speech was not a prepared one;—I could not

* "*Junumputre*" is the role of nativity, which among the Natives is invariably cast at the birth of every male and female child, noting down the exact time of the child's birth, and the then constellation, according to the astrological calculation, under which the child was born. No family is without this, for its individual members to prognosticate their future lot.

† "*Vurusful*" is an astrological Almanac for the year, which wealthy Natives get prepared from *Junumputre*, and without having these consulted by the horoscope observers and soothsayers, they seldom venture upon any notable undertaking.

give its very words, and therefore I sent him its substance. I subsequently discovered that much of what I said, and to some points, was omitted in the Proceedings sent in to Government, and by this omission my sentiments, as expressed in public on the occasion in question, were misinterpreted. I wrote for an explanation, to which I received a note. This, and my answer thereto, I give below, to speak for themselves:—

"My dear Sir,

"A line or two of your speech which appeared highly objectionable, and which was followed by hisses, and 'No—no one said so!' &c., and the insertion of which would have injured you, has only been omitted, more for your good than from any other motive. We could not put in the whole of your speech, without at the same time stating that your statement met with denial and disapprobation.

"The Proceedings were read and confirmed by the General Committee when you ought to have been on the look-out.

"I am sorry your Paper in question is not forthcoming, but if I should happen to find it, I shall with pleasure return it to you.

"I remain, &c.

"V. Jugonnathjee.

"*29th September* 1852."

"*29th September* 1852.

"My dear Baba,

"I am by no means surprised, though sorry, at what you have written me, in answer to my note of this morning. All I can say is, that I consider it a piece of impertinence on the part of any one to take such liberty with the statement I sent for the purpose of being recorded, and that at the solicitation of one of the Secretaries.

"I saw the entire note of the statement in question in the draft Proceedings circulated, and when I read it also at the Meeting, previous to its being sent into Government, there was no omission of the part I see now omitted: all I remember having then mentioned to you, and afterwards to Bhow Dajee, was to leave out the sentence about anxiety being manifested by me, which I objected to—and you said it would be done.

"What you write (I hope for your sake under dictation) about 'hisses' is a libel. Notes of my speech were taken *verbatim*

by several of the reporters, and I see the same correctly published in the *Watchman* newspaper of the 4th September, from which I took a copy for the purpose I required, so you need not trouble yourself about finding my note. Nor would I take any in the matter. I see the quarter from which the wind blows, and I propose to steer my course very differently.

"Yours,
"M. C."

16. Considering that the "little Secretary" yet undergoing his tuition in the Elphinstone Institution was inexperienced in the matter, I thought it pardonable in him; but my surprise was great when the other Secretary, to whom I mentioned the circumstance, gravely said, it was *his* duty to expunge any part *he* thought objectionable from my statement, though sent by me for the purpose of being recorded in the Proceedings; and he went so far as to add, it was not necessary for him to consult, and he had not therefore consulted, the members of Committee in so doing. I, of course, thought it useless bandying words with one who had such an exalted notion of his duty and of the propriety of his acts; I passed the matter without taking further notice of it. Several members of the Committee knew nothing of this till I mentioned it to them afterwards.

17. I have only now to give transcripts of three more notes I addressed to the Chairman of the Committee, regarding the Petition to Parliament, about which such mis-statements from time to time were suffered to be published in the newspapers, without any efforts on the part of the Committee or its officers to have such mis-statements contradicted, especially after the same had been pointed out to its several members.

Villa, Byculla, 2nd October 1852.

"My Dear Jugonathjee,

"I kept myself partly disengaged last night in the expectation of receiving the Draft Petition, which was resolved to be sent to me for inspection. Pray cause it to be sent to me this evening, or early to-morrow morning, if you wish to get it soon again, with anything I may have to add on it before being shown to some of the European friends.

"Yours sincerely,
"Manockjee Cursetjee."

"*Villa, Byculla, 3rd October* 1852.

"My Dear Jugonathjee,

"No answer to my yesterday's note, and no Draft Petition yet, which I was told to expect on Friday evening. This displaces my arrangement for work, for which you seem to have no sympathy. I propose to devote certain days for certain work, and on those days keep myself disengaged from other business; and here I have lost more than a day in the hope of attending to the wishes of the Committee.

"I read yesterday morning a bit of a para. in the *Gazette*, that 'the Petition to both Houses of Parliament regarding the Charter drawn up by the Bombay Association is now ready,' and that 'the Native community are working with great unanimity on the subject, but,' &c. and in the evening I saw a reprint of the above, in the shape of a handbill.

"Now, what wiseacre has furnished the *Gazette* with the above information, and what Solomon caused it to be proclaimed by handbill (which I have got, and am going to make some use of it), or what might be its object I know not, and it is not my business to care. All I say is, that it behoves you, as Mr. President, to take notice of such mis-statements. You know no such Petition has been drawn up (much less ready) by the Bombay Association. Its very draft has not been seen by the Members composing its Managing Committee, for whose information it has not been circulated.

"The Committee's meeting was called last Thursday for the purpose of discussing a Draft Petition; but far from discussing the merit or demerit of that Draft Petition, it was not even read there; so much for the *Gazette*'s information, and the handbills proclaiming it, which is not in accordance with facts, and I have written this, lest you are not aware of it, to give you an opportunity of getting it contradicted.

"Yours sincerely,

"Manockjee Cursetjee."

Villa, Byculla, 4th October 1852.

"My Dear Jugonathjee,

"Rowjee* left with me yesterday evening the Draft Petition,

* Mr. Sunkersett's son, and one of the Secretaries of the Committee.

which I read, and took notes of for observation; beyond this I have no time to-day to do more, for I have my Sudder cases to prepare for to-morrow and Wednesday; and as Rowjee said it was your wish particularly that I should return the Petition to-day, I do so. If you will return it back to me after to-morrow, I shall be glad to write on its juxtaposition, what I think of the soundness or otherwise of each proposition. You kept me disengaged for nearly two days for this paper, and are now in a hurry when I am engaged.

"The same mis-statement I remarked on in my yesterday's note to you has been, with some ugly additions, repeated in to-day's '*Courier*.' It is avowedly a 'communicated scrap.' I wish to keep as much our apparent difference on some of these subjects from the Press as you could wish, but your young friends determine to have me dragged into it. I will soon put down this newspaper blackguardism. I feel, I assure you, more for you than you may form an idea of, or feel for

"Yours sincerely,

"MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE.

"TO JUGONATH SUNKERSETT, ESQ."

18. A week or ten days after the date of the above letter to the Chairman of the Committee, a further circular was sent round calling a meeting on the 14th October to discuss the Draft Petition (so often talked of, but never discussed): we met accordingly, and on my reading the two separate minutes pointing out the inexpediency of getting up Petitions in such a manner, without its being previously circulated to any of the members of the Committee, and without each subject therein embraced previously discussed and adopted at their meeting; and finding in the course of the discussion, which we thereon had, that out of eight Members then present, six knew nothing of the most prominent features of the Petition, &c. &c. I declared openly, that "their force could go no further" if they were bent upon having such subjects carried on in their own fashion.

19. On this I could no longer allow myself to be connected with the Managing Committee, and wrote out the Memorandum already above quoted, wishing to have nothing more to do with it; and within a few days afterwards I found out that several other members thereof also sent in their resignation.

M. C.

APPENDIX B.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE BOMBAY GAZETTE.

SIR,—On the day of the last mail's departure for England, a false statement appeared in your paper, to the effect that a petition had been prepared by the Bombay Association, and was ready to be transmitted to Parliament, but one of its Members created opposition in its way. A repetition of the said mis-statement you have again published to-day, on the eve of the departure of this day's mail in your leader, in which you thought it befitting your position to take uncalled for liberty with my name.

2nd. Fill the measure of your abuse and personality—as it seems now is your policy in discussing purely public questions—as high as you like, I treat the same with supreme contempt. Those who know me and my family long and intimately, know what weight is to be attached to such rabid vituperation, by whomsoever penned.

3rd. I hope you are not one of the "rapacious rupee-seekers" that have set up some persons to make a demonstration, an outcry against the existing machinery of the Indian Government in England; but if you are, then I see you are hit at the right quarter, and hence the vent to your bile on me, in relation to the few "Flying Ideas for the benefit of India and Indians," which I have printed for the perusal of my friends, and which pamphlet you have partially noticed, and grossly misrepresented in your this day's paper.

4th. In reference to the petition, you said a fortnight ago it was ready, and you now say, is ready, by the Association: you have been imposed upon by some of the interested clique. The Petition has not yet been seen by the members of the Bombay Association, nor circulated for approval among the members of its Managing Committee. It was, as published in one of the native newspapers, up to Wednesday last with an English gentleman who had the preparing of it. The following transcript of what I wrote across a circular from the Managing Committee of the Bombay Association, only two days ago, will further explain the actual

progress of the Petition, about which there has been so much mystery:—

14th October 1852.

"About a fortnight ago a similar circular came for the Meeting of the Committee to discuss on a Draft Petition, but when we met, far from discussing that Petition, it was not even read then.

"It was promised to be sent to me the next day to consider, but it was brought to me on the evening of the fourth day by the Secretary, with a request that I should return it the next day, as it was particularly wanted. This I did, with a request that it should be sent back to me soon, that I might write my observations in juxtaposition to each paragraph, for or against the proposition therein contained; and this has not yet been done. Here is another circular to meet and consider a Draft Petition. The preferable course would have been, as I have before suggested, to have sent round any such Draft Petition to the members, to read and prepare thereon before discussion, or to have printed the Draft Petition in the newspapers, that all interested in it might observe the same, and offer opinions thereon; and unless this is done, such important matters could not be said to have been duly thought or properly considered. I only received this circular two hours before the meeting.

(Signed) "M. C."

5th. The statement, in note, that I "desired" Mr. Briggs to publish the letter from the Home Government to this, conveying the opinion entertained of me by the late Sir Robert Peel, which he (Mr. Briggs) has published in his meagre account of the Parsees, is gratuitous, as (and in keeping with) the entire feature of the article, personal and abusive, published by you this morning, is mendacious. *Far from desiring Mr. Briggs to publish that letter, I have rebuked that gentleman (by a note on seeing it published) for having done so without my authority.*

MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE.

Villa, Byculla, Saturday Morning, 16th October 1852.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE BOMBAY TELEGRAPH AND COURIER.

SIR,—I sent you yesterday a transcript of a letter I addressed to the Editor of the *Gazette*, on Saturday morning, commenting on an article full of gratuitous assertions regarding me. I read in this

morning's *Gazette* my said letter, which was sent to your cotemporary copied by my clerk,—one of the Bombay ordinary clerks,— and I find it wanting in one place a dash (—), to connect a sentence, misspelling of two words, with a couple of extra *points*. Whether it was the mistake of my clerk in copying from my original draft, or of the printers of the press, it is of no great consequence. I despatched that letter three quarters of an hour after I had seen the article in question in the *Gazette*, on Saturday; and, being engaged in finishing my overland letters, the letter copied by my clerk was not so carefully corrected as it ought to have been.

I now send you this original draft, (you have its copy, *which I sent you yesterday*,) and you can best speak how far they are free from these paltry clerical errors, which the Editor of the *Gazette* has made the most of, by the heading he gave my said letter in publishing it this morning; and therefore I beg of you to print it from the copy I sent you yesterday, or from my original draft, if you can make out my (I am sorry to say bad) writing.

I see it is useless bandying words with the Editor of the *Gazette*, who would publish falsehoods, (whether communicated or otherwise,) and which when pointed out to him, he would not explain or rectify.

I had not the remotest idea when I wrote for the Bombay Association, and afterwards printed for my friends' perusal, the few "Flying Ideas," that those whose original scheme I have brought to a public gaze, &c. would, instead of grappling with the substance, fly at the shadow; or, in other words, instead of answering facts, that they would resort to the chicanery of distorting the very essence and object of the pamphlet, by misrepresenting it, and misquoting it in newspapers, &c. &c. As it is, I am obliged to request of you to take editorial notice of the said pamphlet, and let the public know what I have written, and whether or not for the benefit of the Natives in general, and the Bombay Association in particular.

MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE.

Villa, Byculla, Monday Morning, 18*th October* 1852.

On Sunday last we received a letter from Mr. Manockjee Cursetjee, contradicting some statements regarding himself which appeared in

the *Bombay Gazette* of Saturday. The communication—which will be found in another column—we kept back for a day, not having room to publish it in yesterday's issue.

Mr. Manockjee's manuscript—which can be seen at our office—is entirely free from those errors of punctuation and orthography which appear in the same letter as copied in the *Gazette*, and which the editor of that paper says is "according to copy." For the mistakes of the printer no correspondent can be answerable; but as far as the manuscript goes, the letter before us is free from any error either of spelling or punctuation. Mr. Manockjee's letter can be seen at the office, and we have witnesses to prove that it was given to us upon Sunday,—the day before it appeared in the *Bombay Gazette*,—so that the corrections were not made *after* the *Gazette*'s article appeared in print. Since writing the above, we have received another letter from Mr. Manockjee, which we also publish elsewhere.—*Bombay Telegraph and Courier, 19th October* 1852.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE BOMBAY GAZETTE.

No. 1.

Sir,—If "A Member of the Bombay Association," whose letter you have this morning published, is a real member of the Bombay Association, he certainly has repeated barefaced falsehoods, in keeping with all the mendacious assertions with which your paper of this morning is replete. It was notified by a circular to the members of the Managing Committee, upwards of twenty days ago, that a Draft Petition would be discussed at their meeting (and which was, I think,) held on the 30th ultimo; but far from discussing the said Draft Petition, it was not even then and there read. Another circular came on the 14th from the same body, for the same purpose, and my remarks thereon having already been given to the public, by my letters published in the *Gazette* and *Courier*, respectively, of the 18th and 19th instant, in which I have shown the actual progress of the petition, about which there continues to be so much mystery. All these have not been denied by your lying correspondent.

On the 14th there was a meeting at Mr. Jugonathjee Sunkersett's house, where a draft petition, said to be prepared by Mr. ——, was

read. Far from adopting it, or its being ready for transmission, as alleged by you, (in respect to which I wrote to you to say that you must have been imposed upon,) it was then and there declared to hold another meeting after the Mail's departure to approve or adopt the same, and in the meantime to send it to certain members, and after their observations thereon, to be shown to certain *Sahéb Logs*. Let the President or Vice President of the meeting deny this, or let any of its members, with their consent, do so. Up to Tuesday, I believe, the Draft Petition was not circulated among the members of the Managing Committee, and if any of them, and how many of them have before and since Tuesday last seen it, let their names be given to the public, and that will disprove or prove what has been advanced by your correspondent—"A Member of the Bombay Association"—and by

MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE.

Villa, Byculla, 21st October 1852.

P. S.—If the petition has been ready and adopted, &c., why was it not printed in the newspapers, to let the public know what it is like? Why so much secresy—so much mystery in matter of such public importance?

No. 2.

SIR,—By my No. 1, I have replied to your correspondent—"A Member of the Bombay Association"—whose letter you have thought proper to publish. By this, I reply to another worthy correspondent of yours of equal respectability—H. G. Briggs—whose further letter you thought proper also to publish this morning.

H. G. Briggs has not denied the receipt of my note* to him of the

* *August 14th*, 1852.

MY DEAR SIR,—I read a review in the *Times* of a Sketch of the Parsees by you, and must say I did by no means approve of your publishing therein to the world the letter from the Home Government to this, regarding me, in the way you have done. It was not quite correct. People will, and must always, impute such publications to motives and impulses of parties interested, and I should not at all be surprised if it was thought by many that I must have given that letter to you, purposely, for a flourish!

You seem to have been misguided in other respects also, or how could you make such a blunder as is to be found in all the old travellers' old women's

14th August in his letter published by you this morning. I greatly feared, from the line of defence he has adopted, he might have denied it. That note speaks for itself. If it conveyed no rebuke to H. G. Briggs, according to his idea of thinking in such matters, I know of no word sufficiently strong to make use of in shaming H. G. Briggs in respect to his impudence in multiplying so many falsehoods with which his contemptuous communication under notice abounds. Only look at my note of the 14th August, which he has not denied, and his shuffling reply to it, which you have already published. Is there any allusion to Doctor Buist, by name or indication, so as to call for such a reply—not to give any importance to that gentleman's opinion, or lead to any altercation about that gentleman afterwards?

The letter in question from the Home Government he, H. G. Briggs, copied, was from a *brochure* containing a selection of a mass of letters and extracts of letters to and regarding me, which were printed for private circulation, (words "*for private use*" printed large enough to be not overlooked on its first page,) for my friends' perusal, and which I have been induced to print at the suggestion of some of them,—not merely to preserve to my family such gratifying testimony borne to my poor merits by some of the most eminent public characters and others in India and Europe, within the last twenty-five years,—but also to destroy the base attempt (like what has been at work in your mendacious columns) of a wretched editor or two who, for motives best known to them, have endeavoured to make baseless, disparaging, and invidious allusion to me, my position and my family in the newspapers, when I was in Europe and afterwards; and thus disgraced, and like them you to continue to disgrace, the appellation of Free Press, by low lampoons on all those who lay bare such editors' pretensions to honor and truth.

I may have to say a few more words in reference to your personal

stories—I allude to the statement about the parties being stationed at the *Dokhmas* to watch the picking up of the dead eyes. This is all rot, and that circumstance in itself ruins the worth of your publication. You must not be angry at my telling you what I think for your good,—you ought to have consulted some Parsee before giving out such a production.

Yours, &c.

(Signed) MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE.

attack on my position and character, which shall form the subject of a separate communication to you from

MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE.

Villa, Byculla, 21st October 1852.

—*Bombay Gazette, 22nd October* 1852.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TELEGRAPH AND COURIER.

SIR,—Not finding a letter I sent your cotemporary yesterday, or its acknowledgement, in his paper of this morning, I request that you will print its transcript, which is herewith enclosed.

Yours obediently,

MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE.

23rd October 1852.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE BOMBAY GAZETTE.

MR. EDITOR,—After what I have written to you yesterday, it is only necessary to single out the most prominent of your false statements, deprecating my position and my character.

Falsehood the first.—You said "*on his return to Bombay, Manockjee received an Assistant Collectorship,*" and thereby lead people to suppose that the appointment was conferred on me by Government consequent upon my going to, or bringing recommendations from, England. Whereas, on my return to Bombay I had only rejoined the said office of Assistant Collectorship, which I had held upwards of three years before I went to Europe. It was an office then previously in a grade exclusively held by Europeans. What was thought of the said office being then for the first time conferred on a native of India, let those who have been before and now mystified judge for themselves, by the following, which appeared in the newspapers of the day :—

"We observe by this day's *Government Gazette* that among other new arrangements in the Custom House, a Native has been introduced on the list of Uncovenanted Assistants. This is, we believe, the first occasion on which an appointment in a grade hitherto occupied exclusively by Europeans has been granted to a native, and we cannot but hail it as the auspicious commencement of a course of action, in accordance with the liberal spirit of the law, by which all inhabitants of India, of whatever caste or religion, are declared

eligible for civil appointments under Government. The fortunate individual elected for this new office is Manockjee Cursetjee, a gentlemen who has been distinguished among the native community for superior abilities. He has been chosen, we understand, solely on account of his being the person most fitted for the duties which will be assigned to him, and his intimate knowledge of the native character, and of all that relates to the prosperity of the Presidency, must render him a valuable acquisition to the Customs' Department. We wish him all success in his new career, and have no doubt that the policy of the measure which has brought him upon the effective strength of the Revenue Establishment will be evinced by his management of the duties entrusted to his charge. If success is to attend upon merit, we are confident he will fully deserve it."—*Bombay Gazette, 8th Feb.* 1838.

"We congratulate our countrymen in general, on the admission of a member of the Native community to the rank of an Uncovenanted Assistant in a public office. We allude to Manockjee Cursetjee, M. R. A. S., whose appointment as Assistant to the Collector of Customs at the Presidency was announced in our last. This gentleman stood foremost among our countrymen, by his intelligence and superior knowledge of the English language; and was honoured with due notice from some of the eminent men in Great Britain and France. We believe the difficulty of obtaining a sufficiently respectable situation in Bombay had hitherto prevented him from accepting the service of Government, and our worthy Governor had the welfare of the natives and the interests of the public service at heart in urging upon the consideration of the Supreme Government the advantages of admitting a Native into the Custom House as Assistant at the present moment. We are no less rejoiced at the success of our friend, than at the opening which it makes for natives of rank and acquirement. We have no doubt that this appointment will be attended with the best consequences; there being an ample field in the Custom House for the exercise of the intimate knowledge of the Native character, and the business-like habits of the native, combined with the superior intelligence of an English scholar."—*Bombay Durpun, 16th Feb.* 1838.

Falsehood the second.—You said, "*When the Bombay Association of Natives was formed the other day, with a view of ascertaining the wants of the people of this country, and the measures calculated to advance their welfare, there was no person whose co-operation was less desired by his own countrymen than Manockjee Cursetjee, for they had no confidence in his judgment, and had good reason to despair of being able to get on with him.*"

Now if you will only ask Messrs. President and Vice President

of the Association, they will tell you that I had no desire to join such body—that they called on me, and that it was to oblige them that I consented to being lugged into it, (I wrote them severally, distinctly so to understand,) and also when I was assured that the Association would be erected upon a very different model to what it was at first supposed to be,—and that its objects were to be confined first to collecting information relative to the actual wants of the people of India, and then to representing such wants, from time to time, to the authorities in India and England, founded upon the accurate result of the information thus collected. But how stands the case now with the Association ? As regards collecting information, the Association have as yet collected none. Their unsettled Draft Petition up to last Monday contained re-echo of the sentiments of the Bengal Association and others inimical to the existing Government of India, and on matters principally of which the Natives know nothing and care nothing.

Falsehood the third.—You said, "*He* (M. C.) *professed identity of object, however, and sympathy with the desires of those who set the Association on foot, and this led to his being put upon the Committee.*" I proposed or professed nothing of the kind. What I professed and what I proposed I took care to have stated in writing to the President, and others connected with this body. Ask the President to send you copies of my several notes to him on the subject of the Association before and since its formation ; read the same, and your false statements, which I have just remarked on, will be apparent to you.

As to your assertion that I took to printing a pamphlet independently (as you would lead people to suppose) of the Committee, I have simply to add, that I have printed what I have written for, and sent to the Committee, and I wrote to the said body (vide the concluding para. of my paper No. 3 of the 5th September) a month before printing the same that I intended doing so. No one started any objection to the same. The papers were before them ; why were they not discussed—why discussions thereon, as if it were, absolutely eschewed ? To how many of the Members of the Committee were the said papers sent, or how many of them saw the same ? I believe not three out of twenty-five, during one entire month, before my pamphlet was sent to them.

Some of the Members of the Committee certainly wished to "harness me," as they themselves and others have been harnessed, to work out certain views as propounded for them by others—no matter sound or unsound—pertinent or impertinent to the object—the professed object of the Association; and which I sought in vain to discuss, and to be enlightened on at their meetings.

As to your opinion of the merit of my pamphlet, I attach no weight, (and who would attach any?) finding how apt you have of late shown yourself to take up any side of the question, and to abusing people as might suit your convenience—perhaps purse.

As to my position and character, which you have aspersed, you could not have forgotten what you thought of them, and how respectful you were in your address to me, only a few years ago, on certain occasions of which I think it not necessary to remind you.

I think I have now said enough—and must leave you to abuse me as much as you like. I shall treat all your rabid vituperations with utter contempt, and take no further notice of them. Those to whom my family and self are long and well known will despise, as I do, your attempt to defame

MANOCKJEE CURSETJEE.

22nd October 1852.

—*Bombay Telegraph and Courier, 25th October* 1852.

APPENDIX C.—Spirit of the Press.

THE PETITION OF THE BOMBAY ASSOCIATION.

The *Times* says we have changed our opinions regarding the petition which the Bombay Association are about to send home, and to the charge we really must plead guilty. There has been so much mystery and asking of different person's opinions regarding what the petitioners were to ask for, that although we were at first much pleased with all we heard concerning the document, we feel convinced both the Association and the Petition now will end in smoke. What is perhaps more lamentable still, some European will most likely be engaged as "Agent" to "go home with the papers," the said agent will eat up the greater portion of the Association funds, and will then write out that nothing can be done in the matter. "Young Bombay" have dawdled too long over the business they had in hand, and the time is passed—or very nearly so—when any good can be done by petitioning Parliament regarding amendments in the next Charter Act. Since we touched on this subject on Wednesday last, we have heard some of the details of the petition from one well acquainted with what is set forth in the document, and we confess that the more we have heard, the less we have liked the most prominent features of the paper. The Association—of whom we wish to write with every good feeling—have fallen into the pit which is dug for every person who wishes to please the whole world. We thought everybody had read the story of the old man and his son and the jackass, but it appears as yet to be unknown amongst our friends of the Bombay Association, so we'll try and repeat it for their edification.

"An old man once set out on a journey riding a donkey, and the old man's son walked alongside on foot. The first person they met said it was a shame that a youth of tender years should walk whilst a hale man rode: to please this person the father got off, and the son mounted the quadruped. They soon met a second individual, who said that it was disgraceful to see a young man riding whilst the old father walked. Wishing to please the last speaker—and

yet fearful of offending the first—the father mounted the donkey, and rode behind his son. After going a short distance they met a third traveller, who at once declared it to be a dreadful cruelty that two strong men should ride upon one poor beast, and said that so far from the jackass carrying the father and his son, it would be far more just if the two latter carried the donkey. To please the last speaker—and yet not offend the other two—the father and son returned home, carrying their quadruped between them."

Now this is a childish story—it is nearly thirty long years since we heard it—but still there is a moral contained in it, and let the Bombay Association ponder well upon that moral. No man—and still less any body of men—will ever get on in this world unless he chalks out a line of conduct for himself, and follows out that course *unmindful of the sneers, the falsehoods, the insinuations, of the cold looks, or even of the praises* of others. Our brother of the *Times* said on Saturday that " the subscribers of a petition never dream of perfect unanimity—all may set down their names in safety so long as much of what they wish and nothing of what they disapprove of is asked for." Very true, but this hardly applies to the Bombay Petition—that is to be. We are assured that the petitioners do'nt know what they are going to ask for, and that until very lately some of their leading members were ignorant as to HOW MANY MEMBERS CONSTITUTED THE BOARD OF CONTROL which they are so anxious to get rid of. If this is a " got up" story, we shall be happy to contradict it, but it is currently believed at present in Bombay. We have been told that at a recent meeting of the Association, only one of the few members present knew WHAT the Board of Control really was, or OF WHOM IT WAS COMPOSED.

At first we were inclined to think the Association were in earnest, they intended to work some good, as a body entirely independent of Government—their principal object being to bring the abuses of local administration to notice. But from what we have picked up we are sadly disappointed, and are compelled to state, that the members appear to have about as clear an idea of either the future prospects or present position of Indian affairs, as we have of the Privy Council of the kingdom of Timbucktoo. Like some well-intentioned persons who attempt to sing in Church without having any knowledge of music, the Association will in the end do no good, and if

laughed at at home, may do the cause of Indian reform much harm. Most of the elder natives—and by far the majority of their juniors—are *now* looking very coolly upon the whole affair, and think they have been led into making a beginning in an affair which has no definite or established end. In writing thus we merely reiterate the opinions spoken around us both by Europeans and Natives. To the members of the Association individually we have the kindest feelings, and would not for one instant annoy them; but truth compels us to state that, like the old man in the nursery tale given above, they have gone out trying to please every person, until they have ended by displeasing all.—*Telegraph and Courier, 25th October* 1852.

THE BOMBAY ASSOCIATION.

Having left our office on Thursday evening before the reporter of this journal brought the account of the Meeting of the Bombay Association, we only read the same when the paper was brought us yesterday morning. The remarks which appeared anent the non-publishing of the petition would, however, have not have been changed in the slightest degree, had we seen the report before writing our observations. The Association have, in point of fact, added insult to injury. Here we are—bound in honour—like good servants of the public who pay us—to give all the news we can pick up, to our readers; and there lies before us a neatly got up, well printed, blue covered pamphlet, containing that precious petition of the Association which, according to the request made our reporter the other night, we are desired not to publish for the present. By-the-bye we wish to set our reporter right before the world. In the account given in our local columns yesterday of the meeting held on Thursday, it is said that the petition is "admirably written": the above gentleman told us in confidence—but he would not like to have it publicly mentioned—that he intended to say "the petition was admirably PRINTED": thus the well turned compliment was not intended for the persons—and their name was legion—who had a finger in concocting the document now in course of signature—but which, like a political song in France, must not be published—but the praise was intended for that very excellent printing establishment—the Education Society's Press.

Joking apart, it is most tantalizing to have this little blue pamphlet lying on our table, and yet not to be able to make use of it, or to give our readers a notion of its contents. But although we are bound in honour not to make any use of the identical copy of the petition which was given our reporter, we shall feel no scruples in making use of any information we may be able to obtain elsewhere regarding the "sacred document." The *Times* seemed to blame us the other day for having made some sarcastic remarks regarding the petition, but how in the name of all that's wonderful can we now help "poking fun" at what is open to all to read, but to none to write of. There lies the "sacred document." We have read it over with deep reverence; we look upon ourselves as something far wiser and better than we were half an hour ago before perusing it, and yet we are not allowed to make any use of the light that is burning within us. But verily this is to us an enigma. Why is the "sacred document" to be read, and yet not to be published in the press—to be seen of all who were present at the meeting on Thursday evening, and yet not to be spoken of by the local journals? Are matters managed so in England when a petition is presented to Parliament? We trow not. Surely the "Members of the Bombay Association and other native inhabitants of the Bombay Presidency"—we do love that phrase, it *sounds* so well—are not—like Faust—afraid of the being they have called into existence? They may make themselves perfectly easy: the young gentleman called "PETITION" who has lately made his appearance in this wicked world, won't live very long, nor will he do much harm whilst he is alive. But publish something we must—the public looks for it from us, and we therefore copy from yesterday's *Gazette* the following account of the closing paragraph and prayer of the "sacred document" :—

"Para. 31 closes the petition, and prays Parliament to embody in any measures of legislation, which may come before it for the future government of India, the principles hereinbefore set forth, and that those august bodies 'will not rest content, but adjourn the final settlement of the plan of the Indian Government until all available information from trustworthy, competent, and disinterested sources' has been laid before it; and the Petitioners venture to hope that Parliament will limit the period of existence for any future Government of India to ten years, in order that the interests of so many millions of British subjects may be more frequently brought under its consideration."

There is some common sense—a considerable quantity indeed— in the above paragraph, but it is very mild indeed when compared to the following prayer, which appears to have been fixed on about a fortnight or three weeks ago, as the concluding portion of the petition, and which has been placed at our disposal by a friend :—

"That instead of the Court of Directors and the Board of Control as at present constituted, a Council for India of twelve or any other number your Hon'ble House may in your wisdom deem expedient, be brought into existence for the administration of Indian affairs, with such ample remuneration as may secure the services of the first men of the country.

"That the president be appointed by the crown, and the members be elected for five years, and be re-eligible, and that the majority consist of such persons as shall have actually served at least ten years in India, whether in or out of the service of the East India Company. Your Petitioners also submit that European and British subjects resident in India or in England who are holders of the East India Company's Promissory notes of 4 and 5 per cent. to the value of Rs. 25,000, or PROPRIETORS OF RAILWAY STOCK UPON WHICH THAT AMOUNT HAS BEEN BONA FIDE PAID UP, and held at least one year at the time of Registry, OR PERSONS QUALIFIED BY EDUCATION AS GRADUATES OF THE COLLEGES, be permitted, and vote in the election of the members for the Council of India in person, or by proxy, under carefully prepared Rules."

The reader will probably think we are joking with him this morning—poking fun at him instead of at the "sacred document"—but such is not the case. The above is, literally and truly, the first paragraph of the prayer, which was some two or three weeks ago intended for insertion at the conclusion of the petition. The sentence which asks that proprietors of Railway Stock or "persons qualified by education as graduates of the Colleges be permitted and vote in the election of the members for the Council of India," is in itself so good that we refrain from all comment.

And now, in conclusion, what of the Association on the whole, and what of the "sacred document," which we have seen, but dare not publish? The former began its operations—as we said the other day—by showing the great importance of developing the resources of this great country, and of the absolute necessity of the means of communication—good roads, railroads, &c.—to bring India to what she ought to be in the scale of nations. These subjects, and others of a similar nature, would have been the proper and legi-

timate objects for the Association to write about. As a body of men, they had at command the means of obtaining an immense deal of information which would have been most valuable to the Home authorities, as well as to the Government in this country. Had they confined themselves to this—to taking up any case of oppression by local officers, or any instance in which justice was not obtained in the Company's Court, much good might, and would, have been done. But, as the case now stands, have the Association advanced the cause of sensible, gradual reform in the administration of India? Not one step. The "sacred document" is ready for transmission to London, and much good will it do the petitioners or their countrymen when it gets there.

Where we have been unjust we are always most anxious to make amends. This has been the case with regard to Mr. Manockjee Cursetjee and his pamphlet, on subjects connected with the petition as formerly prepared, and of which the prayer is given above.

The following is an extract from the second pamphlet, which the above gentleman has published, with regard to the objects of the Association. After quoting parts of a letter from a friend in England, which communication mentions "the vast importance of developing the vast resources of the soil and climate of India, with regard to cotton and other agricultural produce"—Mr. Manockjee thus concludes his remarks:—

"Subjects such as the above, and others of like tendency, come within the legitimate scope of the inquiry which the Bombay Association, or any other party interested in the welfare of this country, should set about, and discuss upon, with the view to represent, either to the authorities in India or England, the real wants of the people of this country, founded upon the correct result of such inquiry.

"In subjects like these the Natives in general, and the Ryots in particular, would naturally feel interested; and which, when explained, they cannot fail to understand, were they otherwise ignorant of it.

"Such, in fact, was the fundamental object of the Bombay Association, as set forth in the opening and the closing address by its chairman, on the occasion of its inauguration. But I have lately perceived an inclination on the part of some of its managers to leave the local wants, and local Government measures, of which the people may be supposed to understand something, aside, and to take a fling at demolishing the machinery of the Indian Government in England—namely, to do away with the India Board and the Court of

Directors, and to create a new Court for India, to be composed of a number of handsomely paid members, to be elected, not by the present Proprietors of the East India Stock only, but also by people in India, Natives and Europeans, who hold Government Promissory Notes and Government chartered Bank Shares of certain value; and (taking care not to omit Young Bombay especially) persons qualified by education, as the graduates of the colleges, and by proxy, &c. &c. A number of petitions to Parliament have been, within the last month and a half, in the course of being 'cooked up,' containing some such prayers.

"If the members of the Bombay Association, and others, really believe that a petition to the high authorities, containing such prayers, and others of like tendency, are not selfish; that doing away with the Board of Control and the Court of Directors, and making a radical change in the working of the Indian Government in England, will be really for India's good; that the people, from whom the petition is professed to be sent, do know what is the machinery of Indian Government in England, or how and why that machinery has been created, as it now stands; or if the members of the Association and others can conscientiously certify that the people of India feel any interest in, or care anything about, the existence or extermination of the India Board and the India Directors in England, the Bombay Association, and others interested in it, are bound in duty to support such prayers by all their might and main. But, on the other hand, if they or any of them believe otherwise, in all or many of the aforesaid matters, they are equally bound to make a bold stand against sending in petitions containing such prayers, which convey no Native feeling, written by no Native, and about which the Natives know nothing and care nothing: before finally drawing up a petition to be sent to Parliament, let it be circulated among the members of the Bombay Association generally, and of its Managing Committee particularly."

Whether the above contains more sound common sense than the extract given above from the Association's petition before it was revised, or whether it does not contain far more *practical* views as to what ought to form the topics of discussion at the present day, we leave the reader to judge for himself. For our own part, we infinitely prefer what we have quoted above to any of the clauses contained in the "sacred document."—*Telegraph and Courier, 30th October* 1852.

THE BOMBAY ASSOCIATION.

The Ass-ociated Secretaries of the Bombay Ass-ociation have done us the honor to request our co-operation in procuring information

for the Association, and have also favored us with a communication of the objects in contemplation by the said Association. Nay more, we are invited "as a Gentleman occupying a useful and influential position, and possessing a considerable knowledge of the Bombay Presidency," to form ourselves into a Committee, with power to add to our number "such Native Gentlemen of our locality as are likely by their experience, talent, or position, to promote the objects of the Association."

It is really very difficult to withstand the winning ways and insinuating address of these male syrens, but we must close our ears to the charmers, charm they never so wisely. The useful and influential gentleman who possesses such a considerable knowledge of the Bombay Presidency begs permission, therefore, most respectfully to decline becoming a Committee, or even an Ass-ociate of the Bombay Association, though he has no objection to give publicity to the memorandum of subjects on which information is solicited.

It appears that on the 26th of August last a considerable gathering took place of gentlemen whose names for the most part terminate in "jee" and "bhoy," with an occasional "dass," "ram," and "chund," by way of imparting a pleasing variety. These Messrs. Jee, Bhoy, Dass, Ram, Chund and Co., after speechifying for some time in Guzaratee, came to the conclusion that under the present Government the natives of India enjoyed a greater amount of liberty and prosperity than had ever been known under any of their own sovereigns, and that *consequently* they ought to demand a redress of their grievances. There seemed to be some difference of opinion as to the nature, and even existence of these grievances, but nevertheless it was resolved that an Association should be formed with a view to instruct the Authorities in India and in England as to the way in which they would like to be governed. These worthies have accordingly drawn up a Petition to Parliament, which they propose to intrust to some "useful and influential gentleman possessing as considerable a knowledge of the Bombay Presidency" as does the Editor of the *Agra Messenger*. We do not profess to be much versed in the languages of diplomacy, but its strikes us very forcibly that many passages of this notable Petition are downright impertinent, even if they do not attain unto insolence.

The natives of India, it is asserted, are now "entitled" to hold the highest official appointments! By what title? Not their mo-

desty, certainly. No doubt they would like to see a Native Governor General, and perhaps they would even allow him to form a matrimonial alliance with the royal family of England! Within no narrow limits will their vanity and egregious self-conceit be circumscribed. Hardly able to stand alone, they challenge to a race those who nourish and support them. And besides, the majority of these self-ruling associates are the descendants of Persian Fugitives—a mere cypher in respect to the true people of the country. Having successfully paid their devotions to Mammon and to Belial, they are now ambitious to make unto themselves a name, and to rank with the mighty ones of the earth. In this, however, they will not yet succeed, and their memorials are not likely to be much read, except by that class of students who derive their learning from the linings of trunks.—*Agra Messenger, 13th Nov.* 1852.

If the "Young Bombay" party grumble at the manner we of the *Telegraph and Courier* have handled their petition, let them turn to the extracts headed "Spirit of the Indian Press," and there read how the *Agra Messenger* responds to their call, and co-operates with them in "procuring information for the Association." It would be ungenerous on our part to add a line more.—*Telegraph & Courier, 20th Nov.* 1852.

THE BOMBAY ASSOCIATION AND ITS PETITION TO PARLIAMENT.

Amongst our Indian extracts will be found an article from the *Friend of India** upon the Bombay Association, and the petition

* The leading article in the *Friend of India* of the 18th of November is a very lengthy one—but going fully into merit, or rather demerit, of this notable Bombay Petition, and cutting all its fallacious propositions into shreds. After noticing one of its propositions—to do away with the Board of Control, and to have an Indian Board of different construction "not placed under a Minister of the Crown,"—the *Friend of India* remarks :—

"We confess we do not thoroughly understand the phrase 'not placed under a Minister.' The parties who drew up to the petition probably meant that the president should be a kind of chairman, having only a deliberative voice in the Assembly, and that the Home Government should consequently be entirely independent of the ministry of the day, who are to have, as it were, only a representative at the Board. Such a proposition merely displays that ignorance of British ideas and policy, which so frequently nullifies the most carefully matured propositions of the native community. India is a dependency of England, and to suppose that any ministry would relinquish the right of directing its policy in the last resort, is to suppose that it will surrender India for twenty years to a body utterly irresponsible, except to a public opinion which seldom or never makes itself heard on Indian questions. The extreme crudity of such a proposal almost justifies the warning addressed to the Association by

published by that body. It will be seen that our Serampore contemporary does full justice to the manner in which the Association was composed, as well as to the men who compose it, whilst at the same time he argues that their petition will not receive much attention from the British Legislature. 'The *Friend* also exposes the fallacy of supposing that any Ministry would give up the right of directing the policy of this country, and draws attention to the "strong sterling English, and calm good sense," of the warning addressed to the Association by Mr. Manockjee Cursetjee, of this town. The great fault which we found with the petition is reiterated by the *Friend*—that the said document contains nothing relative to the revenue taxation, the interests of commerce, the police system in the Mofussil, and, above all, of the judicial institutions "and their practical working." The article is calm and dispassionate, and even the most zealous supporters of the petition must allow it to be impartial.—*Telegraph and Courier, 29th Nov.* 1852.

Mr. Manockjee Cursetjee, which, in its strong, sterling English, and calm good sense, presents a favourable contrast to the petition itself."

The article concludes with the following para., which, in short, conveys the pith of the sentiments held by that journalist on the doings of the Bombay Association:—

"This is the entire sum and substance of the petition, and we need scarcely remark that it is evidently of English origin, for with the exception of a clause condemning the law courts, and the request that natives should be admitted to the highest offices, there is nothing that is native about it. There is nothing about the revenue taxation, or the interests of commerce, or the police system, or the judicial institutions and their practical working. It is a mere essay on certain portions of the present system of Government, particularly dry, and in some parts a little extravagant. In short, it creates the impression, either that the petitioners are not aware of what their countrymen really require, or that they do not care whether grievances are removed or not, or that there are no grievances at all in the Bombay Presidency. In either case, the petition is not likely to have any extraordinary weight. Its value, we imagine, will be found to consist chiefly in the fact that a great Association at Bombay, after three months' discussion, could find no more practical grievance to complain of than the exclusion of natives from a seat in Council, the high salaries paid to certain officers, the want of means of communication, and the necessity of vernacular education. We do not mean to affirm that the two latter blessings are undeserving of the efforts of the Association, but the want of them was felt before, and the native view of the question of British administration is not therefore distinguished either by originality or force of argument. We fear the members of the Association have suffered themselves to be too much Anglicised, and have thereby forfeited the advantages which their thorough local knowledge would have afforded them upon other topics. It is scarcely probable that thirty-one paragraphs like these, containing scarcely a single definite proposition, or a full explanation of a single grievance, will receive much attention from the British Legislature."

No. 55 of 1856.

Ecclesiastical Department.

To

The Right Hon'ble LORD ELPHINSTONE,
Governor in Council,
&c. &c. &c.

My Lord,—I have the honour to acknowledge copies of despatches to and from the Honorable Court, which have been transmitted to me under direction of your Lordship in Council by letter of Mr. Secretary Hart, No. 27 of 1856, dated January 25th, together with the request from your Lordship which accompanied these documents, that I would furnish to the Government such detailed information regarding my Visitation Tours as I may consider to be of general interest, or likely specially to interest the Honorable Court.

2. I beg to express to your Lordship the great satisfaction with which I receive this intimation, that a fuller account than has heretofore been customary in this Diocese, of the Episcopal Visitations, will be acceptable both to this Government and to the Court at home. It warrants me in laying before your Lordship and the Court of Directors many particulars which I should not

otherwise have ventured to embody in an official communication, but which, after this invitation, I shall not hesitate to place on the records of the Presidency for the Honorable Court's information.

3. I will proceed at once to give a summary of my visitatorial duties since the delivery of my Primary Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese in St. Thomas' Cathedral on March 8th, 1855. A copy of this Charge, notwithstanding that it is strictly a "*concio ad clerum*," I take the liberty of transmitting with this Report.

4. In the course of the ensuing monsoon I proceeded to

SHOLAPORE.

This station lies so out of the way, that it could not well be made to fall into my tour. I therefore visited it from Poona, and, being unwilling to travel 156 miles and back for a shorter stay, I remained at the place ten days. My first duty here, as everywhere, was to inspect the Church; and I confess that I felt some little surprise and disappointment on being conducted to a building, whose only external sign of the sacred purpose to which it is set apart, is a bell, or gong, suspended beneath a strange piece of masonry within the compound, and under which, whenever notice of Divine Service is to be given, a native seats himself grotesquely enough on the top of a ladder to strike the metal above his head. The building itself seems tolerably substantial, but after all it is an ordinary bungalow, and no more. The

interior is better than the exterior. But I could wish to see the exterior more adapted to indicate the common feeling of all Christians—the feeling, I am sure, of your Lordship, and of the Honorable Court—that the House of God should be characterised by a suitableness of structure, marking it out from all other edifices as designed for a special and an honoured use. I am no advocate for expensive Churches. But with no great outlay the Church at Sholapore might be made to tell, in a way that it does not now, for what purpose it is intended. The Burial Ground is appropriately situated, and decently kept.

With a view to make my visit the more generally useful, and that I might have an opportunity of frequently meeting all classes of the community, I adopted here a practice, which I have carried out at other stations with much encouragement, of opening the Church for an early Service, on as many week-day mornings as was practicable, and, after solemnizing the Morning Prayer, myself delivering a short, unformal address from the reading desk, directed principally to the candidates for Confirmation, but of a nature to suit others also. I hope to adhere to this practice as an established usage in all my tours. In administering the rite of Confirmation, I have thought it desirable, in order to a more general attendance of the community, to celebrate the Service at an evening hour; and as at Sholapore, so at other stations, I have

been gratified to see a numerous and attentive congregation.

Having performed this duty, visited the Hospitals, examined the Schools, inspected the Church books and records, and given attention to such other matters as seemed to fall within the scope of my office, I returned to Poona, and a few days afterwards held a Confirmation at

Kirkee.

5. This place of course is continually under my eye during my accustomed residence at Poona in the monsoon. Her Majesty's 14th Light Dragoons having recently come to the station, and no Confirmation having occurred within their reach for a long while past, I was glad to find the offer of one gratefully received. I take this occasion, however, to make a remark on the state of the Church at Kirkee. There are few Churches in which I have preached more frequently with greater interest. First the 10th Hussars, and now the 14th Light Dragoons, fill the building with a large congregation. But the edifice is much beneath its use. One thing especially your Lordship's attendance there must have brought under your own observation as exceedingly offensive. The floor is of mud, and of the foulest description. Repeatedly a cloud of pulverized earth and ordure may be seen sweeping along its surface, in a way that no one of us would tolerate in his own dwelling. There are some

other slight alterations which the interior of the Church requires, but the substitution of stone (easily to be procured) for this most objectionable flooring, will not, I hope, be long delayed, now that Kirkee is likely to be continued, as I apprehend, among the chief Military stations of the Presidency.

6. I now have to sketch a tour of some extent, upon which I entered on October 26th, 1855, and terminated it March 6th, 1856, and which embraced all the stations in Sind, Kutch, Kattywar, and Guzerat, to which Chaplains are assigned. I should not have attempted so wide a circuit in one journey, but having been disappointed of Sind in 1854, I resolved to take it, and Guzerat, with the intervening districts together, rather than have the course of visitation which I had previously laid down for myself, interrupted. On October 30th I reached

KURRACHEE.

7. This very rising station I had had the happiness of seeing in the Spring, on the occasion of consecrating its new and handsome Church. The interior of the edifice is especially to be admired; it is very simple, but lofty, massive, and solemnizing. The wisdom of the principle which the Honorable Court was led some years since to adopt, undertaking only the cost of the substantial building of a Church, and leaving whatever is strictly ornamental to be supplied by private liberality, has here received an excellent illustration. The voluntary

aid of individuals has not been wanting, and the erection of such a structure for the worship of God has had a sensibly good effect on the station, as well as a beneficial influence on the minds of the Natives. I cannot forbear from acknowledging here the great advantage accruing to the objects of my visitation, as indeed to everything that relates to the moral welfare of the community, from the countenance and co-operation of Mr. Bartle Frere, the Commissioner.

I shall not trouble your Lordship and the Honorable Court with needless repetition. My work at Kurrachee was much the same as at Sholapore, only of greater variety and extent, in proportion to the size and importance of the place. I found abundant occupation for fourteen days. A Confirmation of course formed a part of my duties, and yielded me peculiar gratification. The time devoted to the Hospitals, in expounding Holy Scripture, and praying with the sick soldiers, was well rewarded. In examining the Schools I should have had greater satisfaction, but for the exceeding difficulty of procuring really competent teachers for Regimental Schools. The Consecration of the several Burial Grounds was a solemn addition to my other engagements; one of them especially, by a long heaving mound upon its surface, exhibiting an affecting memorial of the sad mortality with which our troops were visited in the year 1848. From Kurrachee I passed up to

KOTREE,

8. The Head Quarters of the Indus Flotilla, a small but interesting station. The Church, which is well adapted to the place, was mainly provided by subscription, and for the last three years its Minister has been sustained from the Diocesan Additional Clergy Fund. I could give but three days, including one Sunday, to this station ; and after holding a Confirmation, and consecrating the Church and Burial Ground, I crossed the Indus to

HYDRABAD,

9. A place of rapid improvement, in which I found seven days well occupied. I had hoped to see some signs of the Church appearing above ground, but was disappointed, the foundation not having yet been laid. Some diversity of opinion, moreover, had existed to the site ; but, before I left, this was happily settled, and a spot selected with general approbation. I have since heard, with much pleasure, that the first stone has been laid, in compliance with the desire of many besides myself, by the hands of the Commissioner. For lack of a Church, Divine Service has been held on the Sunday morning in a Barrack, many of the soldiers, as I was informed, usually standing for want of accommodation. The Sunday on which I was present, was the day set apart by the Governor General for thanksgivings to Almighty God for our Victories in the Crimea; and certainly, I could never wish to address an audience

whose sympathies seemed to be livelier than those of the congregation then before me in that crowded Barrack-room. I felt that they deserved a better sanctuary; and when I proceeded after Sermon to the Holy Table for the purpose of administering the Lord's Supper, and some doors unavoidably left open exposed to the gaze of a large number of Natives the rude and unseemly way in which we were about to celebrate that Sacrament, I could not but rejoice in the prospect of a suitable Church being soon erected. The Evening Service is held in a room of the palace of the Ex-Ameers, difficult of approach to all, and for carriages altogether inaccessible. In this room I held the first Confirmation solemnized in Central Sind.

One scene at this station I remember with peculiar interest. At the consecration of the new and spacious Burial Ground, as I took my place in the gate-way to receive the petition, I found before me an assemblage, as I was told, of no fewer than 150, almost entirely officers and privates, and all voluntarily attending. I could not refrain from making a short address to them, prompted by the solemnity of the occasion, which was received with devout attentiveness. The transaction seemed to me to betoken that growth of the religious sense which we cannot too highly prize. I ought to remark that the want of better rooms for Schools, both for children and adults, is at present a serious impediment to their instruction.

It will, I was assured, be remedied as soon as practicable.

10. Higher than Hydrabad I did not advance, but in pursuance of the kind permission of the Honorable Court, by their despatch dated April 4th, 1855, I had had the satisfaction, before I quitted Kurrachee, of recommending to your Lordship in Council, that one of our newly arrived Assistant Chaplains should be stationed at Shikarpoor, to take charge of that and the adjacent stations; and he was entering Sind as I was about to leave. If permitted to visit Sind again, I shall hope to reach its farthest stations. In consideration, however, of the very trying nature of the climate there, my wish will be, with the sanction of Government, not to detain any one Clergyman at Shikarpoor beyond a limited period. It has been a great relief to my mind to see an appointment to that charge, and I beg to express my thanks to the Honorable Court for granting my request for the means to provide for the spiritual wants of that part of the Diocese.

11. From Hydrabad I passed down the Indus and by sea to Kutch, landing at Mandavie, which is visited at certain seasons by the residents at Bhooj, when they are attended also, at given periods, by the Chaplain of that Station. A Burial Ground here of considerable size indicates the place as once in the occupation of European troops. This ground had too long been open to repeated spoliation, but it is now enclosed by a new and substantial

wall. I half regretted, and yet was pleased to hear, that this wall had been erected by the spontaneous liberality of His Highness the Rao of Kutch, who observed the insufficient protection afforded to the spot, and has paid for us our debt to the remains of our fellow countrymen there interred. Hence I proceeded without delay to

BHOOJ.

12. And here, on asking for the Church, I was grieved to be taken to the meanest-looking bungalow in all the Camp. A little whitewash, and a few repairs, had made the interior less unpleasing; but as a place of Christian worship I could not view it with satisfaction. The community was small, smaller than usual, owing to a recent change of troops; but all who were able attended Divine Service twice on Sunday, and one and all seemed to be looking forward with much interest to the commencement of a Church. There had been much difficulty in deciding on a site, but a spot had now been determined on, and it seemed to me very eligible. The Burial Ground is well kept. No Confirmation took place here, there being no candidates. After four days I went on to Kattywar and reached

RAJKOTE

13. For the Christmas week, which I was glad to do, as the residents had been for some time without Church Services, owing to the sickness of the Chaplain. I stayed with them ten days, including

two Sundays and Christmas Day. The Church is of prepossessing exterior, but wants a verandah, in the absence of which, all such small edifices, once heated at certain seasons of the year, are never cool. The interior is very uncouth. The Burial Ground is in good order, and I was glad to find that on the erection of a new wall, not long since, a considerable space had been taken in; for this enabled me, after consultation with the Brigadier Commanding, to settle a point which had created some difficulty. The whole of the original ground having been consecrated, neither Roman Catholics nor Protestant Dissenters could be allowed their own Services within it without irregularity. A sufficient portion of the new ground, however, is now assigned to meet their wants, and I trust that no further trouble will arise. In the absence of the Chaplain I was pleased to have some very fit Catechumens offering themselves to me for examination and instruction, whom I afterwards confirmed. But I left this station very much concerned that it is not in our power at present to do more than appoint one clergyman between it and Bhooj. The distance is great, and the Runn of Kutch intervening, renders the passing to and fro very tedious and fatiguing. A long march brought me next to

DEESA.

14. This large out-post has never had a Church properly so called. The building now used as a

Church was raised for a School-room, for which it is more suited. At the same time a very reasonable sum would give it perhaps the character which it needs. And if, as I presume is the case, the number of Europeans at this station is to be again as heretofore, I trust that it may not long remain without a place of Worship more befitting their Christian name. At all the Services, and the Confirmation also, the congregations gave me encouragement. The Burial Ground was in proper condition. After five days I moved on again to

Ahmedabad.

15. The duties of the Chaplain at this station lie wide apart, some in the City, and some at five miles distance in the Camp. In the City is a little Church, the exterior and interior of which, if not architecturally faultless, are yet of generally good appearance, but by common complaint it appears to be for many months in the year insufferably hot. An external verandah would have remedied this. Divine Service is celebrated in the Camp in a way that I am ashamed to describe. The congregation assembles in a Mess-room, where I found myself standing in front of the sideboard, with a table close at hand piled with plates, and other appurtenances of the dinner, for which, before the worshippers could withdraw, the native servants were busily beginning to prepare. I need not hint at the kind of remark elicited from the Natives

by such a practice going on year after year in immediate proximity to the chief northern City of this Presidency. The Church in the City is certainly too far away from the Camp to be generally resorted to thence, and I would venture to express a hope, that a small Church, however plain, may be granted to the Camp at Ahmedabad to enable the residents there to meet for public worship, as the Honorable Court have always desired that their servants should do, in a decent and solemn manner. I was gratified by a request to visit the Arsenal, which also lies at some distance from the City Church, in order to conduct a religious service with the people employed there. The occasion was very pleasing, and I thought it among the signs for good, for which it became me to be thankful. There are two Burial Grounds. One in the City, strangely intermixed with Mahometan masauleums, and therefore not in order; the other in the Camp, quite as it should be. A Confirmation closed my stay, and I went on to

KAIRA.

16. Here, I had no need to ask for the Church, which proclaims itself by a spire rising very picturesquely at a distance above the trees. Its ample dimensions, on nearer approach, awaken but one feeling of regret, that a building so capacious should now so greatly exceed the requirements of the place. I officiated in it twice to sixteen people, where six hundred might be well received. When

erected, however, it was by no means too large; and I cannot but admire the principle which forbids it, though no longer wanted, to fall into decay, and cherish the persuasion that the hand which sustains a fabric where so little use can be made of it, will not deny to other places the provision which they urgently require. It was more than enough to spend three days at this station. The Burial Grounds tell a sad tale of past mortality there, and I was grieved to notice that one of them, and that which seemed to have been occupied mostly by tombs of larger size, was protected by no wall; every marble slab was gone; not one name remained; and a thoroughfare was still made by the Natives through the broken hedges. This last evil will, I trust, be checked. From Kaira a few days brought me to

BARODA.

17. Here is a Church, of which I may say, without particularly scrutinizing the style, that in its general result it is very much what all our ordinary Churches in India ought to be, simple and unpretentious, but manifestly a building set apart from all common uses, well screened by an external verandah, and within, roomy and well ventilated. The Burial Ground also is in excellent order. I spent five days at this place with much satisfaction, and held a Confirmation and other Services. I cannot refrain from mentioning the good effect which I saw here from the practice most kindly

maintained by the Brigadier, Lieutenant Colonel Morris, in reading the Prayers in Church, together with a well chosen Sermon, on every Sunday. The station is visited only six times in the year by the Chaplain of Surat, and in the intervals this celebration of Public Worship is of the greatest value. A good congregation attends, and the observance of the Lord's Day, and other habits of social religion, are materially promoted. I next came to

BROACH,

18. At which place I had the happiness, on Sunday, February 24th, to consecrate the neat and appropriate Chapel which the Government has lately erected, occupying the very mouth of the breach by which the town was taken. This is the fourth Church which has been consecrated since my entrance on the See of Bombay. The residents at the time were but few; no Confirmation was required, and three days sufficed for all which I had to do. The inspection of the Burial Ground gave me satisfaction.

SURAT

19. Closed my tour; the Church of which station, if not all that Ecclesiastical Architects would desire, yet has the merit of being a structure adapted to its purposes, with the interior very conveniently arranged. The Burial Ground, so peculiarly interesting as the spot in which some of the first settlers and Governors of the Presidency were

interred, has lately, by order of Government, been placed in a better condition than heretofore ; the wall having been rendered a protection to the ground as it used not to be, and some of the tombs, although more calculated to excite curiosity than admiration, having been so far repaired as to prevent immediate ruin. Surat is not in importance what it has been, and five days were ample time for all my duties there, the last of which was the administering of the rite of Confirmation. On returning to Bombay, I took an early opportunity of visiting

TANNAH,

20. Spending Good Friday there, and celebrating the Service for the day. The Church remains, at one and the same time, a memorial of the liberality of the Honorable Court, and of the faultiness of the style of Ecclesiastical Architecture prevailing at the period when it was built. It stands in the Burial Ground, a position not generally desirable, but having the advantage, in so small a station as Tannah, of keeping the graves and tombs under the eye of the community. No Confirmation was necessary here. The residents, who are very few, receive a monthly visit from the Chaplain of Byculla, an arrangement by no means convenient, but I am at a loss to propose a better.

21. Three Confirmations at the Presidency during March may be said to have terminated my visitatorial duties for the season.

22. I feel that I ought not to submit this Report to your Lordship, and the Honorable Court, without recording the impression which the retrospect leaves upon my mind, and which is decidedly one of encouragement and thankfulness for the signs which I witnessed of a general movement in the right direction on all matters of moral and religious obligation.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. BOMBAY.

Bombay, 29th March 1856.

No. 166 of 1856.

Ecclesiastical Department.

To The Right Reverend
THE LORD BISHOP OF BOMBAY.

My Lord,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 55, of 29th ultimo, containing an account of your Lordship's Visitatorial duties since March 1855, and to convey to you the thanks of the Right Honorable the Governor in Council for this very interesting communication, which will be duly submitted to the Honorable the Court of Directors, and which he proposes, should there be no objection on your part, to have printed for general information.

2. The construction of a Church in the Camp of Ahmedabad, which is suggested in paragraph 15 of your Lordship's letter, Government do not consider to be a measure of present necessity, as there is no European Corps quartered there, and European Officers of Native Corps can, without much inconvenience, attend the Church in the City ; but the Chief Engineer of Public Works has been requested to submit, for the approval of Government, estimates for improving the Churches at Sholapore, Kirkee, Rajkote, Ahmedabad City, and Deesa, in the matters in which they are shown in your letter to be deficient, and for the proper fencing of the Burial Ground at Kaira.

3. With regard to the 10th paragraph of your letter, in which you suggest that no Chaplain should be detained very long without relief in the trying station of Shikarpoor, I am desired to state that the Right Honorable the Governor in Council will be prepared to approve of any arrangement by which your Lordship may be able to carry out this suggestion ; and for the provision of the other objects referred to in your letter as desirable, steps had, I am to observe, been taken before the receipt of your letter.

4. Finally, I am directed to offer your Lordship the congratulations of the Governor in Council on the general results of your Tour as stated in the concluding paragraph of your letter, and on the great benefit and gratification which, he learns from other

sources, it has bestowed on the Christian communities of those stations which you were able to visit.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. HART,

Secretary to Government.

Bombay Castle, 30*th April* 1856.

BOMBAY

CIVIL LIST,

AS THE SAME STOOD ON THE

1st JANUARY 1857.

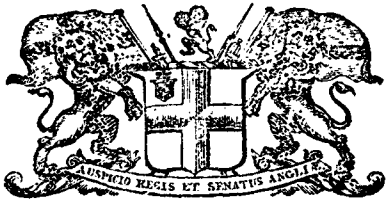
SHOWING THE

NAMES AND DESIGNATIONS OF THE CIVIL, MILITARY, AND UNCOVENANTED SERVANTS OF GOVERNMENT,

IN THE

POLITICAL—REVENUE—REVENUE SURVEY—FINANCIAL—JUDICIAL—GENERAL—ECCLESIASTICAL—EDUCATIONAL—AND PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENTS—LISTS OF H. M. JUSTICES OF THE PEACE—&c. &c.

Prepared half yearly for the use of Government, by
R. Hughes Thomas,
Assistant Secretary, Political Department.



Bombay:
PRINTED FOR GOVERNMENT,
AT THE
BOMBAY EDUCATION SOCIETY'S PRESS.
1857.

NOTE.—*It is requested that notice of any inaccuracies in the Bombay Civil List may be given by letter (post-paid) to* MR. R. HUGHES THOMAS, *Assistant Secretary, Political Department.*

CONTENTS.

PAGE

Council of Bombay 1
Personal Staff of the Right Honorable the Governor... ... ib.
Gradation List of Covenanted Civil Servants ... ... 2—17
List of Casualties in the Bombay Civil Service during the half year ending on the 31st December 1856 17
Civil Servants absent on leave to Europe... 18
Ecclesiastical Establishment ... ...19—21
Secretaries to Government 22
Uncovenanted Assistant Secretaries, and Oriental Translator to Government ... ... ib.

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT :—
Political Residents, Agents, and Superintendents... ...25—27
Political Civil Corps 28
Appointments held under Her Majesty 28, 29
Foreign Consuls at Bombay 29

REVENUE DEPARTMENT :—
Revenue Commissioners 32
Collectors and Magistrates (Northern Division) ... ...32—35
Do. do. (Southern Division) ... ...35—39
Revenue Survey ... ...40—42
Inam Commission 42
Land Revenue ... ... ib.
Customs, Salt, and Opium 43

FINANCIAL DEPARTMENT :—
Accountant General's Office ... ... ib.
Civil Auditor's Office ... ... ib.
General Treasury, Pay Office, Stamps, and Savings Bank. ib.
Mint Committee 43, 44
Medical Officers qualified for the Assay Department... 44
Bank of Bombay ... ... ib.
Government Savings' Bank ... ... ib.

JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT :—
Court of Sudder Dewanee and Sudder Foujdaree Adawlut. 46
Judges, &c. of Zillah Courts ... ...46—50
Agent for Sirdars in the Deccan 50
Bombay Police Magistrates 51
Court of Petty Sessions ... ... ib.
Court of Small Causes ... ... ib.
Officers of the Supreme Court 51, 52

PAGE

Government Law Officers 52
House of Correction... ... ... ib.
Civil Corps in the Judicial Department 52, 53
Police 53, 54
Thuggee Department... 54

GENERAL AND PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENTS :—

Public Works Department ... ...57—61
Educational Department ... ...61—63
Civil Surgeons, &c. under the Bombay Presidency... ...63, 64
Superintendents of Vaccination 64
Registrars of Marriages in the Bombay Presidency ...64, 65
Registrars of Marriages in the Non-Regulation Districts... 65
Grant Medical College and Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Hospital.65, 66
Central Committee of Vernacular Examination 66
Central Committee of Departmental Examination ... ... ib.
Civil and Military Examination Committee .. .. ib.
Board of Conservancy 67
Botanical Gardens ... ... ib.
Miscellaneous Appointments ... ... ib.
Central Museum of Natural History, and Economic Museum of Geology, of Industry, and the Arts... ... ib.
Post Office Department 68, 69

SIND :—

Sind Political, Revenue, Judicial, and Police Appointments 72—74
Indus Flotilla... ... ...74, 75
Miscellaneous Appointments in Sind 75
Sind Revenue Survey ... ... ib.
Public Works Department in Sind... ... ...75, 76

MISCELLANEOUS :—

Honorable East India Company's Agents Abroad... ... 78
Ditto ditto at Home... ... ib.
Annuitants on the Civil Fund 79
Annuitants on the Private Fund ... ... ib.
Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company 79, 80
Electric Telegraph 80
List of Directors of the East India Company 81

H. M.'s JUSTICES :—

Lists of Her Majesty's Justices of the Peace ... ...84— 95
European Justices ... ...84— 92
Native Justices. ... .92— 95

CALENDAR FOR THE YEAR 1857.

	JANUARY.						MAY.						SEPTEMBER.					
Sunday	..	4	11	18	25	..	..	3	10	17	24†	31	..	6	13	20	27	....Sunday.
Monday	..	5	12	19	26	..	..	4	11	18	25	..	..	7	14	21	28	....Monday.
Tuesday	..	6	13	20	27	..	..	5	12	19	26	..	1	8	15	22	29	....Tuesday.
Wednesday	..	7	14	21	28	..	..	6	13	20	27	..	2	9	16	23	30	....Wednesday.
Thursday	1	8	15	22	29	..	..	7	14	21	28	..	3	10	17	24	..	....Thursday.
Friday	2	9	16	23	30	..	1	8	15	22	29	..	4	11	18	25	..	....Friday.
Saturday	3	10	17	24	31	..	2	9	16	23	30	..	5	12	19	26	..	....Saturday.
	FEBRUARY.						**JUNE.**						**OCTOBER.**					
Sunday	1	8	15	22	..	..	..	7	14	21	28	..	..	4	11	18	25	....Sunday.
Monday	2	9	16	23	..	..	1	8	15	22	29	..	..	5	12	19	26	....Monday.
Tuesday	3	10	17	24	..	..	2	9	16	23	30	..	..	6	13	20	27	....Tuesday.
Wednesday	4	11	18	25	..	..	3	10	17	24	..	..	..	7	14	21	28	....Wednesday.
Thursday	5	12	19	26	..	..	4	11	18	25	..	..	1	8	15	22	29	....Thursday.
Friday	6	13	20	27	..	..	5	12	19	26	..	..	2	9	16	23	30	....Friday.
Saturday	7	14	21	28	..	..	6	13	20	27	..	..	3	10	17	24	31	....Saturday.
	MARCH.						**JULY.**						**NOVEMBER.**					
Sunday	1	8	15	22	29	..	..	5	12	19	26	..	1	8	15	22	29	....Sunday.
Monday	2	9	16	23	30	..	..	6	13	20	27	..	2	9	16	23	30	....Monday
Tuesday	3	10	17	24	31	..	..	7	14	21	28	..	3	10	17	24	..	....Tuesday.
Wednesday	4	11	18	25	..	..	1	8	15	22	29	..	4	11	18	25	..	....Wednesday.
Thursday	5	12	19	26	..	..	2	9	16	23	30	..	5	12	19	26	..	....Thursday.
Friday	6	13	20	27	..	..	3	10	17	24	31	..	6	13	20	27	..	....Friday.
Saturday	7	14	21	28	..	..	4	11	18	25	..	..	7	14	21	28	..	....Saturday.
	APRIL.						**AUGUST.**						**DECEMBER.**					
Sunday	..	5	12	19	26	..	..	2	9	16	23	30	..	6	13	20	27	....Sunday.
Monday	..	6	13	20	27	..	..	3	10	17	24	31	..	7	14	21	28	....Monday.
Tuesday	..	7	14	21	28	..	..	4	11	18	25	..	1	8	15	22	29	....Tuesday.
Wednesday	1	8	15	22	29	..	..	5	12	19	26	..	2	9	16	23	30	....Wednesday.
Thursday	2	9	16	23	30	..	..	6	13	20	27	..	3	10	17	24	31	....Thursday.
Friday	3	10*	17	24	..	..	..	7	14	21	28	..	4	11	18	25	..	....Friday.
Saturday	4	11	18	25	..	..	1	8	15	22	29	..	5	12	19	26	..	....Saturday.

* Good Friday. † Queen's Birthday.

OUTWARD OVERLAND MAILS.

MEMORANDUM.

The Overland Mails, *viâ* Southampton and Marseilles, will be closed, from January to December 1857, at 6 P. M. on the undermentioned dates.

Bearing Letters can be posted until within two hours of the Steamer leaving the harbour, on payment of a fine of One Rupee upon each cover.

Friday ..... 2nd January.	Friday .....26th June.
Friday .....16th January.	Friday .....10th July.
Monday .... 2nd February.	Wednesday ..29th July.
Monday ....16th February.	Wednesday ..12th August.
Thursday .... 5th March.	Saturday ....29th August.
Thursday ....19th March.	Saturday ....12th September.
Thursday .... 2nd April.	Saturday .... 3rd October.
Thursday ....16th April.	Saturday ....17th October.
Monday ....27th April.	Monday .... 2nd November.
Monday ....11th May.	Monday ....16th November.
Wednesday ..27th May.	Thursday .... 3rd December.
Wednesday ..10th June.	Thursday ....17th December.

The P. & O. Company's Steamer proceeding with the foregoing Mails will, in each case, leave the Bombay Harbour at daylight on the morning* following the above dates.

---

* When the date fixed for the departure of the *Steamer* falls on *Monday Morning*, the Lords of the Admiralty have authorised her detention from 5 A. M. till 5 P. M., so as to avoid making a Mail day of the Sunday.

INDEX.

[*The numbers preceding the names indicate their respective numbers in the Civil Service List.*]

A

		PAGE
	Abbajee Baboorao	48
	Abboola Araee	49
	Abdoola David Sassoon	92
	Acland, L.	84
	Adam, W. P.	1
	Adams, H. A.	57
	Adamson, S.	80
	Agar, E. W.	52, 53
	Aber, H.	51, 67
	Akbar Ali Khan	92
	Alexander, J. S.	58
	Allen, G. L., the Rev.	20
	Amos, J.	75
107	Anderson, G. W.	16, 33
40	Anderson, H. L.	8, 22, 84
	Anderson, P., the Rev.	19
	Anderson, Sir G. W.	79
	Anderson, W. C.	40
	Anderson, W. W.	25
	Ananta Chundroba	73
	Anundrao Kessow	49
	Appajee Luxumon	50
	Appajee Ramchunder (Rao Bahadoor)	42, 92
	Arbuckle, W.	51, 52, 63
103	Arbuthnot, F. F.	15, 33, 39, 42, 84
	Arbuthnot, Sir R. K., Bart.	79
	Ardaseer Cursetjee	48
	Ardaseer Cursetjee Dady Settna.	92
	Ardaseer Cursetjee Wadia	92
	Ardaseer Hormusjee	92
	Ardaseer Pestonjee	48
	Armitstead, T. P.	57
73	Armstrong, J. F.	12, 38, 84
	Arthur, E.	51
	Arthur, E. P.	84
88	Arthur, J. R.	14, 37, 50 84
69	Ashburner, L. R.	12, 33, 84
	Astell, J. H.	81
	Atkins, F. W. M.	27, 53
	Atkinson, C.	57, 59
	Atkinson, J. J.	65
	Atmaram Casinath	48
	Auld, J. W.	26, 69, 84
	Ayrton, A. S.	79

B

	Badger, G. P., the Rev.	20
	Baillie, E. H.	79
	Baker, A.	40
	Baker, A.	41
	Baker, F. P.	63
	Baker, T., and Co.	78
	Baker, W. A.	59, 75
	Balcrishna Sudasew	63
	Baldwin, S. C.	84
	Ballajee A. Sumbhoo (Rao Bahadoor)	38, 93
	Ballajee G. Maté (Rao Bahadoor)	39, 93
	Ballajee R. Koosoorkur (Rao Bahadoor)	35, 93
	Ballajee Pandoorung	51
	Ballantine, H., the Rev.	64
	Ballaram Ramchunder	42
	Ballingall, G. R.	61, 66
	Bapoo Raojee	42
	Bappojee Gunesh	46
	Barnard, T.	79
	Barnes, J.	60, 76
	Barnett, R. H.	51
	Barr, H. J.	80
	Barr, J. T.	25, 69, 84
	Barrow, C. M.	52
	Barton, R. W.	59
	Bates, H.	1
	Battye, A. F.	28, 84
	Battye, M. J.	84
	Baumbach, J. A.	84
	Baumgartner, T. M.	40
	Bax, J.	79
	Bayley, W. B.	81
	Bayne, R.	64, 65
	Baynes, E.	25
	Beale, E. C.	59
	Bean, J.	63, 65
	Beatty, J.	60, 73
	Beatty, T. B.	64

		PAGE
	Bell, A.	53
	Bell, H. W. B.	58
46	Bellasis, A. F.	9, 18, 84
	Bennett, C. W.	80
	Berkley, J. J.	80, 84
	Bertie, W.	42
14	Bettington, A.	5, 46, 53, 84
	Beyts, C.	61
	Beyts, N.	41
	Bhasker Damodhur (Rao Saheb)	62
	Bhasker Soonderjee	46
	Bheemrao Anunt	50, 93
	Bhogilal Pranwulubdass (Rao Saheb)	62, 63
	Bholanath Sarabhaee	47
	Bhow Muheeral	46
	Bhugwan Nurbheram	46
	Bickersteth, J. P.	52
	Binny, A. T.	44
	Birch, H.	53
	Birdwood, C.	84
	Blane, D. A.	79
	Blowers, W.	68, 84
	Boddington, R.	80
	Bolton, W.	75
	Bomanjee Hormusjee Wadia	93
	Bomanjee Jejeebhoy	93
	Bomanjee Pestonjee	61
	Bond, F. T.	72
	Borradaile, H.	79
118	Borrodaile, A. A.	17, 34
89	Bosanquet, A.	14, 46, 84
110	Bosanquet, T.	16, 38
81	Boswell, H. B.	13, 34, 84
	Boulton, C. F.	38
	Bourchier, F.	79
	Boycott, T.	44
	Boys, M. J. T., the Rev.	20
	Brereton, H. H., the Rev.	19
	Briggs, W. L.	25, 72
	Brodhurst, J.	67
	Broughton, F.	26, 64, 65
	Brown, C. M.	59
	Brown, E.	43
	Brown, F. L.	51
	Brown, H.	79
	Brown, R.	84
	Bruce, F. W. A., the Hon'ble	28
	Brunton, R. L.	80
	Buckle, C.	26, 84
	Buist, G.	84
	Bulkley, A. S.	41
	Bulkley, H.	41
	Bulwuntrao Huree	48
	Burjorjee Bickajee	49
	Burke, J. H.	44
	Butt, W.	80
	Byramjee Cursetjee	52

C

		PAGE
	Cabral, J.	61, 75
	Calley, J. and S.	78
70	Cameron, C. H.	12, 18, 47, 85
	Campbell, A. H.	29
	Campbell, G. W.	85
	Campbell, J.	85
	Campbell, M. S.	29
	Campbell, W.	62, 63, 65
	Candy, T.	62
	Carne, J., and Sons	78
	Carr, W., the Rev.	21
	Carter, H. J.	51, 62, 63, 66
	Cartwright, H. D.	44, 85
	Cassinath Kessow	48
	Chamier, W.	79
77	Chapman, F. S.	13, 35, 85
	Chimnajee Narayen	47
	Chintamunrao Huree	48
	Chinto Wassodew	48
	Choonilal Venilal (Rao Bahadoor)	33
	Christna Shastri Chiploonker	62
	Churchill, J., the Rev.	20
	Clarke, A. W.	43, 65, 85
	Clay, W. F.	25, 64
	Clephane, H.	79
	Close, J. B. G.	57, 59
	Cockburn, T. H.	1
	Coghlan, W. M.	27
112	Coghlan, W. M.	16, 37, 85
	Cole, C. J. D.	29, 78
	Cole, W. T.	73, 85
	Coleman, H.	40
	Coles, G.	79
	Collum, R.	44
	Collum, W.	44
	Colvin, R. F., the Rev.	21
44	Compton, T. A.	9, 49, 85
	Connell, W. A.	58
	Cook, G., the Rev.	21
	Cooke, H.	58
	Cooper, W.	80
	Cooverjee Cowasjee	42
24	Corfield, A. K.	6, 43, 44, 85
	Cormack, W. F.	53, 85
	Costelloe, D.	85
	Cotes, D. H., the Rev.	21
	Cotgrave, R. E. F.	58
	Cotterill, Iggulden, and Co.	78
117	Coulson, G. G. B.	17, 33
	Cowie, T. S.	44, 80, 85
	Cowasjee Jehangeer	93

		PAGE
	Cowasjee Shapoorjee	62
	Cowpar, R.	73, 85
	Cowper, T. A.	39, 42
49	Coxon, M. A.	9, 46, 85
	Crawford, A.	65, 85
114	Crawford, A. T.	16, 39
	Crawford, J. H. G.	51, 80, 85
	Crawford, W.	42, 51, 52, 53, 85
	Crawford, W. H. S.	61
	Creagh, C. O.	58
	Critchell, E. R.	41
	Crustnarao Sudasew	48
	Crustnarao Wittul	48
	Cumming, A.	40
	Cumming, W. G.	41
	Cummins, N.	78
	Cummins, W. H., the Rev.	21
	Cunard, S., and Co.	78
	Currie, Sir F.	81
	Currie, J.	74, 85
	Cursetjee Cowasjee Ashburner	93
	Cursetjee Furdonjee Paruck	93
	Cursetjee Jamsetjee	44, 80, 93
	Cursetjee Nusserwanjee Cama.	93
	Cursetjee Pallonjee	68
	Cursetjee Rustomjee	93
	Curtis, A. H.	59
	Curtis, T. B.	63
	Curtis, W. F.	85

D

	Dadabhoy Pestonjee Wadia	93
	Dadoba Pandoorung (Rao Bahadoor)	35, 36, 93
	Dajee Govind Dajeebhaee Soonderlall (Rao Bahadoor)	34
	Dajee Govind	48
	Dajee Ladha	48
	Dalzell, N. A.	43, 85
	Dalzell, P. M.	73, 85
131	Daly, C.	17
	Daniell, E.	74, 85
	Darke, T. E.	80
	Daubeny, J.	64
	Davey, W.	64
	Davidson, A.	57
	Davidson, A. F.	34, 40
29	Davidson, D.	7, 37, 85
	Davidson, D.	85
	Davidson, R. K. H.	40
59	Davies, C. J.	11, 33, 85
	Davies, H. F.	40
	Dawood Sassoon	93
	Day, H. J.	74
	Deas, J.	85
	DeCrespigney, E. N. C.	64, 65
	Dennistoun, J. and A., and Co.	78
	Dent, R.	64
	DeSilva, A. J.	63
	DeSouza, A. D.	43
	DeSouza, F.	41
	DeVitre, J. D.	40
	DeVitre, J. D.	79
	Dickens, R. V.	59
	Dickenson, E. N., the Rev.	21
	Dickenson, W. R.	57
	Dickson, W. D.	54
	Dickson, W., and Co.	78
	Dinsha Pestonjee	47
	Disbrowe, H. F.	27
	Dodd, C. D. J.	60, 76
	Dods, P.	42
	Don, J. J.	65
	Dossabhoy Sorabjee	93
	Dowman, W.	73
60	Down, E. P.	11, 85
	Downes, E. T.	44
75	D'Oyly, W.	12, 37, 85
	Dracup, I.	42
	Draper, W.	62
	Ducat, C. M.	40
97	Duff, J. A. G.	15, 38, 85
	Duncan, G. M.	58
	Dunlop, W. H. G.	51, 53, 85
	Dunsterville, J. B.	72, 85
	Dunsterville, L. D.	73, 85
	Duyaram Muyaram	50

E

	Eastwick, W. J.	81
	Easum, R., the Rev.	21
	Elander, G.	60, 73
	Elder, J. J.	60, 76
	Elkin, T.	78
	Ellice, R.	81
	Elliot, A.	54
	Elliot, A. W.	43, 85
1	Elliot, E. E.	2, 43, 44, 85
	Elliot, G. L.	79
108	Elliot, G. W.	16, 37, 85
	Elliot, H. H.	1
51	Ellis, B. H.	9, 18, 86
115	Elphinston, J.	16, 38
	Elphinstone, the Right Hon'ble Lord, G.C.H.	1
	Elphinstone, E. B.	1
	Elphinstone, P. A.	40
	Ely, E.	29
39	Erskine, C. J.	8, 61, 86
101	Erskine, H. N. B.	15, 36, 86
72	Erskine, J. M.	12, 18, 43, 86
	Etheridge, A. T.	42

PAGE

Etheridge, H. W. . . 75
Ethersey, R. 27, 86

F

Farish, J. 79
Faulkner, A. . . . 43
5 Fawcett, E. G. . . . 3, 32, 86
Fellows, W. B. . . . 51
Fenner, W. . . 27, 61, 67
Fenton, G. L., the Rev. . 20
Fern, E. W. 42
Fernandez, B. 29
Fernandez, N. 67
Fife, J. G. 60
Finch, C. W. . . . 59, 75
Finch, A. U. H. . . . 58
Fleming, J. 86
Fletcher, W. K., the Rev. 19
Flynn, J. 51
47 Forbes, A. K. 9, 86
42 Forbes, C. . . 9, 18, 86
Forbes, G. F. . . 63, 65, 86
82 Forbes, G. S. . . 13, 18, 34, 86
Ford, St.Clair . . 74, 86
Forjett, C. J. . . 51, 52, 53
Forsyth, Richardson, and Co. 78
Fox, Sons, and Co. . . 78
Foy, E. 75
Framjee Nasserwanjee . 93
Francis, J. T. 41
Fraser, A. G., the Rev. . 67
Fraser, J. G. 63, 64
Fraser, T. 41
Fraser, T. G. 86
Freeman, J. D. . . . 67
27 Frere, H. B. E. 7, 18, 25, 72, 86
10 Frere, W. E. . . . 4, 46, 86
Frith, J. G. 79
Frost, T. 27
Frushard, J. 27
Fuller, J. A. 58

G

Gardiner, G. P. . . 75
Gardiner, T. G. . . 79
Garratt and Gibbon . . 78
Gerrard, C. . . . 58
Gell, F., the Rev. . . 21
63 Gibbs, J. . . 11, 25, 50, 72, 86
Giberne, G. 79
Gibson, A. 60, 67
Gibson, J. D., the Rev. . 21
Gilder, G. C. 40
Gillett, J. L. 43
Gilmore, H. 58

PAGE

Gilmour, H. 86
Giraud, H. . . . 61, 65, 66
Glasfurd, C. L. R. . . 40
Glass, A. J. 43, 86
Glass, H. H. 79
Glasse, J. M. 52
Glassgow, D., the Rev. . 62
Glen, J. 63, 65
41 Goldfinch, W. A. . 8, 38, 86
Goldsmid, F. J. . . . 72, 74
Goldstein, J. F., the Rev. . 20
Gompert, A. 29
106 Gonne, C. . . . 16, 37, 86
Good, E. E. 63
Goodall, W., the Rev. . 19
Goodfellow, W. B. . . 59
Goodfellow, W. W. . . 58
Goolam Moheedeen, Wulud Abdool Kadur . . . 46
Goolam Moheedeen S. Tajoodeen 47
Gooljar Misser . . . 52
Gopal Amroot . . . 50
Gopalrao Deshmook . . 42
Gopinath Rughoonath . 48
Gordon, M. F. . . . 42
84 Gordon, S. St.J. . 13, 36, 86
Gordon, W. F. 86
Govind Apajee . . . 49
Govind Luxumon . . 63
Govindrao Huree . . 48
Graham, J. 86
Graham, R. W. . . . 80
Graham, W. D. . . . 58
56 Grant, A. R. . . 10, 33, 86
Grant, Balfour, and Saunders 78
Grant, C. F. 86
4 Grant, G. . . . 3, 18, 86
Grant, J. A. 79
48 Gray, A. . . . 9, 18, 86
Gray, W. 86
Gray, W. H. 86
Green, V. 61
Greenhill, D. 79
Greig, J. M. 60
92 Grey, A. E. D. . . 14, 49, 86
Griffith, C. J. 42
Griffith, J. G. T. . . 58
Guerin, E. A. 86
Guerin, J. A. 41
Gunesh Ramchunder (Rao Bahadoor) . . . 36, 93
Gunputrao Junardhun . 49
Gyasoodeen W. H. Mainoodeen 50

H

Hadow, J. R. . . . 79

		PAGE
33	Hadow, J. W.	7, 32, 86
	Haig, M. R.	40
	Haines, R.	51, 52, 61, 66
	Hall, J. C.	41
	Hamerton, A.	27, 29
	Hamilton, B.	60, 75
	Hamilton, W. J.	79
	Hammond, G., and Co.	78
133	Hankey, J. A.	17
	Hanson, J.	49
	Harding, J., the Right Rev.	19
	Harkness, J.	61, 86
	Harpur, J.	54
19	Harrison, C. M.	5, 47, 48, 50, 86
	Harrison, F. G.	68
	Harrison, H. A.	79
	Harrison, S. J.	42
	Harrison, W. G.	41
16	Harrison, W. H.	5, 46, 86
	Hart, J. H. E.	58
	Hart, P. L.	58
30	Hart, W.	7, 22, 57, 86
	Haselwood, A. M.	27, 52, 53, 86
	Hathway, M. H. W.	41
64	Havelock, W. H.	11, 36, 86
	Hawkes, C. J.	80
	Hawkes, J. A.	80
	Hazen, A., the Rev.	64
	Hearn, E.	42
	Hearn, W. M.	42
25	Hebbert, H.	6, 26, 47, 87
	Henderson, J.	79
	Henry, J. W.	52, 53
	Henry, R. E.	58
	Hervey, C. R. W.	54, 87
	Hewett, P. W.	68, 75
	Hexton, C.	42
	Heycock, E.	67, 87
78	Hobart, Hon. G. A.	13, 18, 47, 87
	Hobson, E. A.	40
	Hobson, J. C.	41
	Hockin, P. W.	87
	Hodge, D. B.	43
	Hodgson, H. B.	53, 54
	Hodgson, J.	75
	Hogg, Sir J. W., Bart.	81
	Holland, H. W.	87
100	Hope, T. C.	15, 61, 87
	Hopkins, F. W.	75
	Hore, J. F.	51, 61, 87
	Hormusjee B. Viccajee	41
	Hosken, R.	87
	Houghton, W. R.	57, 58
	Howard, E. J.	52, 61
	Howard, W.	87
	Hughes, A. W.	41
	Hughes, J. H., the Rev.	19
	Hunter, J.	87
109	Hunter, R. W.	16, 35
	Hunter, W. F.	67, 87
	Hunter, W. G.	64, 74
	Hunter, W. J.	79
	Hurree Gungadhur	50
	Hurreelal Ambashunkur	47
	Hussain Mahomed Fureed (Khan Bahadoor)	38, 93
	Hutchinson, A. R. E.	69
	Hutchinson, F.	42, 87
	Hutchinson, J. F.	67
	Hutt, B.	79
	Huzrutmeea Budroodeen	47
	Hyslop, J. M.	27, 63

I

	Imlach, C. J. F.	28
	Impey, E.	67, 68
	Ingle, H.	72
	Inglis, D. D.	79
	Inglis, W.	80
30	Inverarity, G.	8, 34, 87
15	Inverarity, J. D.	5, 87
62	Inverarity, J. S.	11, 37, 87
	Izutalee Jumaloodeen	47

J

	Jack and Co.	78
	Jacob, G. LeG.	25, 87
	Jacob, J.	25, 72, 87
	James, R. W.	63, 65, 73
	Jameson, G. J.	44, 87
	Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, Sir	44, 94
	Jehangeer Hormusjee	63
31	Jenkins, E. L.	7, 43, 87
	Jenkins, T. L.	87
	Jerrard, H.	40
	Jervis, J. J. W., the Rev.	20
	Johnson, H.	78
	Johnson, J. L.	51, 87
	Johnstone, R. M.	72, 73
	Johnstone, T. B.	64
26	Jones, A. W.	6, 50, 87
17	Jones, E. C.	5, 34, 87
	Jones, F.	60, 76
	Jones, J. F.	27, 87
	Jopp D'Arcy, W.	60, 76
	Jopp, K.	52, 53
	Jorabhaee Dwarkadass	47
	Jordan, A. H.	41
	Jordan, T. S.	32, 87
	Juggonath Sunkersett	44, 67, 80, 94
	Jumutram Himutram	47
	Janardun Wassodewjee	47, 94

PAGE

K

Kane, M. . . . 44
Karoo, Luxumon. . . 62
34 Karr, G. B. S. . 8, 26, 36, 87
11 Keays, R. . . 4, 46, 48, 50, 87
Keily, J. R. . . 26, 69, 87
Keith, J. . . . 27, 64, 65
Kelly, F. 75
Kelly, W. M. . . . 34
Kemball, A. B. . . 27, 28, 88
86 Kemball, C. G. 14, 48, 50, 74, 88
Kemball, J. S. . . . 53, 88
Kennedy, M. K. . . 57
Kennedy, R. C. . . . 53
Kentish, J. . . . 79
Ker, C. B. . . . 80
Kerr, W. A. . . . 28, 88
Kershaw, J. . . . 80
Ketterer, O. W. . . . 51, 88
Kilner, J. . . . 57
King, J. . . . 48
Kirby, J. H. . . . 60
Knapp, J. M. . . . 88
Kneller, C. F. . . . 66
Knight, R. . . . 29
Kristnajee Wasdeo (Rao Bahadoor) . . . 36
Krustnarao Wittojee . . 47

L

Laing, C., the Rev. . 20
Laloobhaee Bhanabhoy . 48
Lambert, W. R. . . 73
Lane, W. 75
Lang, Freeland, and Co. . 78
Lang, W. . . . 25, 88
Langdon, W. . . . 80
13 Larken, M. . 4, 18, 46, 88
113 Larpent, A. J. De H. . . 16, 37
Latimer, H. . . . 58
Laughton, G. A. . . 40
Lee, C. . . . 60, 75
Lee, M. 29
Leeke, H. E. . . . 88
Leeke, Sir H. J. . . 88
LeGeyt, P. H. . . . 28
2 LeGeyt, P. W. . . . 3, 88
Leggett, F. . . . 51
61 Leighton, D. C. R. . . 11, 88
Leith, A. H. . . . 52, 88
LeMessurier, J. . . 59
Lester, J. F. . . . 61
Lester, W. C. . . . 74
Levick, H. . . . 78

PAGE

Liddell, H. . . . 17
Light, R. E. H. . . 40
Limjee Manockjee . . 44, 94
96 Lindsay, H. B. . . 15, 32, 88
55 Lloyd, F. . . 10, 18, 88
Loch, F. A. E. . . 88
66 Lockett, H. B. . . 11, 50, 88
Lockart, G. A. . . . 58
Lodwick, E. . . . 68, 75
93 Lodwick, R. W. 14, 43, 44, 88
Lodwick, W. . . . 88
Lord, R. G. . . . 64
20 Loughnan, T. C. . . 5, 88
Lowden, W. . . . 41
Lowndes, J. J. . . . 52, 88
Luis, A. F. . . . 40
Lulleetanund Gowreenund. 48
8 Lumsden, J. G., the Hon. 1, 3, 46
Lumsden, W. J. . . . 79
Luxumon Acharia Dossacharia . . . 49
Luxumon Trimbuk . . 50
Lyon, A. 88

M

128 Macdonald, A. R. . . 17
Macdonald, J. . . 75
Mackenzie, J. A. S. . . 79
Mackenzie, M. M. . . 63, 65
136 Macnaghten, F. . . 17
Macnaughten, E. . . 81
76 Mactier, R. F. . . 12, 47, 88
Mahadeo Govind Shastree (Rao Saheb) . . . 63
Mahadeo Shastree Pooranic 62
Mahadhowrao Krishn . 50
Maher, W. . . . 73
Mahomed Abdoola Hafiz . 47
Mahomed Ameer Rogay . 94
Mahomed Bakur . . 49
Mahomed Hoosinoodeen . 46
Mahomed Husson . . 52
Mahomed Kassim wulud Abdool Kadur Sheriff. . . 48
Mahomed Nurroola . . 47
Mahomed Yusoof Moorgay. 94
Maitland, G. G. W. . 64, 65, 88
Malcolm, G. . . . 28, 88
Malcolmson, J. K. . . 44, 88
7 Malet, A., the Honorable . 1, 3
Malet, W. W. . . . 79
Mangles, R. D. . . 81
Manisty, F. . . . 88
Manockjee Cursetjee . . 51
Manockjee Nasserwanjee Pittee 94
Manockjee Pestonjee . . 47

		PAGE
28	Mansfield, S.	7, 33, 88
53	Manson, C. J.	10, 18, 88
	Marriott, S.	79
	Marriott, W. F.	88
	Marston, E. C.	74, 88
	Martin, T. E. P.	64
	Matthey, F.	29
	Maughan, T.	26
	Maunsell, J. R.	59
	McAlister, J.	27, 63
	McCulloch, D.	88
	McDougal, J., the Rev.	61, 62
	McGregor, J.	89
	McKee, J., the Rev.	65
	Mead, C. C.	62, 66
	Meer Kidwutala Hikmatoola	47
	Meer Mohmoodeen Khan Sadroodeen Khan	47
	Meerza Ali Jhan	94
	Meerza Ali Mahomed Khan	94
	Meerza Mahomed Ali Khan.	67
	Melliss, J. G.	60, 76
122	Melvill, F. D.	17, 37
	Melvill, Sir J. C.	79
116	Melvill, M.	16, 39
	Melvill, P. M.	22, 80, 89
	Merewether, W. L.	25 72, 89
	Merriman, C. J.	60, 75
	Merwanjee Dadabhoy	68
	Miles, H.	43
	Miles, J.	66
	Miller, G.	62
	Miller, A., the Revd.	21
	Miller, J. R.	25
	Mills, C.	81
	Mills, E. B.	79
	Mills, R.	79
	Mitchell, W. K., the Rev.	65
	Mitford, G. N., the Rev..	21
	Mohunlall Runchordass.	62
	Moir, W.	89
	Montanaro, Vincent G.	78
	Montgomerie, E.	79
	Montgomery, G. S.	74
	Moore, H.	27
135	Moore, J. G.	17
	Moore, L. C.	68
	Morehead, C.	61, 65
	Moreshwur Mahadeo.	50
32	Morgan, J. R.	7, 33, 89
105	Moriarty, J.	16, 34
	Morison, G., the Rev..	19
	Moro Rughoonath	48
	Moroba Canoba	49, 94
	Morris, J.	46, 89
	Morris, W. J.	89
	Morse, T. R.	89
	Mossop, G. W.	60, 75
	Moteeram Dulputram	47
	Mudun Shreecrustna	46
	Munbee, G. B.	59
	Muncheram Gokuldass	46
	Muncherjee Framjee Cama	94
	Muncherjee Jamsetjee	94
	Muncherjee Pestonjee	94
	Mungavin, J.	58
	Munguldas Nathoobhoy	94
	Murray, the Hon'ble C. A.	28
3	Muspratt, J. W.	3, 43, 44, 89
	Muthooradass Pranvulubdass	46
	Mylne, C. D.	66, 67 89

N

		PAGE
	Nana Morojee (Rao Bahadoor).	37, 94
	Nanabhoy Hurridass.	51
	Napean, C. E. F.	41
	Narayen Balajee	49
	Narayen Bhai	62
	Narayen Bullal	63
	Narayen Bulwunt	47
	Narayen Chintamun	49
	Narayen Dadajee	49
	Narayen Dinnanathjee	51, 67, 94
	Narayen Trimbuck	48
	Naro Succaram	48
	Narro Withul Champekur (Rao Bahadoor)	34, 94
	Narsing Shastree Oke	63
	Naylor, C. E.	74
83	Neave, E. D.	13, 33, 89
	Newman, T.	78
	Newnham, W.	79
137	Newnham, W. H.	17
54	Newton, H.	10, 18, 89
	Newton, J. P. M.	60, 76
	Nicholson, C.	79
	Nicholson, J. G.	64, 65
	Nicholson, J. T.	25
	Nicholson, R.	28
	Nicker, D. L.	68
	Nicol, W.	79
	Nicolson, J. G.	73
	Nilkunt Runchord	47
120	Norman, G.	17
	North, C. F.	57
	Nownutroy Gununchram	47
	Nowrojee Byramjee	33, 94
	Nowrojee Furdoonjee	51
	Nowrojee Jamsetjee	94
	Nue, E.	59

		PAGE
	O	
18	Ogilvy, T.	5, 36, 89
	Oliphant, J.	81
71	Oliphant, J. E.	12, 34, 89
	Oliver, N. W.	51, 52, 89
119	Ovans, C. R.	17, 35
	P	
	Page, S.	29, 78
	Palin, C. T.	41
	Pandoorung Moreshwur	48, 94
	Pandoorung Nilkunt	49
	Parker, H. R.	34
	Parkinson, H. J.	51
	Parkinson, H. S.	40
	Parr, W. C.	38
	Parsons, J.	89
	Paton, G.	68
	Payne, W. H.	43, 89
	Peach, W.	64
	Pearson, E. T. G.	22, 80
129	Pedder, W. G.	17
	Peele, R. DeCourcy	1
	Peet, J.	61, 64, 65
127	Peile, J. B.	17
21	Pelly, J. H.	6, 43, 89
	Pelly, L.	72
	Pelly, S. M.	36, 64, 65
	Pelly, W. A.	43, 89
	Pemberton, F. B.	58
124	Percival, E. H.	17, 32
	Perkes, T.	57
	Phillips, A. P.	41
	Phillips, F.	72, 89
104	Phillips, R.	16, 34
	Piers, T. T.	59
	Pigou, W. H.	67
87	Pinhey, R. H.	14, 47, 50, 89
	Pinkerton, J.	65
	Pirie, W.	74
	Playfair, J. W.	57
	Playfair, R. L.	27, 89
	Plowden, W.	29
	Pollock, C. M. I.	51, 89
	Pope, G.	89
	Powell, B. R.	65
132	Praed, B. J. M.	17
	Pranlall Muthooradass (Rao Saheb)	62
	Prannarayen Mayashunkur.	63
	Pratt, E. J.	22
	Preedy, H. W.	72, 89
	Prescott, C. J.	40
	Preston, J.	80
	Price, G. U.	59
	Price, W. H.	60, 76
	Price, W. S.	40, 42
	Pringle, R. K.	79
	Prinsep, H. T.	81
134	Propert, W. H.	17
	Purbhakur Bullal	50
	Purshotumdass Poonjasha.	47
	Purshotum Shideshwur	48
	Purushram Venayek	49
	Purvuthshunker Manishunker.	63
	Pym, H.	59
	Pym, J. A.	28, 89
	R	
	Radenhurst, W. C.	60, 76
	Rae, H. D.	41
	Ragoba Junardhun (Rao Bahadoor)	36, 94
	Raghoovendrow Kantrow	50
	Raikes, S. N.	25, 69, 90
	Rajaram Chintamun	49
	Ramchunder Amrut Dugle (Rao Bahadoor)	36
	Ramchunder Bajeerao	48
	Ramchunder Balcrushnajee, (Rao Bahadoor)	94
	Ramchunder Junardhun.	49
	Ramchundra Dinanathjee (Rao Saheb)	62, 63
	Ramlall Thackursee	95
	Ram Naid (Rao Bahadoor)	34, 95
	Ramsay, T. W.	79
128	Ramsay, W	17
	Raojee Govind	50
	Rassam Hormuzd	27
	Rathbone, W.	78
	Ravenscroft, A. W.	79, 90
90	Ravenscroft, E. W.	14, 39, 42
	Rawlinson, Sir H. C.	81
	Raymer, W.	38, 90
6	Reeves, H. W.	1, 3, 32, 90
58	Reid, L.	10, 35, 90
	Reid, L. R.	79
	Reid, R. T.	61
	Reynalds, J.	63
	Reynolds, F. C. P., the Ven'ble.	19
	Richards, R.	65
36	Richardson, A. St. J.	8, 49, 90
	Richardson, E. T.	39
	Richardson, C. W.	90
140	Richey, J. B.	17
	Riddell, H. B.	68
	Ritchie, J.	90
68	Ritchie, W. A.	11, 18, 32, 90
	Rivers, H.	80

		PAGE
	Robertson, A.	90
43	Robertson, A. D.	9, 18, 90
91	Robertson, E. P.	14, 18, 90
67	Robertson, J. W.	11, 43, 90
121	Robertson, W. W.	17
57	Rogers, A.	10, 18, 39, 41, 90
	Rolleston, S.	79
	Romer, J.	79
	Rose, J.	53, 90
22	Rose, J. N.	6, 38, 90
	Ross, J.	90
	Rowell, H. G.	41
	Rughoonath Bulwunt	48
	Rughoonath Ramchunder	48
	Rughoonath Ramchunder (Rao Bahadoor)	32, 95
	Rughoonath Witul Datay	47
	Runchoorbhaee Oomeasunkur (Rao Bahadoor)	33, 95
	Russell, E. L.	1
	Rustomjee Jamsetjee	44, 95
	Ryrie, R.	90

S

	Salmon, W. B.	90
123	Salmon, W. M.	17, 33
	Sanderson, W.	80
	Sandford, H. B.	38
99	Sandwith, W.	15, 34, 47, 90
	Schneider, F.	26
	Schneider, J. W.	26, 90
	Schuller, J. G., and Co.	78
	Schwabe, W. H., the Rev.	20
	Scott, C.	59
65	Scott, G.	11, 37, 90
	Scott, H.	90
	Scott, J. W.	40
	Scott, M.	75
	Scott, P.	79
	Scott, R.	58
	Scott, R.	75
	Scott, S.	41
	Scott, W.	58, 90
	Searle, W. L.	75
	Seaward, G. M. S.	62, 65
	Sellon, R. S.	58, 59
	Sewlal Bhogeelal	46
	Sewram Bullal	48
	Shaboodeen Emamoodeen	49
	Shaik Ali bin Shaik Ibrahim	46
	Shaik Goolam Ali Jumaloodeen	47
	Shamrao Appajee	49
	Shamrao Basker	52
	Shank, H.	79
	Shaw, A. N.	79
85	Shaw, C. F. H.	13, 35, 90
	Shaw, G. J.	44
	Shaw, R. J.	90
	Shekleton, J. F.	44
111	Sheppard, G. F.	16, 36
	Shepperd, J.	81
	Sheriff Abdool Lateef bin Sheriff Muckdoom	48
	Sherwill, W.	78
	Short, A. Y.	25
	Shortt, W. Y. H.	54
	Showell, R. H.	35, 90
	Shreedhur Ladko	48
	Shreeneewasrao Krishn	50
	Shreeput Wittul (Rao Bahadoor)	34
	Sibley, C. W.	90
	Sinclair, R. S.	61, 67
	Skrine, J.	79
	Smith, C. G.	61
	Smith, G. N.	61, 67
	Smith, J.	58
	Smith, M. T.	81
	Soady, J. R.	60, 76
	Somerset, Lieut. Genl. Sir H.	1
	Soobedar Shaik Wuzeer	52
	Soobrao Krishn	50
	Sorabjee Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy	95
	Sorabjee Jehangeer Sett	95
	Souter, F. H.	53
	Southey, W.	74
	Spencer, N.	22, 90
	Spencer, N., Junr.	51
	Spencer, R.	26, 65
125	Spens, A. L.	17
9	Spooner, R.	4, 37, 43, 66, 90
	Spring, F. J., the Rev.	19
	Sprott, J.	59
	Spry, W. F. A.	33, 90
94	Stack, J. W.	14, 90
	Standen, J. H.	19, 51, 90
	Stanley, H.	90
	Steinhaeuser, J. P.	27, 63, 65
	Stenhouse, T.	90
	Steuart, F. G.	40
	Steuart, T. R.	74, 90
	Stevenson, T. S.	42
	Stewart, A.	43, 90
	Stewart, J.	42
74	Stewart, M. J. M.	12, 18, 90
	Stewart, P.	79
	St. John, R.	91
	Straker, C. D'Oyle,	91
	Strong, R.	91
	Stuart, J.	44, 91
	Stubbs, W.	79
	Succaram Bajee	49
	Succaram Balkrushna	68
	Succaram Cassinath	50

		PAGE
	Succaram Luxumonjee	95
	Sudasew Bullal	42
	Sudasew Hemraz	25
	Summers, H.	41
	Surtees, W. J.	91
	Swanson, J.	80, 91
	Syed Abdool Futteh	53
	Syed Kumaloodeen wd. Meer Hajee.	49
	Syed Hubeeboola wd. S.A. Kadur	48
	Syed Muckbool Alee	49
	Syed Suriff Shaik Syed Hoossain	46, 95
	Sykes, W. H.	81
	Sylvester, C. J.	64, 65
	Sylvester, J. H.	62, 66

T

	Talbot, T. H.	79
	Tapp, T.	91
	Tate, J. S.	80
	Taverner, E. L.	41
	Taylor, A.	43, 91
	Taylor, G.	51
	Taylor, J. G.	29, 78
	Taylor, R. L.	28
	Temuljee Hormusjee	46
141	Thelwall, H. M.	17
	Thomas, A.	91
	Thomas, G. E.	41, 54
	Thomas, R. Hughes	22, 91
	Thomson, D.	59, 60, 75
	Thornton, T.	51, 52, 91
	Todd, J.	75
	Touche, E.	29
	Townsend, E. H.	79
	Tremenheere, C. W.	57, 91
	Trevelyan, H. W.	91
	Trevor, J. S.	80
	Trimulrao Venktesh	50
	Tristram, W. B.	91
	Trott, J. H.	38, 91
50	Tucker, H. P. St.G.	9, 47, 91
52	Tucker, L. H. B.	10, 18, 91
	Turner, H. B.	59, 74, 75, 91
37	Turquand, W. J.	8, 37, 91
	Twyford, D. C. E.	59
	Twynam, T. S. H.	75
	Tyrwhitt, G. B.	73
	Tyrwhitt, R. E., the Rev.	20
35	Tytler, C. E. F.	8, 35, 91

V

	Valentine, E.	78
	Vanzeller, J., and Sons	78
	Vears, H.	68
	Veitch, H.	78
	Venaik Rao Gungadhur Shastre	95
	Venayek Govind Chobul	48
	Venayek Luxumon Shastree	46
	Venayek Suddasew	48
	Venayek Wassoodewjee	22, 66, 95
	Venayek Govindjee	48
	Venayekrao Juggonathjee	95
	Venayekrao Appajee	49
	Venayekrao Krishna (Rao Bahadoor)	95
	Venkutrao Jeewajee	49
	Ventz, G.	29
	Veveiras, J. A.	75
	Vibart, J.	79
	Vincent, H.	91
	Vincent, H. T.	91
	Vishnoo Moreshwur	42
	Vishnoo Purushram	42
	Vishwanath Narayen (Rao Saheb)	62
	Vitul Bulwunt	49
	Vitul Wassoodeo	48
	Vivian, R. G. H.	81
	Volkart, J. G.	29
	Von Liebig, J. A. F. J. G.	44
	Vurjeevundass Madowdass.	95

W

	Waddington, C.	57, 91
	Waddington, T.	41
	Waddington, W.	41
	Walker, C. W.	54, 91
	Walker, W.	80
	Wallace, L. A.	91
	Wallace, R., the Rev.	62
	Wallace, R.	26, 91
	Wallace, R.	40
	Wallace, R. R.	74
	Wallace, W.	91
	Waller, R.	27
	Waller, T.	63, 65, 91
	Walne, A. J.	28, 78
80	Walter, C.	13, 46, 91
	Wamunrao G. Gunpooley (Rao Bahadoor).	36, 95
	Wamunrao Jugonath	48, 95
	Wamunrao Purushram	49
	Ward, A. V.	64, 65

		PAGE
45	Warden, A. B.	9, 46, 91
98	Warden, J. L.	15, 35, 47, 91
	Warden, T. S.	91
	Wasdeo Pandoorung	22, 95
	Wasoodew Sewram	49, 95
	Wathen, W. H.	79
	Watson, G. A. F., the Rev.	21
	Watson, J. F.	66
	Watson, T., the Rev.	20
	Watt, T. R.	80, 92
	Way, A. C.	26
	Webb, J.	17
	Webb, R. T.	79
	Webster, T. B.	92
	Wedderburn, J.	79
95	Weeding, T.	15, 33, 92
	Wells, F. C.	53, 54, 92
	Welsh, R.	42
	Wemyss, F.	57
	West, E. W.	80
	West, G.	28
	West, H.	57
130	West, R.	17
	Westrop, T., and Son	78
	Westropp, R. M.	92
	Westropp, W. R.	52
	Whish, C. B.	26
102	White, J. G.	15, 33, 92
	White, J. H.	58
79	White, R.	13, 18, 48, 50, 92
	Whitehill, S. J. K.	28, 92
	Whitelock, C. R.	25, 92
	Whittenbury, W.	58
	Wiehe, C. G.	64, 65
	Wilcox, H. G.	57
	Wilkins, H. St. Clair	60
	Williams, W.	61, 75
	Willis, R.	92
	Willock, Sir H.	81
	Willoughby, J. P.	79, 81
	Wilson, C. T., the Rev.	21
	Wilson, J. R.	68
	Wilson, M.	79
	Wilson, R. E.	68
	Winchester, J. W.	39, 69, 92
	Winteringham, H.	80
	Wiswasrao Bhasker	49
	Withul Rao Narayen (Rao Bahadoor)	37, 95
	Wood, G.	74, 92
	Wood, W., the Rev.	65
23	Woodcock, J. W.	6, 49, 92
	Woodhouse, R. W.	76
139	Worthington, R. B.	17
	Wright, W. B.	80
	Wright, W. J.	80
	Wyld, J., and Co.	78
	Wyllie, D.	63, 64
138	Wyllie, J. W. S.	17

Y

12	Young, H.	4, 22, 43, 44, 92

Z

	Zorn, J. T.	29

The Bombay Civil List.

1st January 1857.

COUNCIL OF BOMBAY.

The Right Hon'ble JOHN, LORD ELPHINSTONE, *G.C.H.*.... — Governor, and President in Council, and Commander in Chief of the Garrison. Took his seat 26th December 1853.

Lieut. General SIR HENRY SOMERSET, *K.C.B.*..... — Commander in Chief, and Second Member of Council. Took his seat 26th March 1855.

The Hon'ble JAMES GRANT LUMSDEN..... — Third Member of Council. Took his seat 28th February 1854.

The Hon'ble ARTHUR MALET. — Fourth Member of Council. Took his seat 7th April 1855.

Provisional Member of Council.

HENRY WILSON REEVES, appointed 20th April 1855.

Personal Staff of the Right Hon'ble the Governor.

Private Secretary.

William Patrick Adam (on leave to England for the period of 12 *months, from the* 11*th July* 1856, *on Sick Certificate).*

R. DE COURCY PEELE, *Acting* Private Secretary.

Military Secretary.

Lieut. Col. H. Bates, H. M.'s 98th Regt. *(Proceeded to England.)*

Lieutenant Col. E. L. RUSSELL, 12th Regt N. I. *(Acting.)*

Aides-de-Camp.

Lieut. H. H. ELLIOT, 1st Regt. Bombay Light Cavalry (Lancers).

Lieut. E. B. Elphinstone, H. M.'s 92nd Regt. (Highlanders.) *(In Europe on leave.)*

Capt. P. H. COCKBURN, H. M.'s 43rd Regt.

Surgeon.

Surgeon R. DECOURCY PEELE.

GRADATION LIST

OF THE

HON'BLE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S COVENANTED CIVIL SERVANTS ON THEIR BOMBAY ESTABLISHMENT,

As the same stood on the 1st January 1857.

The Rank of Civil Servants commences from the date of arrival at Bombay of the first Writer appointed in Europe, of the same season of which they are Writers; and, being thus determined, all Civil Servants belong, during the first four years, to Class VI.;—from the fifth to the end of the eighth year, to Class V.;—from the ninth to the end of the twelfth year, to Class IV.;—from the thirteenth to the end of the twentieth year, to Class III.;—from the twenty-first to the end of the thirty-fifth year, to Class II.;—and from and after the thirty-fifth year, to Class I.

The date of commencement of service is that of the Covenant, or of the appointment by the Court of Directors, whichever may be the earlier. This is denoted by the letters c or a in the fourth column.

The letters **A, C, G, H, M, P,** *or* **S,** *prefixed to the names, signify that the parties have passed an examination in the Arabic, Canarese, Guzerathee, Hindoostanee, Murathee, Persian, or Sindee Languages.*

Nos.	NAMES.	Season of Appt.	Commencement of Service.	Date of Arrival.	Actual Residence in India.	Date of promotion to present grade.	HOW EMPLOYED.
				CLASS I.			
1	Edward Eden Elliot.....	1815	1815 *a* 23 Dec.	15 May 1816	*y. m. d.* 40 7 17	1851 15 May	Accountant General, and Revenue and Judicial Accountant; and Accountant General to the Supreme Court, 3rd January 1849. Director of the Bank of Bombay; and President of the Mint Committee.

H	2	Philip William LeGeyt.....	1820	*a*	1821 11 Apr.	31 Oct. 1821	35	2	1	1856 10 June	At Calcutta, as Member of the Legislative Council of India. Took his seat on the 14th April 1855.
	3	Jackson William Muspratt ..	„	*a*	1820 29 Dec.	10 June „ 2 May 1840	32	6	13	„	Sub-Treasurer, General Paymaster, Superintendent of Stamps, and Secretary to the Government Savings' Bank, 7th February 1846.
H	4	*Gregor Grant*.....	„	*c*	1822 16 Jan.	27 Apr. 1822	31	0	13	„	*On furlough to England, for the period of four years, from the 10th May* 1853.

CLASS II.

H S	5	Edward Gordon Fawcett.....	1824	*c*	1825 3 Feb.	6 June 1825 14 Feb. 1840	28	6	7	1844 26 June	Revenue Commissioner, Northern Division, 3rd December 1851.
H M	6	Henry Wilson Reeves.....	„	*a*	24 Aug.	12 Dec. 1825 8 Nov. 1839 10 Mar. 1853	26	10	22	„	Revenue Commissioner, S. D., 3rd January 1855. Provisional Member of Council, appointed 20th April 1855.
H	7	Arthur Malet	„	*a*	7 Nov.	29 Apr. 1826	30	8	2	„	FOURTH MEMBER OF COUNCIL. Took his seat 7th April 1855.
H	8	James Grant Lumsden.....	1826	*a*	1827 18 July	5 Apr. 1828 9 July 1834 6 Nov. 1856	25	8	27	1847 23 Jan.	THIRD MEMBER OF COUNCIL. Took his seat 28th February 1854. Chief Judge of the Sudder Adawlut, 15th January 1855.

Nos.	NAMES.	Season of Appt.	Commencement of Service.	Date of Arrival.	Actual Residence in India.	Date of promotion to present grade.	HOW EMPLOYED.
					y. m. d.		
			1828			1848	
W 9	Richard Spooner.....	1827	c 24 June	30 Nov. 1828 11 Dec. 1843	25 4 22	1 June	Collector and Magistrate of Rutnagherry, 1st May 1854. *Officiating* Commissioner of Customs, Salt, and Opium, 2nd February 1855.
			1830			1850	
H G 10	William Edward Frere.....	1829	c 11 Jan.	5 June 1830 13 Dec. 1844 22 Dec. 1855	22 9 14	6 June	Puisne Judge of the Courts of Sudder Dewanee and Sudder Foujdaree Adawlut, 4th March 1853.
			1829				
H G 11	Robert Keays	„	a 31 Dec.	16 June 1830	26 6 15	„	Judge and Session Judge of Poona, and Agent for Sirdars in the Deccan, 14th April 1855. *Acting* Puisne Judge of the Sudder Dewanee and Sudder Foujdaree Adawlut, 27th February 1856.
			1830				
H 12	Henry Young	„	a 28 Apr.	20 Nov. „ 9 Apr. 1845	23 0 4	„	Commissioner of Customs, Salt, and Opium, and Reporter General of External Commerce, for the Presidency of Bombay, 10th March 1854. *Officiating* Secretary to Govt. in the Revenue and Financial Departments, and *Officiating* Chief Secretary, 2d Feb. 1855. Govt. Bank Director and Member of the Mint Committee, 8th Feb. 1855.
H M 13	*Metcalfe Larken*.....	„	a 7 July	8 Jan. 1831 12 Feb. 1841	22 5 20	„	Puisne Judge of the Sudder Dewanee and Sudder Foujdaree Adawlut, 23rd May 1854. (*On leave to England, for the period of twenty-one months, from the 17th October* 1855.)

H C	14	Albemarle Bettington.....	„	*a*	„	8 Jan. 1831 14 Dec. 1847 24 Apr. 1854	20	1	2	„		Inspector General of Prisons, and Commissioner of Police in the Bombay Presidency, 26th June and 10th October 1855.
H M	15	Jonathan Duncan Inverarity.	1830	*a*	1831 12 Jan.	11 May 1831 6 Nov. 1856	23	7	13	1851 11 May		Unemployed.
H M	16	William Henry Harrison....	„	*a*	„	27 Sept. 1831 10 Jan. 1837 7 Nov. 1849	20	8	7	„		Puisne Judge of the Sudder Dewanee and Sudder Foujdaree Adawlut, 17th February 1856.
H M	17	Edmund Champagne Jones.	„	*a*	22 Apr.	20 Jan. 1832 8 Jan. 1846	21	11	6	„		Collector and Magistrate of Tanna, 1st May 1856.
H M G	18	Thomas Ogilvy	„	*a*	6 July	20 Jan. 1832 13 June 1837 3 Nov. 1847	18	11	27	„		Collector and Magistrate of Dharwar, 4th October 1854.
H M	19	Charles Matthew Harrison ..	„		1 June	27 Sept. 1831 2 Apr. 1848	22	0	3	„		Judge and Session Judge of the Konkun, 14th April 1855. *Acting* Judge and Session Judge of Poona, and *Acting* Agent for Sirdars in the Deccan, 27th February 1856.
H C C	20	Thomas Charles Loughnan ...	„	*a*	6 July	4 Dec. 1831 29 Dec. 1836 22 Dec. 1856	20	9	24	„		Unemployed.

Nos.		NAMES.	Season of Appt.	Commencement of Service.	Date of Arrival.	Actual Residence in India.	Date of promotion to present grade.	HOW EMPLOYED.
						y. m. d.		
GC	21	*John Hinde Pelly*.....	1831	1832 *a* 18 Jan.	11 May 1832 28 Dec. 1848	22 7 25	1852 11 May	Deputy Commissioner of Customs, Salt, and Opium at the Presidency, 16th November 1855. (*On leave.*)
HM	22	John Nugent Rose.....	„	1831* *a* 6 July	15 May 1832 25 Aug. 1846 18 Jan. 1848 10 Nov. 1853	18 6 19	„	Collector and Magistrate of Satara, 4th October 1854. Collector and Magistrate of Mahabuleshwur, 31st August 1855.
HG	23	John William Woodcock.....	„	*a* „	12 May 1832 9 Nov. 1845	21 2 5	„	Judge and Session Judge of Ahmednuggur, 19th May 1852.
HM	24	Arthur King Corfield.....	„	1832 *a*. 18 Jan.	16 July 1832 29 Oct. 1839 12 Dec. 1841	18 1 11	„	Civil Auditor, 30th July 1856, Government Director of the Bank of Bombay, Member of the Mint Committee, and of the Committee of Management of the Government Savings Bank.
HMG	25	Henry Hebbert..	„	*a* 18 July	2 May 1833 7 Feb. 1849	20 10 25	„	Judge and Session Judge at Surat, and Agent for the Right Hon'ble the Governor at Surat, 19th March 1856.
HG	26	Arthur Wellington Jones....	„	*a* „	4 Sept. 1833 12 Feb. 1841 25 Nov. 1851	15 11 10	„	Judge and Session Judge of Dharwar, 30th July 1858.

HMG	27	*Henry Bartle Edward Frere*	1833	*a* 15 Jan. 1834	23 Sept. 1834 2 Jan. 1847	20	1	8	23 Sept. 1854	Commissioner in Sind, 2nd December 1850. (*On leave to England, for the period of* 15 *months, from the* 3*rd February* 1856.)
MC	28	Samuel Mansfield	„	*a* „	7 Oct. 1834 19 April 1852	20	3	17	„	Collector and Magistrate of Khandesh, 16th October 1852. Agent for carrying out the objects of Act XI. of 1846.
HM	29	Duncan Davidson	1834	*a* 28 Jan. 1835	23 Sept. 1835 14 Jan. 1843 27 Dec. 1852	17	2	1	23 Sept. 1855	Collector and Magistrate of Poona, 17th October 1855.
HM	30	William Hart	„	*a* „	8 May 1835 2 July 1840 23 Nov. 1854	16	9	0	„	Secretary to Government in the General, Ecclesiastical, and Public Works Departments, and Railway Branch, 28th November 1854, 1st May 1855, and 1st January 1856.
HM	31	Edward Leighton Jenkins ..	„	*a* 26 June	3 Feb. 1836 7 Nov. 1849 18 Sept. 1856	16	6	29	„	*Acting* Deputy Commissioner of Customs, Salt and Opium, during the absence of Mr. J. H. Pelly, 22nd November 1856.
HG	32	John Robley Morgan	„	*a* 28 Jan.	1 Dec. 1835 10 Dec. 1854	19	5	6	„	Collector and Magistrate of Kaira, 20th March 1855.
HM	33	John William Hadow.....	1835	*a* 8 Jan. 1836	29 Aug. 1836 19 June 1852	17	3	5	29 Aug. 1856	Collector and Magistrate of Ahmedabad, 7th December 1854.

Nos.	NAMES.	Season of Appt.	Commencement of Service.	Date of Arrival.	Actual Residence in India.	Date of promotion to present grade.	HOW EMPLOYED.
				CLASS III.			
HMG 34	George Berkley Seton Karr..	1836	1836 *a* 15 June	10 Jan. 1837 25 Feb. 1850	17 0 29	1849 10 Jan.	Collector and Magistrate of Belgaum, and Political Agent in the Southern Muratha Country, 1st May 1856.
HM 35	Charles Edward Fraser Tytler.....	,,	*a* ,,	3 May 1837 25 Dec. 1853	15 10 6	,,	Collector and Magistrate of Ahmednuggur, 3rd January 1855.
HGPAM 36	Arthur St. John Richardson.	1837	1837 *a* 18 Jan.	3 Oct. 1837 4 Apr. 1851	16 1 12	3 Oct.	Judge and Session Judge of Khandesh, 28th April 1854.
HMP 37	William James Turquand	,,	*a* 28 June	21 Jan. 1838 11 Jan. 1845	17 11 1	,,	*Acting* Collector and Magistrate of Rutnagherry, 19th September 1855.
HM 38	George Inverarity	1839	1839 *a* 7 Aug.	29 Apr. 1840 10 Mar. 1855	12 10 6	1852 12 Mar.	Collector and Magistrate of Surat, 4th Dec. 1856.
HPG 39	*Claudius James Erskine*	1840	1840 *a* 15 Jan.	10 Oct. 1840 23 Oct. 1853	13 6 5	10 Oct.	Director of Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency, 21st March 1855 *(Allowed leave of absence for six months, on Medical Certificate, from 15th August* 1856.)
HM 40	Henry Lacon Anderson	,,	*a* ,,	10 Aug. 1840	16 4 22	,,	Secretary to Government in the Political, Secret, and Judicial Departments. In charge of the Secretariat duties in the Persian Department, 1st May 1854.
HC 41	William Agnew Goldfinch ..	,,	*a* 31 July	2 May 1841 10 Mar. 1855	12 8 24	,,	Collector and Magistrate of Sholapoor, 19th Sept. 1855.

H M	42	*Charles Forbes*.....	„	*a*	„	12 Jan. 1841 7 Feb. 1850	10	2	13	„	*On furlough to Europe, for four years, from the 29th January* 1853.
H M	43	*Archibald David Robertson*..	1841	*a*	28 July 1841	12 Dec. 1841	12	8	20	12 Dec. 1853	*On furlough to Europe, for three years, from the 30th August* 1854.
H M	44	Thomas Abingdon Compton ..	„	*a*	„	10 Nov. „ 21 Jan. 1855	11	11	18	„	Judge and Session Judge of Sholapoor, 25th April 1855.
H M	45	Augustus Brooke Warden....	1842	*a*	27 July 1842	12 Oct. 1842 24 Mar. 1856	11	2	25	12 Oct. 1854	Judge and Session Judge of Ahmedabad, 26th March 1856.
H M	46	*Augustus Fortunatus Bellasis*	„	*a*	„	14 Feb. 1843 19 June 1852	11	8	15	„	*On leave to England, for the period of three years, from the 17th April* 1856.
H M	47	Alex. Kinloch Forbes.....	1843	*a*	30 Dec.	15 Nov. 1843 23 Nov. 1856	10	5	21	15 Nov. 1855	Unemployed.
H M	48	*Alexander Gray*.....	„	*a*	„	13 May 1843	10	9	19	„	*On furlough to Europe, for the period of three years, from the 28th February* 1854.
H C	49	Michael Agnew Coxon.....	„	*a*	„	15 Nov. „	13	1	16	„	Registrar to the Sudder Dewanee and Sudder Foujdaree Adawlut, 23rd May 1854.
H S	50	Henry Pendock St. G. Tucker	„	*a*	„	14 April „ 27 Dec. 1852	11	9	26	„	Senior Assistant Judge and Session Judge of the Konkun, for the detached Station of Rutnagherry, 29th March 1853. *Acting* Judge and Session Judge of the Konkun, 19th March 1856.
H M S	51	*Barrow Helbert Ellis*	„	*a*	26 July	11 Dec. 1843	11	2	10	„	*On furlough to England, for the period of two years, from the 17th February* 1855.

	Nos.	NAMES.	Season of Appt.	Commencement of Service.	Date of Arrival.	Actual Residence in India.	Date of promotion to present grade.	HOW EMPLOYED.
H M	52	*Leighton Hamerton Baker Tucker*	1843	1844 *c* 13 Feb.	8 Apr. 1844	*y. m. d.* 10 0 21	1855 15 Nov.	*On furlough to Europe, for the period of three years, from the 28th April* 1854.
H M P C	53	*Charles James Manson*	1844	*c* 15 Feb.	8 Apr. 1844 5 Nov. 1852	11 4 18	1856 8 April	*On furlough to England, for the period of two years, from the 17th April* 1856.
H M	54	*Henry Newton*	„	1843 *a* 26 July	24 May 1844	11 7 24	„	*On furlough to Europe, for the period of two years, from the 17th January* 1856.
H M	55	*Francis Lloyd*.....	„	1844 *a* 31 July	11 Jan. 1845	11 3 7	„	*On furlough to Europe, for the period of two years, from the 17th April* 1856.
					CLASS IV.			
H M	56	Alexander Ronald Grant....	1845	1845 *a* 5 Feb.	9 July 1845	11 5 23	1858 9 July	Supernumerary First Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Khandesh, 13th June 1856.
H M G P	57	*Alexander Rogers*	„	*a* 6 Aug.	9 Nov. „	10 2 25	„	Settlement Revenue Officer in Guzerat, and Assistant Collector and Magistrate in all the Zillas of that Province. *(On leave to England, on private affairs, for the period of one year, from the 3rd February* 1856.*)*
H M	58	Lestock Reid	„	*a* „	29 Dec. „	11 0 3	„	Sub-Collector and Joint Magistrate, Colaba, 7th December 1854.

H M	59	Charles James Davies.....	„	c	29 July	24 Nov. „	11	1	7	„	Collector and Magistrate of Broach, 4th December 1856.
H M	60	Edward Phillip Down.....	1846	a	1846 14 Jan.	10 May 1846	10	7	22	1854 12 Mar.	Collector and Magistrate of Hyderabad in Sind, 8th April 1856.
H M	61	David Clarence Russell Leighton	„	a	„	9 April „ 28 Nov. 1856	8	7	13	„	Unemployed.
H M	62	John Stewart Inverarity....	„	c	13 Jan.	12 Mar. 1846	10	9	20	„	First Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Poona, 16th October 1852.
H G	63	James Gibbs.....	„	c	9 Oct.	7 Dec. „ 2 Jan. 1850	7	10	8	„	Judicial Assistant to the Commissioner in Sind, 25th August 1854.
H M	64	William Henry Havelock....	1847	a	1847 6 Jan.	27 May 1847	9	7	5	1855 27 May	First Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Belgaum, 27th February 1854.
H M	65	*George Scott*..	„	a	„	13 Mar. „ 2 July 1851	6	10	15	„	First Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Rutnagherry, 4th June 1853. *(On leave for 3 months from 31st October 1856.)*
H M	66	Hugh Barnett Lockett.....	„	a	„	13 Mar. 1847	9	9	19	„	Judicial Assistant to the Collector at Satara, 17th April 1856.
H G	67	James Walker Robertson	„	a	21 July	28 Jan. 1848	8	11	4	„	Deputy Commissioner of Customs, Salt, and Opium, 31st March 1854.
H M	68	*Walter Adolphus Ritchie* ..	1848	a	1848 26 Jan.	4 June „	8	6	27	1856 4 June	First Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Ahmedabad, 27th December 1854. *(On leave to Europe on private affairs, for 1 year, from the ——.)*

	Nos.	NAMES.	Season of Appt.	Commencement of Service.	Date of Arrival.	Actual Residence in India.	Date of promotion to present grade.	HOW EMPLOYED.
				1847		*y. m. d.*	1856	
H G	69	Lionel Robert Ashburner....	1848	*c* 20 Dec.	26 Feb. 1848	8 10 4	4 June	First Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Kaira, 27th December 1854.
H M	70	*Charles Henry Cameron*....	„	22 Dec.	9 Feb. „	8 10 21	„	Assistant Judge and Session Judge of the Konkun, 31st May 1854. *(On leave to England, for the period of fifteen months, from the 17th January 1856.)*
H M	71	James Erskine Oliphant	„	*c* 23 Dec.	„	8 10 21	„	First Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Surat, 24th December 1856.
				1848				
H G	72	*James Mackintosh Erskine*..	„	*a* 26 Jan.	6 May „	8 7 26	„	First Assistant to the Accountant General, and Assistant to the Accountant of the Supreme Court, 26th September 1854. *(On leave to England, on medical certificate, for the period of fifteen months, from the 17th February 1856.)*
H M	73	John Frederick Armstrong ..	„	*c* 6 July	27 Sept. „	8 3 4	„	First Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Sholapoor, 27th December 1854.
H M	74	*Michael John Maxwell Stewart*	„	*a* 19 July	26 Jan. 1849	7 11 6	„	Assistant to the Commissioner in Sind, 19th January 1855. *(On leave to Europe, for the period of fifteen months, from the 6th March* 1856.)
H M	75	William D'Oyly.....	„	*a* „	27 Sept. 1848 7 Nov. 1855	8 3 4	„	Settlement Officer in Rutnagherry, 30th August 1854, and Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Rutnagherry. *Acting* 1st Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate, during the absence of Mr. Scott.
H M	76	Robert Ferguson Mactier....	„	*a* „	28 Dec. 1848	8 0 4	„	Senior Assistant Judge and Session Judge of Surat for the detached station of Broach, 19th March 1856.

CLASS V.

H M	77	Francis Stuart Chapman	1849	c	1849 22 Jan.	8 Mar. 1849	7	9 24	1853 8 Mar.	First Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Ahmednuggur, 27th December 1854.
H M	78	*The Hon'ble George Augustus Hobart*	„	c&a	24 Jan.	„	7	9 24	„	Assistant Judge and Session Judge in the Surat Zilla, 23rd May 1856. (*On leave to England, for the period of fifteen months, from the 12th May* 1856.)
H M	79	*Richard White*	„	c&a	20 Sept	2 Jan. 1850	6	9 16	„	Assistant Judge and Session Judge of Poona, and Assistant Agent for Sirdars in the Deccan, 25th October 1854. (*On leave to Europe, on sick certificate, for the period of twenty-one months, from the 17th October* 1855.)
H G	80	Charles Walter....	„	a	15 Aug.	31 Oct. 1849	7	2 1	„	Senior Assistant Judge and Session Judge of Ahmedabad, for the detached station of Kaira, 19th June 1856.
H M	81	Henry Bruce Boswell....	„	a	„	29 Dec. 1850	6	0 3	„	First Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Tanna, 17th July 1855.
H M	82	*Gordon Stewart Forbes*.....	1850	a	1850 2 Jan.	21 June „	6	0 6	1850 21 June	Second Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Tanna, 4th June 1853. (*On leave to Europe, for the period of twenty-one months, from the 27th June* 1855.)
H M	83	Edward Digby Neave	„	a	„	6 July 1850	6	5 26	„	First Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Khandeish, 19th Sept. 1855.
H M	84	Stewart St. John Gordon ..	„	c	4th July	9 Jan. 1851 21 July 1855	4	10 23	„	First Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Dharwar, 12th March 1856.
H M	85	Charles Forbes Hodson Shaw.	„	c	13 July	21 Aug. 1850	6	4 11	„	Supernumerary 1st Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Ahmednuggur, 20th September 1856.

Nos.	NAMES.	Season of Appt.	Commencement of Service.	Date of Arrival.	Actual Residence in India.	Date of promotion to present grade.	HOW EMPLOYED.
					y. m. d.		
H M 86	Charles Gurdon Kemball	1850	1850 *a* 14 Aug.	25 Nov. 1850	6 1 6	1854 21 June	Deputy Magistrate in charge of the Adawlut at Shikarpoor, 25th April 1855. *Acting* Assistant Judge and Session Judge of Poona, and *Acting* Assistant Agent for Sirdars in the Deccan.
H M 87	Robert Hill Pinhey	1851	1851 *c* 14 Jan.	23 Feb. 1851	5 10 6	1855 23 Feb.	Assistant Judge and Session Judge at Dharwar, 9th January 1855. *Acting* Senior Assistant Judge and Session Judge of the Konkun for the detached Station of Rutnagherry, 19th March 1856.
H M C 88	John Raynor Arthur..	„	*a* 15 Jan.	4 May „	5 7 28	„	Second Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Dharwar, 21st March 1855. *Acting* Assistant Judge and Session Judge of Dharwar, 26th March 1856.
H M 89	Arthur Bosanquet	„	*a* „	23 Apr. „	5 8 8	„	Assistant Judge and Session Judge of Ahmedabad until further orders, 19th June 1856.
H G 90	Edward William Ravenscroft.	„	*a* „	24 May „ 4 Mar. 1854	4 8 18	„	On special duty under Captain Cowper, Special Commissioner in the Alienation Department, and Assistant to all the Collectors in Guzerat.
H G 91	*Elphinstone Pourtales Robertson*	„	*a* „	27 May 1851	4 1 27	„	*On leave to England, on sick certificate, for the period of three years, from the 23rd May 1854.*
H G 92	Arthur Egypt Donoughmore Grey	„	*a* 10 Sept.	25 Nov. „	5 1 6	„	Assistant Judge and Session Judge at Ahmednuggur, 23rd May 1856.
H C 93	Robert William Lodwick	„	*c* 28 July	23 Sept. „	5 3 8	„	Second Assistant to the Accountant General, 26th August 1854. *Acting* First Assistant to ditto, 1st February 1856. Secretary to the Mint Committee, 17th December 1855.
H M Coll. S. 94	John William Stack	1852	1852 *c* 15 Jan.	8 Mar. 1852	4 9 24	1856 8 Mar.	Judicial Deputy Magistrate in Sind (Hyderabad Collectorate), 19th July 1856.

H M	95	Thomas Weeding	„	1851 c 23 Dec.	19 April „ 22 Dec. 1856	4	8	12	„	Second Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate in Khandeish, 6th October 1855.
H M	96	Hugh Barlow Lindsay	„	1852 a 14 Jan.	21 May 1852	4	7	11	„	Second Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Ahmedabad, 20th September 1856.
H M	97	James Adam Gordon Duff ..	„	1851 c 26 Dec.	23 Mar. „	4	9	9	„	Second Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Sholapoor, 2nd April 1856.
H M	98	John Lodwick Warden.....	„	c 31 Dec.	8 Mar. „	4	9	24	„	Second Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Ahmednuggur, 12th March 1856. (*Acting* Assistant Judge and Session Judge of the Konkun, 19th June 1856.)
H G	99	William Sandwith	„	1852 a 14 Jan.	23 Mar. „	4	9	9	„	Second Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Surat, 2nd April 1856. (*Acting* Assistant Judge and Session Judge of Surat, 19th June 1856.)

CLASS VI.

H M G	100	Theodore Cracroft Hope	1853	c 13 Jan.	5 June 1853	3	6	26	1853 5 June	Educational Inspector for the Guzerat Division, 9th May 1855.
H G	101	Henry Napier Bruce Erskine.	„	1853 c 23 Mar.	23 Sept. „	3	3	8	„	Second Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Belgaum, 20th September 1856.
H G	102	James George White.....	„	c 29 Aug.	23 Feb. „	3	10	6	„	Third Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Broach, 20th September 1856.
H G	103	Forster Fitzgerald Arbuthnot.	„	1852 c 20 Dec.	10 Mar. „	3	9	21	„	Second Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Kaira, 2nd April 1856. (On special duty under Captain Cowper, Special Commissioner at Sattara &c., and Assistant Collector in all the Collectorates in Guzerat.)

Nos.	NAMES.	Season of Appt.	Commencement of Service.	Date of Arrival.	Actual Residence in India.	Date of promotion to present grade.	HOW EMPLOYED.
					y. m. d.		
M 104	Reginald Phillipps.....	1853	1853 *c* 15 Aug.	30 Dec. 1853	3 0 2	1853 5 June	Third Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Khandeish, 20th September 1856.
G 105	Jeremiah Moriarty	1854	*c* 14 Dec.	8 Apr. 1854	2 8 23	1854 8 Apr.	Third Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Surat, 2nd April 1856, and *Acting* 2nd Assistant to ditto, 20th September 1856.
H M 106	Charles Gonne.....	„	1854 *c* 2 Jan.	10 Mar. „	2 9 22	„	Second Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Poona, 20th September 1856.
G 107	George William Anderson....	„	*c* 11 Jan.	21 Feb. „	2 10 8	„	Third Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Kaira, 20th September 1856.
H C 108	Gilbert Wray Elliot	„	1853 *c* 15 Dec.	22 Jan. „	2 11 10	„	Third Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Dharwar, 12th November 1856.
M 109	Robert William Hunter.....	„	1854 *c* 12 Oct.	10 Dec. „	2 0 22	„	Third Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Tanna, 20th September 1856.
M 110	Theodore Bosanquet	„	*c* 14 Aug.	17 Jan. 1855	1 11 15	„	Third Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Sholapore, 20th September 1856.
M 111	George Frederick Sheppard..	„	*c* 9 Aug.	23 Nov. 1854	2 1 8	„	Third Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Ahmednuggur, 12th March 1856.
M 112	William Mant. Coghlan.....	„	*c* 18 Dec.	25 Feb. 1855	1 10 4	....	Supernumerary Third Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Poona, 20th Sept. 1856.
M 113	Arthur J. de H. Larpent	„	*c* 4 Oct.	21 Jan. „	1 11 11	....	Third Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Poona, 12th March 1856.
M 114	Arthur Travers Crawford....	1855	*c* 28 Dec.	9 Feb. „	1 10 20	1855 9 Feb.	Third Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Satara, 12th March 1856.
M 115	John Elphinston	„	1855 *c* 3 Jan.	25 Feb. „	1 10 4	„	Third Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate at Rutnagherry, 12th March 1856.
M 116	Maxwell Melvill.....	„	*c* 18 Sept.	7 Nov. „	1 1 24	....	Supernumerary Third Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Satara, 18th December 1856.

G M	117	Gustavus George Blenkinsop Coulson	„	*a* 18 Dec.	23 Jan. 1856	0	11	9	....	Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Kaira.
G	118	Alexander Alfred Borrodaile.	„	*c* 18 Sept.	10 Dec. 1855	1	0	22	....	Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Surat, 9th April 1856.
M	119	Charles Robertson Ovans....	„	*c* 7 July	7 Nov. „	1	1	24	....	Supernumerary Third Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Tanna, 20th Sept. 1856.
G	120	Gerard Norman.....	„	*c* 7 Nov.	9 Jan. 1856	0	11	23	....	Studying Murathee at Ahmednuggur.
G	121	William Wybrow Robertson..	„	*c* 30 Aug.	7 Nov. 1855	1	1	24	....	Studying Murathee at Tanna.
M	122	Francis Dawes Melvill.....	1856	*c* 31 Dec.	22 Feb. 1856	0	10	8	1856 22 Feb.	Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Dharwar, 9th April 1856.
M G	123	William Mayor Salmon.....	„	*c* 31 Dec.	„	0	10	8	„	Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Broach.
G M	124	Edward Hope Percival.....	„	*c* 27 Dec. 1856	„	0	10	8	„	Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Ahmedabad.
	125	Archibald Lockhart Spens ..	„	*c* 1 Jan.	22 May „	0	7	10	„	Studying Murathee at Tanna.
	126	Arthur Ramsay Macdonald ..	„	*c* 8 Feb.	22 Feb. „	0	10	8	„	Do. do. at Ahmednuggur.
	127	James Braithwaite Peile	..	....	8 Oct. „	0	2	24	....	Studying Murathee at Tanna.
	128	William Ramsay.....	..	....	„	....			....	Ditto ditto.
	129	William George Pedder.....	..	....	„	....			....	Studying Guzerathee at Surat.
	130	Raymont West	..	....	18 Sept. „	0	3	13	....	Studying Murathee under the Collector of Ahmednuggur.
	131	Cornelius Daly	..	....	23 Oct. „	0	2	9	....	Ditto ditto.
	132	Bulkley John Mackworth Praed.....	..	...	6 Nov. „	0	1	25	....	Studying Guzerathee at Surat.
	133	Jameson Alers Hankey.....	..	....	7 Dec. „	0	0	25	....	Ditto ditto.
	134	William Henry Propert	..	....	6 Nov. „	0	1	25	....	Studying Guzerathee at Surat.
	135	John George Moore	..	....	„	0	1	25	....	Studying Canarese under Collector of Belgaum.
	136	Ferguson Macnaghten.....	..	....	....	....			....	Not arrived.
	137	William Heartley Newnham.	..	....	7 Dec. „	0	0	25	....	Studying Murathee at Satara.
	138	John William Shaw Wyllie..	..	....	„ „	0	0	25	....	
	139	Richard Burton Worthington.	..	....	23 Nov. „	0	1	8	....	Studying Murathee at Tanna.
	140	James Bellot Richey	..	....	7 Dec. „	0	0	25	....	Studying Guzerathee at Surat.
	141	Henry Martyn Thelwall	..	....	....	....			....	Not arrived.

CASUALTIES.

J. Webb ..... Resigned 7th August 1856.
H. Liddell..... Do. 4th December 1856.

CIVIL SERVANTS ABSENT ON LEAVE TO EUROPE.

No. in Gradation Civil List.	Names.	Date of leaving India.	Length of Leave granted.	Leave Expires.
4	G. Grant	10th May 1853	4 years	10th May 1857
13	M. Larken	17th October 1855	21 months	17th July 1857
27	H. B. E. Frere	3rd February 1856	15 months	3rd May 1857
42	C. Forbes	29th January 1853	4 years	29th January 1857
43	A. D. Robertson	30th August 1854	3 years	30th August 1857
46	A. F. Bellasis	17th April 1856	3 years	17th April 1859
48	A. Gray	28th February 1854	3 years	28th February 1857
51	B. H. Ellis	17th February 1855	3 years	17th February 1858
52	L. H. B. Tucker	28th April 1854	3 years	28th April 1857
53	C. J. Manson	17th April 1856	2 years	17th April 1858
54	H. Newton	17th January 1856	2 years	17th January 1858
55	F. Lloyd	17th April 1856	2 years	17th April 1858
57	A. Rogers	3rd February 1856	1 year	3rd February 1857
68	W. A. Ritchie	Has not yet left	1 year	
70	C. H. Cameron	17th January 1856	15 months	17th April 1857
72	J. M. Erskine	17th February 1856	15 months	17th May 1857
74	M. J. M. Stewart	6th March 1856	15 months	6th June 1857
78	The Hon'ble G. A. Hobart	12th May 1856	15 months	12th August 1857
79	R. White	17th October 1855	21 months	17th July 1857
82	G. S. Forbes	27th June 1855	21 months	27th March 1857
91	E. P. Robertson	23rd May 1854	3 years	23rd May 1857

ECCLESIASTICAL ESTABLISHMENT.

The Right Rev. John Harding, D.D., Lord Bishop of Bombay; Consecrated 10th Aug. 1851. Arrived on the 25th Nov. 1851.

The Venerable F. C. P. Reynolds, B.A., Archdeacon and Commissary.

James Henry Standen, Registrar of the Diocese.

No.	Names.	Date and Season of Appointment.	Date of Arrival.	Stations, &c.
		CHAPLAINS.		
1	The Rev. W. K. Fletcher, M.A.	1st July 1832.....	2nd March 1833...	Senior Chaplain at the Presidency.
2	„ J. H. Hughes, M.A. ...	15th July 1835.....	16th May 1836.....	Surat, visiting Baroda and Broach each six times in the year.
3	„ F. J. Spring, M.A.....	5th January 1838.	8th January 1839.	Junior Presidency and Garrison Chaplain.
4	„ G. Morison, M. A	28th August 1840.	22nd January 1841.	Chaplain in the Southern Konkun. *(Acting* Chaplain of Maligaum.)
5	„ P. Anderson, M.A.	31st December 1841.	8th May 1842 ...	Colaba. (Officiating Chaplain at Malcompeit, from 1 Oct. 1856 to 31 May 1857.)
6	The Ven. F. C. P. Reynolds, B.A.	17th January 1842.	9th April „	Archdeacon and Commissary.
7	The Rev. W. Goodall, M.A.	28th May „	29th Sept. „	Ahmednuggur and Seroor.
8	„ H. H. Brereton, B.A ...	15th July „	6th „ „	Chaplain at Dapoolee ; doing duty at Belgaum and visiting Bowra.

	Names.	Date and Season of Appointment.	Date of Arrival.	Stations, &c.
9	The Rev. *R. E. Tyrwhitt*, M.A....	2nd August 1842.	12th October 1842.	Nusseerabad. *On leave for 3 months from 18th October* 1856.
10	„ *C. Laing*, M.A.	16th „ „	29th January 1843.	*On furlough to England, for the period of three years, from the 16th March* 1856.
		ASSISTANT CHAPLAINS.		
11	The Rev. J. Churchill, M.A.	2nd June 1843...	7th July 1843 ...	Belgaum and Dharwar.
12	„ G. P. Badger	3rd March 1845...	9th May 1845 ...	Aden.
13	„ J. J. W. Jervis, B.A....	3rd May „	10th June „	Bhooj, visiting Rajkot once a month.
14	„ J. F. Goldstein	3rd June 1846 ...	26th July 1846 ...	Sholapoor and Kulladgee.
15	„ G. L. Allen.....	3rd Dec. 1845 ...	.....	Deesa.
16	„ W. H. Schwabe, B.A...	3rd January 1846.	11th February 1846.	Chaplain at Neemuch.
17	„ G. L. Fenton, B.A.	3rd March 1847 ..	29th April 1847 ...	Assistant Chaplain, Poona, periodically visiting Singhur and Poorundhur.
18	„ *T. Watson, B.A.*	10th August „	8th Dec. „	*On leave to England, for the period of* 18 *months, from the 29th January* 1856.
19	„ M. J. T. Boys, M.A. ...	20th Dec. „	24th February 1848.	Junior Chaplain of Poona. Officiating Chaplain at Colaba.

20	„	J. D. Gibson, M.A. ...	3rd January „	9th „ „	Byculla and Tanna.
21	„	W. Carr, B.A.....	20th July 1849 ...	22nd August 1849.	Assistant Chaplain at Kurrachee.
22	„	*D. H. Cotes*, B.A.	20th Aug. „	12th Dec. „	Sattara. *On leave to England, for the period of twenty-one months, from the 13th September* 1855.
23	„	E. N. Dickenson	29th July 1850 ...	25th October 1850.	*Acting* Chaplain of Sattara.
24	„	G. N. Mitford	20th January 1851.	23rd February 1851.	Ahmedabad, visiting Kaira four times in the year.
25	„	W. H. Cummins, B.A...	21st July 1854..	22nd Nov. 1854...	Chaplain of the Harbour.
26	„	G. A. F. Watson, M.A...	20th July 1855...	12th August 1855.	Junior Chaplain at Belgaum.
27	„	Charles Thomas Wilson, M.A.....	4th October „	7th Nov. „	Chaplain of Hyderabad. Doing duty at Kirkee during the Rev. Mr. Reynolds' absence.
28	„	Francis Gell, B.A.....	....	9th March 1856..	Second Chaplain at Kurrachee. *Acting* Chaplain at Hyderabad.
29	„	Alexander Miller, B.A..		23rd Nov. „	*Acting* Chaplain of the Harbour.
30	„	Robert Easum, M.A....	....	Not arrived	

ESTABLISHED CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

					[*months from* 12*th Nov.* 1856.)
1	The Rev.	*G. Cook*, M.A.....	24th Nov. 1841	15th Jan. 1842 ..	Senior Minister. *(On leave for* 3
2	„	R. F. Colvin	18th Oct. 1854	23rd Nov. 1854 ..	Junior Minister.

SECRETARIES TO GOVERNMENT.

12 H. Young, Officiating Chief Secretary, and Secretary to Government in the Revenue, Financial and Separate departments.
30 W. Hart, Secretary to Government in the General, Ecclesiastical, Public Works departments, and Railway branch.
40 H. L. Anderson, Secretary to Government in the Political, Secret, and Judicial departments, and in charge of the Secretariat duties of the Persian department.
Colonel P. M. Melvill, Secretary to Government in the Military and Marine departments.

UNCOVENANTED ASSISTANT SECRETARIES.

N. Spencer, Military and Marine departments.
R. Hughes Thomas, Political and Secret departments.
E. T. G. Pearson, Judicial department.
Wassoodeo Pandoorung, Revenue and Financial departments.
E. J. Pratt, General, Ecclesiastical, and Public Works departments.

ORIENTAL TRANSLATOR TO GOVERNMENT.

Venayek Wassoodew. (Uncovenanted.)

Political Appointments.

RESIDENTS, POLITICAL AGENTS, AND POLITICAL SUPERINTENDENTS.

CIVIL CORPS IN THE POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

APPOINTMENTS HELD UNDER HER MAJESTY.

FOREIGN CONSULS AT BOMBAY.

POLITICAL APPOINTMENTS.

SIND.

27 *H. B. E. Frere*, Commissioner. *(On leave to England until the 3rd May* 1857.*)*

Lieut. Col. John Jacob, C.B., Artillery, *Acting* Do.

63 J. Gibbs, Assistant Commissioner in the Political and Judicial [branches.

Lieut. Col. John Jacob, C.B., Artillery, Political Superintendent, and Commandant on the Frontier of Upper Sind, and Magistrate in Sind. Honorary Aide-de-Camp to the Right Honorable the Governor General of India. (*Acting* Commissioner in Sind.)

H Captain W. L. Merewether, 3rd Bombay European Regt., *Acting* Political Superintendent and Commandant on the Frontier of Upper Sind.

Lieut. W. L. Briggs, 22nd Regt. Bombay N. I., Assistant ditto.

KATTEEWAR.

H M Colonel W. Lang, 3rd European Regt., Political Agent.

H Captain J. T. Barr, 7th Regt. N. I., 1st Assistant.

H M P G S Lieut. A. Y. Shortt, 12th Regt. N. I., 2nd Assistant.

H M G Lieut. J. T. Nicholson, 23rd Regt. Bombay N. I., 3rd Assistant.

(Vacant), Superintendent of the Gaekwar Contingent of Horse.

Captain W. W. Anderson, 1st Regt. L. C., *Acting* ditto.

H *Assistant Surgeon W. F. Clay*, Civil Surgeon. (*Allowed a furlough to Europe, on medical certificate, for eighteen months.*)

Assistant Surgeon J. R. Miller, M. D., *Officiating* ditto.

—— superintending the construction of Roads and Public Works in Katteewar.

KUTCH.

H M P Lieut. Colonel George LeGrand Jacob, 8th Regt. N. I., Political Agent.

H G Capt. S. N. Raikes, 18th Regt. N. I., Assistant, and in charge of the Irregular Horse in Kutch. Also Deputy Collector of the Thurr and Parkur.

Sub-Assist. Surgeon Sudaseo Hemraz, in charge of Civil Medical duties.

MAHEE KANTA.

H Major C. R. Whitelock, 11th Regt. N. I., Political Agent.

(Vacant), Assist. Political Agent, and Sup. of the Gaekwar Contingent.

Major E. Baynes, 20th Regt. N. I., *Acting* do. (Placed temporarily at the disposal of H. E. the Commander in Chief.)

REWA KANTA.

H *Major R. Wallace,* 18th Regt. N. I., Political Agent. (*On furlough to Europe, on sick certificate, for fifteen months.*)

H M *Capt. C. Buckle,* 3rd Regt. Light Cavalry, temporary Assistant, in charge of Rajpeepla. (*Officiating* Political Agent in the Rewa Kanta temporarily.)

H Lieut. C. B. Whish, H. M.'s 14th Light Dragoons, superintending the construction of Roads and Public Works in the Rewa Kanta.

KOLHAPOOR.

Lieut. Col. T. Maughan, 11th Regt. N. I., Political Superintendent of Kolhapoor, and Commandant of Infantry Corps.

H M G P Capt. J. W. Schneider, 2nd Grenadier Regt. N. I., 2nd in Command and Adjutant of Infantry Corps, and Assistant to the Political Superintendent.

H M Assistant Surgeon F. Broughton, Civil Surgeon.

SAWUNT WAREE.

Major J. W. Auld, 26th Regt. N. I., Political Superintendent, and Commandant of the Sawunt Waree Local Corps.

H M *Lieut. F. Schneider,* 3rd European Regt., 2nd in Command, and Assistant Political Superintendent. (*Acting* Assist. Political Agent in the Southern Muratha Country.)

H M Lieut. A. C. Way, 28th Regt. N. I., *Officiating* do.

H M Lieut. A. C. Way, 28th Regt. N. I., Adjutant of do.

Sub-Assistant Surgeon R. Spencer, in Medical Charge of the Superintendency.

PAHLUNPOOR.

H M Lieut. Colonel J. R. Keily, 20th Regt. N. I., Political Superintendent.

BELGAUM.

34 G. B. Seton Karr, Political Agent in the Southern Muratha Country.

H M Lieut. F. Schneider, 3rd European Regt., *Acting* Assistant Political Agent.

SURAT.

25 H. Hebbert, Agent for the Right Honorable the Governor.

ADEN.

Colonel W. M. Coghlan, Artillery, Political Resident and Commandant.
A Lieutenant R. L. Playfair, Madras Artillery, Assistant to the Resident.
H M P A S Ensign H. Moore, 6th Regt. N. I., Lieutenant of Police.
H Assistant Surgeon J. F. Steinhaeuser, Civil Surgeon.
Hormuzd Rassam, Interpreter to the Residency.
Captain J. Frushard, I. N., Senior Naval Officer at Aden.
R. Waller, Harbour Master and Coal Agent.

PERSIAN GULF.

Commander J. F. Jones, I. N., Political Agent and Resident.
H P Lieut. H. F. Disbrowe, 1st European Regiment (Fusiliers), Assistant.
Assistant Surgeon J. McAlister, Residency Surgeon.
Captain R. Ethersey, I. N., Commodore in the Persian Gulf.

ZANZIBAR.

H Lt. Col. Atkins Hamerton, 2nd (or Gr.) Regt. N. I., H. M.'s Consul at Zanzibar and Hon'ble Company's Agent in the dominions of H. H. the Imaum of Muscat.
Apothecary T. Frost, in Medical charge.

TURKISH ARABIA.

H M Captain A. B. Kemball, Political Agent in Turkish Arabia, and H. M. Consul at Bagdad.
Assistant Surgeon J. McA. Hyslop, M.D., Surgeon to the Agency. *(On furlough to Europe for fifteen months, on medical certificate.)*

POONA.

H Assistant Surgeon J. Keith, M.D., in charge of the (2) Ex-Ameers of Sind, at Poona.

KHANDESH.

Western Bheel Agent, and Political Assistant to the Collector in Khandesh, with reference to Act XI. of 1846. — H M *Lieut. F. W. M. Atkins*, 20th Regt. N. I. (Placed temporarily at the disposal of H. E. the Commander in Chief.)
Political Assistant to the Collector in Khandesh ..... — H Major A. M. Hazelwood, 3rd Regt. N. I.
Extra ditto ..... — H Q W. Fenner.

POLITICAL CIVIL CORPS, &c.

BARODA.

Guzerat Irregular Horse.

H G Capt. S. J. K. Whitehill, 23rd Regt. N. I., Commandant of the Guzerat Irregular Horse, and Deputy Magistrate in the Ahmedabad, Surat, Broach, and Kaira Collectorates, with the full powers of a Magistrate.

H Lieut. J. A. Pym, 2nd Regt. L. C., Second in Command, and Assistant Magistrate in the Ahmedabad, Kaira, Broach, and Surat Zillas. (*Acting* Adjutant, as a temporary measure.)

Lieut. P. H. LeGeyt, 3rd L. C. (Placed temporarily at the disposal of H. E. the Commander in Chief.) Adjutant, Assistant Magistrate in the Ahmedabad, Kaira, Broach, and Surat Zillas.

Assistant Surgeon R. Nicholson, M.D., in Medical charge.

SATARA.

Southern Muratha Irregular Horse.

H Lieut. Colonel G. Malcolm, 1st Gren. Regt. N. I., Commandant.

H M *Lieut. A. F. Battye, 25th Regt. N. I., Second in Command.

H M *Lieut. W. A. Kerr, 24th Regt. N. I., Adjutant.

Assistant Surgeon C. J. F. Imlach, M.D., in Medical charge.

*(*These Officers are Assistant Magistrates in Sholapoor, Belgaum, and Dharwar.)*

APPOINTMENTS HELD UNDER HER MAJESTY.

PERSIA.

The Hon'ble C. A. Murray, C.B., H. M.'s Envoy Extraordinary, and Minister Plenipotentiary.

H M P Capt. R. L. Taylor, 18th Regt. Bombay N. I., employed on special duty under the Envoy.

EGYPT.

The Hon'ble F. W. A. Bruce.....H. M.'s Agent and Consul General in Egypt.

Alfred J. Walne.....Consul at Cairo.

George West .....Vice Consul at Suez.

BAGDAD.

H M Captain A. B. Kemball, Bombay Artillery, Consul.

BUSSORA.

John G. Taylor, Vice-Consul.

MUSCAT AND ZANZIBAR.

H Lieut. Col. A. Hamerton, Consul.

ABYSSINIA.

Walter Plowden, Consul.

JUDDA.

A *C. J. D. Cole*, Vice-Consul. *(Absent on sick leave.)*
S. Page, *Acting* Do.

FOREIGN CONSULS AT BOMBAY.

America. (United States.)
Edward Ely.

Austria.
A. H. Campbell (Absent).
M. S. Campbell *(Acting).*

Belgium.
J. G. Volkart.

Bremen.
Gustav Ventz (Absent).
Augustus Gompert (*Acting*).

France.
Maclean Lee (Absent).
E. Touche (*Acting*).

Hamburg.
Gustav Ventz (Absent).
Augustus Gompert. (*Acting*).

Ottoman Consul.

Persia.

Prussia.
F. Matthey (Absent in England).

Sardinia.
John Theodore Zorn (In Europe).
Robert Knight, *Acting* Vice Consul.

Portuguese Agent for Goa.
Braz Fernandes.

Revenue and Financial Appointments.

COLLECTORS AND MAGISTRATES, NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN DIVISIONS.

ASSISTANT DITTO DITTO.

DEPUTY AND DISTRICT DITTO.

OFFICERS ON SPECIAL REVENUE DUTY.

REVENUE SURVEY ESTABLISHMENTS.

INAM COMMISSION.

LAND REVENUE.

CUSTOMS, SALT, AND OPIUM.

ACCOUNTANT GENERAL'S AND CIVIL AUDITOR'S OFFICES.

GENERAL TREASURY, &c.

MINT COMMITTEE.

BANK OF BOMBAY.

GOVERNMENT SAVINGS' BANK.

REVENUE APPOINTMENTS.

REVENUE COMMISSIONERS.

NORTHERN DIVISION.

5 E. G. Fawcett, Revenue Commissioner.

SOUTHERN DIVISION.

6 H. W. Reeves, Revenue Commissioner.

COLLECTORS AND MAGISTRATES.

NORTHERN DIVISION.

AHMEDABAD COLLECTORATE.

Collector and Magistrate	33 J. W. Hadow	In charge of Dholka, Dandooka, and Gogo.
First Assistant do.....	68 *W. A. Ritchie*.....	Vested with the full penal powers of a Magistrate. (*On leave.*)
Second do.	96 H. B. Lindsay.....	In charge of Duskrohie and Jettulpoor. Vested with the full penal powers of a Magistrate.
Third do.	.....	
Assistant.....	124 E. H. Percival.....	
Deputy Collector and Magistrate..	@ T. S. Jordan	(Uncovenanted).
District do. do.....	Rao Bahadoor Rughoonath Ramchunder.....	In charge of Purantej and Veerumgaum.

BROACH COLLECTORATE.

Collector and Magistrate	59 C. J. Davies	
First Assistant do.	(Vacant)	In permanent charge of the Districts of Jumbooseer and Ahmode.
Second do.		
Third do.	102 J. G. White	
Assistant	123 W. M. Salmon	
Deputy Collector and Magistrate	Nowrojee Byramjee	(Uncovenanted).
District do. do.	Rao Bahadoor Runchoorbhaee Oomeasunker	In charge of Wagra and Dehej.

KAIRA COLLECTORATE.

Collector and Magistrate	32 J. R. Morgan	[rah, and Mhoonda.
First Assistant do.	69 L. R. Ashburner	In permanent charge of Kuppurwunj, Tans-
Second do.	103 *F. F. Arbuthnot*	On special duty under Capt. Cowper, Special Commissioner.
Third do.	107 G. W. Anderson	In charge of the Nepar and Borsud Talookas.
Assistant	117 G. G. B. Coulson	
Deputy Collector and Magistrate	W. F. A. Spry	(Uncovenanted).
District do. do.	Rao Bahadoor Choonilal Venilal.	In charge of the Neriad Talooka.

KHANDESH COLLECTORATE.

Collector and Magistrate	28 S. Mansfield	[Act XI. of 1846. Is also Agent for carrying out the objects of
First Assistant do.	83 E. D. Neave	In charge of Malligaum, Baglan, and Pim- [pulnair.
Supernumerary do.	56 A. R. Grant	In permanent charge of the Sowda, Yawul,
Second do.	95 T. Weeding	[and Chopra Talookas.

KHANDESH COLLECTORATE *(continued)*.		[Talookas.
Third Assistant	104 R. Phillipps.....	In charge of the Umulnair and Thalnair
Deputy Collector and Magistrate.	M Rao Bahadoor Ram Naid...	(Uncovenanted). In charge of Dhoolia Talooka.
Ditto do. do.....	A. F. Davidson	(Uncovenanted). Superintendent Khandesh Revenue Survey.
District do. do.....	Rao Bahadoor Narro Wittul Champekur	[Talookas. In charge of the Chalisgaum and Burgaum
Ditto do. do.....	Rao Bahadoor Shreeput Wittul....	In charge of the Nundoorbar, and Sooltanpoor Talookas.
SURAT COLLECTORATE.		
Collector and Magistrate.....	38 G. Inverarity.....	
First Assistant do.....	71 J. E. Oliphant	In permanent charge of the Districts of Bugwara, Parneer, and Bulsar.
Second do.....	99 *W. Sandwith*.....	In charge of the District of Walore Surbhone and Pachole. (*Acting* Assist. Judge and Session Judge, Surat.)
Acting do	105 J. Moriarty.....	
Third do.....	105 J. Moriarty.....	In permanent charge of the Districts of Mand-
Assistant		[vee and Kunode.
Ditto	118 A. A. Borrodaile.....	
Deputy Collector and Magistrate..	W. M. Kelly	(Uncovenanted).
District do. do.....	Rao Bah. Dajeebhaee Soonderlall.	(Do.) In permanent charge of the Districts of Soopa and Cheekly.
TANNA COLLECTORATE.		
Collector and Magistrate.....	17 E. C. Jones.....	[and Tulloja.
First Assistant do.	81 H. B. Boswell	In charge of Callian, Bhewndy, Moorba,
Second do.....	82 *G. S. Forbes*	*(On leave to Europe, for the period of twenty-one months, from the 27th June* 1855.)

Third Assistant	109 R. W. Hunter.....	In charge of the Talookas of Bassein and Mahim.
Supernumerary Third Assistant..	119 C. R. Ovans	In temporary charge of the Talookas of Panwell and Nusrapoor.
Deputy Collector and Magistrate..	H M *R. H. Showell*.....	(Uncovenanted). *On leave to England, for the period of twelve months, from the 28th April* 1856.
Acting do. do.....	Rao Bahadoor Dadoba Pandoorung.....	
District Deputy do. do....	(Vacant)	In charge of the Sunjan and Kolwun Talookas.

COLABA SUB-COLLECTORATE.

Sub-Collector and Joint Magistrate	58 L. Reid	
Deputy do	Rao Bahadoor Ballajee Krishn Koosoorkur.....	[pooree, and Rajghur. In charge of the Talookas of Sankree, Raj-

HILL STATION OF MATHERAN.

Acting Superintendent & Assistant to the Magistrate of Tanna	Lieut. H. R. Parker	

SOUTHERN DIVISION.

AHMEDNUGGUR COLLECTORATE.

Collector and Magistrate.....	35 C. E. F. Tytler.....	[Theogaon, and Ahmednuggur Talookas.
First Assistant do.....	77 F. S. Chapman.....	In charge of the Kurdah, Koartee, Jamkheir,
Supernumerary First Assistant ..	85 C. F. H. Shaw	Vested with the full powers of a Magistrate, except the power of review.
Second do.....	98 *J. L. Warden*.....	In permanent charge of the Talookas of Ankola, Sungumnair, and Patoda. (*Acting* Assist. Judge and Session Judge of the Konkun.)

AHMEDNUGGUR COLLECTORATE *(continued)*.

Third Assistant	111 G. F. Sheppard	In charge of the Districts of Shewgaon and Neywasa.
Deputy Collector and Magistrate..	Rao Bahadoor *DadobaPandoorung*.	(Uncovenanted). *Acting* Deputy Collector & Magistrate at Tanna.
Acting do. do.....	Rao Bahadoor Ramchunder Amrut Duglé	
District do. do.....	Rao Bahadoor Krishnajee Wasdeo.	(Uncovenanted). In charge of the Sungumnair and Ankolla Districts.
Assistant Magistrate	M Surgeon S. M. Pelly.	
District Depy. Collr. & Magistrate.	Rao Bahadoor Wamun Rao Gunesh Gunpooley.	In charge of the Districts of Sinnur and Kownaee.

BELGAUM COLLECTORATE.

Collector and Magistrate.....	34 G. B. Seton Karr	Is also Political Agent in the S. M. Country.
First Assistant do...	64 W. H. Havelock	In charge of Uthnee, Bagulkotta, Badamee, and Hoongoond.
Second do.....	101 H. N. B. Erskine	In permanent charge of the Districts of Chickodee and Pursgurh.
Third do.....		
Deputy Collector and Magistrate..	Rao Bahadoor Ragoba Junardhun.	(Uncovenanted).
District do. do.....	Rao Bahadoor Gunesh Ramchunder	[Gokak Talookas. (Do.) In charge of the Uthnee and

DHARWAR COLLECTORATE.

Collector and Magistrate.....	18 T. Ogilvy	
First Assistant do.....	84 S. St. J. Gordon	In charge of the Hooblee, Bankapoor, and Hangul Talookas.

Second do.	88	*J. R. Arthur*	In charge of the Dharwar, Nuwulgoond and Dumbul Talookas. *Acting* Assistant Judge and Session Judge of Dharwar.
Acting do.			
Third do.	108	G. W. Elliot	
Assistant	122	F. D. Melvill	
District Depy. Collr. & Magistrate.		Rao Bahadoor Wittul Rao Narayen	[Talookas. In charge of the Kodee and Raneebednoor

POONA COLLECTORATE.

Collector and Magistrate	29	D. Davidson	[Talookas.
First Assistant do.	62	J. S. Inverarity	In charge of the Khair, Havelly, and Mewul
Second do.	106	C. Gonne	In charge of the Joonere and Pabul Talookas.
Third do.	113	A. J. de H. Larpent	In charge of the Poorundhur and Bheemthurry Talookas.
Supernumerary Third Assistant	112	W. M. Coghlan	
Deputy Collector and Magistrate.		Rao Bahadoor Nana Morojee	(Uncovenanted).
District do. do.		(Vacant)	(Do.) In charge of the Indapoor Talooka.

RUTNAGHERRY COLLECTORATE.

Collector and Magistrate	9	*R. Spooner*	Officiating Commissioner of Customs, Salt, and Opium.
Officiating do.	37	W. J. Turquand	
First Assistant do.	65	*G. Scott*	*On leave.*
Acting do.	75	W. D'Oyly	
Second do.			

RUTNAGHERRY COLLECTORATE *(continued)*.

Third Assistant	115 J. Elphinston	In charge of the Unjunwell and Soowurndroog Talookas.
Deputy Collector and Magistrate	H M J. H. Trott	(Uncovenanted).
District Deputy do. do.	Khan Bahadoor Hussain Mahomed Fureed	(Do). In charge of the Rutnagherry Talooka.

SHOLAPOOR COLLECTORATE.

Collector and Magistrate	41 W. A. Goldfinch	[and Kurmulla Talookas.
First Assistant do.	73 J. F. Armstrong	In charge of the Sholapoor, Mahole, Marah
Second Assistant	97 J. A. G. Duff	In charge of the Talookas of Indee and Hy- [purga.
Third do.	110 T. Bosanquet	In charge of Barsee and the Magisterial [work at Sholapoor.
Deputy Collector and Magistrate	C W. Raymer	(Uncovenanted).
District do. do.	Rao Bahadoor Ballajee Attiajee Sumbhoos	[Talookas. In charge of the Mungolee and Moodibehal

SATARA COLLECTORATE.

Collector and Magistrate	22 J. N. Rose	[bleshwar- Is also Collector and Magistrate for Maha-
First Revenue Assistant	M Lieut. H. B. Sandford, Artillery.	In permanent charge of the Districts of Koregaum, Targaum, Kural, and Walwun.
Second do. do.	H M *Captain W. C. Parr*, 24th Regt. N. I.	In permanent charge of Rudurpoor, Waee, and Sadee. *(On leave to England, for the period of fifteen months, from the 28th April* 1856.*)*
Acting do. do.	Lieut. C. F. Boulton, 27th Regt. N. I.	

Third do. do.	114 A. T. Crawford	In permanent charge of Beejapoor, Khanapoor, and Satara.
Supernumerary Third Assistant ..	116 M. Melvill	
Deputy Collector and Magistrate..	E. T. Richardson	
District do. do.	Rao Bahadoor Ballajee Gunesh Maté	
Assistant Collector and Magistrate of Mahableshwar	Surgeon J. W. Winchester....	

SPECIAL DUTY.

Settlement Revenue Officer in Guzerat, and in Revenue charge of the Talookdaree Villages in the Veerumgaum, Dholka, Dhundooka, and Gogo Districts of the Ahmedabad Collectorate, 57 *A. Rogers.* *(On leave to England until the 3rd February* 1857.*)*

90. E. W. Ravenscroft.....	On special duty under Captain Cowper, Officiating Special Commissioner in the Alienation Department, and Assistants to all the Collectors in Guzerat.
103. F. F. Arbuthnot	

REVENUE SURVEY.

SOUTHERN MURATHA COUNTRY REVENUE SURVEY AND ASSESSMENT.

H M C Superintendent, Capt. W. C. Anderson, 1st Eur. Regt. (Fusiliers), appointed an Assistant to the Collectors of Dharwar, Belgaum, and Satara.
C M Assistant ditto, W. S. Price (Uncovenanted).
M „ *R. E. H. Light.* *(On leave to Europe, for a period of twenty-one months, from the 17th October 1855.)*
H M „ *Lieut. G. A. Laughton*, 2nd Eur. Regt. L. I. (Placed temporarily at the disposal of H. E. the Commander in
H M „ Lieut. M. R. Haig, 5th Regt. N. I. [Chief.)
M „ Lieut. R. Wallace, 5th Regt. N. I.
H M G „ 2d Lieut. C. L. R. Glasfurd, 1st Eur. Regt. (Fusiliers).
H Supernumerary do., E. A. Hobson. [*the 25th January 1857.)*
„ *Capt. H. F. Davies*, 29th Regt. N. I. *(On leave till*
„ do., Lieut. C. M. Ducat, 17th Regt. N. I.
„ Sub-Assistant, G. C. Gilder.
„ „ H. Coleman.

AHMEDNUGGUR REVENUE SURVEY AND ASSESSMENT.

H M Assist. Supt. in charge and Assistant Collector and Magistrate, Lieut. C. J. Prescott, 24th Regt. N. I.

KHANDESH REVENUE SURVEY.

M Superintendent, A. F. Davidson (Uncovenanted), and Deputy Collector and Magistrate in the Khandesh Zilla, for purposes connected with the Survey.
H M P Assistant Supt., Lieut. P. A. Elphinstone, 18th Regt. N. I.
M „ A. Cumming (Uncovenanted).
H M „ Alfred Baker, Ditto.
H M G S „ *Lieut. T. M. Baumgartner*, H. M.'s 83rd Regt. (Placed at the disposal of H. E. the Commander in Chief.)
H M C „ Capt. J. D. DeVitre, 26th Regt. N. I.
G „ R. K. M. Davidson.
„ H. S. Parkinson.
Supernumerary do., J. W. Scott.
„ do., G. W. Campbell.
Sub-Assist. ditto, Serjeant H. Jerrard.
H M „ A. F. Luis.

GUZERAT REVENUE SURVEY AND ASSESSMENT.

57 Settlement Officer, *A. Rogers.* (In Revenue charge of the Talookdaree Villages in the Veerumgaum, Dholka, Dhundooka, and Gogo Districts of the Ahmedabad Collectorate. *(On leave to England, until the 3rd February* 1857.*)*

H G Assist. ditto, H. Bulkley (Uncovenanted). In charge.
H G „ Lieut. W. G. Cumming, 17th Regt. N. I.
G „ H. D. Rae (Uncovenanted).
G H M „ A. Baker (Uncovenanted).
G „ N. Beyts.
G Assist. ditto, A. S. Bulkley.
Supernumerary ditto, C. E. F. Napean.
G „ J. C. Hall.
„ J. A. Guerin.
Sub-Assistant ditto, E. R. Critchell.
G „ H. Summers.
„ A. H. Jordan.
Supernumerary ditto, Hormusjee Bapoojee Viccajee.

RUTNAGHERRY REVENUE SURVEY AND ASSESSMENT.

H M Assistant Supt., Lieut. T. Waddington, 7th Regt. N. I. (Assistant Magistrate in the Rutnagherry Zilla. (In charge of Survey.)
H G M „ *Lieut. S. Scott,* 2nd European Regt. L. I. (Assistant Magistrate in the Rutnagherry Districts.) (Placed temporarily at the disposal of H. E. the Commander in Chief.)
H G „ Lieut. A. P. Phillips, 29th Regt. N. I.
Sub-Assistant ditto, H. G. Rowell.
Supernumerary ditto, F. De Souza.

POONA AND TANNA REVENUE SURVEY AND ASSESSMENT.

H M C Superintendent, Capt. J. T. Francis, 5th Regt. N. I. (Assist. Collector and Magistrate in the Poona and Tanna Zillas.)
H M Assist. ditto, *Lieut. G. E. Thomas,* 13th Regt. N. I. (*Acting* Superintendent of Police, Rutnagherry Collectorate.)
H M „ *Lieut. E. L. Taverner,* 20th Regt. N. I. (Placed temporarily at the disposal of H. E. the Commander in Chief.)
M „ W. Lowden (Uncovenanted).
H M „ *Lieut. W. Waddington,* 20th Regt. N. I. (Placed temporarily at the disposal of H. E. Commander in Chief.)
H M „ Lieut. J. C. Hobson, 3rd Regt. N. I.
M „ A. W. Hughes (Uncovenanted).
H M Supernumerary ditto, Lieut. C. T. Palin, 19th Regt. N. I.
„ W. G. Harrison.
M „ H. W. Hathway.
Officiating ditto, as a temporary measure, T. Fraser.

Sub-Assist. Supt., Serjeant C. Hexton.
" *E. Hearn (On leave).*
" T. S. Stevenson.
Supernumerary do. W. S. Price.

TERRITORIAL DEPARTMENT.

REVENUE.

The Right Honorable the Governor in Council is pleased to notify, under instructions from the Honorable the Court of Directors, that although the knowledge of Murathee or Goozerathee, and of the language of the Zillah in which Candidates for appointment in the Revenue Survey Department may be employed, is indispensably necessary by the Notification, dated the 10th October 1853, published in the Government Gazette of the 13th idem, preference will be given to those Candidates who have also passed in Hindoostanee.

By order of the Right Honorable the Governor in Council,

H. YOUNG,

Bombay Castle, 10th October 1855. Officiating Chief Secretary to Government.

INAM COMMISSION, &c.

H M Captain T. A. Cowper, 22nd Regt. N. I., Special Commissioner at Satara, and in charge of the Alienation Department.
90. E. W. Ravenscroft, on Special duty under do.
103. F. F. Arbuthnot, do. do. and Asst. Magistrate in the Province of Guzerat.
Ballaram Ramchunder—Sub-Assistant.

Uncovenanted Servants, under the orders of Captain Cowper for special duty, and who are vested with the powers of a Deputy Collector and Magistrate in the Province of Guzerat.

Appajee Ramchunder (District Deputy Collector of Surat).
E. W. Fern (Moonsiff of Kaira).
Cooverjee Cowasjee (Mamlutdar of Chowrassee, Surat Collectorate).
S. J. Harrison (General Department, Secretariat).

G H M P S Major M. F. Gordon, 2nd Bombay European Regiment, Inam Commissioner S. D., for the Districts of Satara, and the Collectorates of Sholapoor, Belgaum, and Dharwar.
H M P G Capt. A. T. Etheridge, 3rd European Regiment, Assistant.
M G C W. M. Hearn, (Uncovenanted) Assistant.
H M Lieut. C. J. Griffith, 17th Regt. N. I., Officiating Inam Commissioner N. D., for the Collectorates of Poona, Ahmednuggur, and Khandesh. Is also in charge of the Poona Duftur.
I. Dracup, (Uncovenanted) Assistant.
Lieut. P. Dods, 9th Regt. N. I., *Acting* Assistant.

Sub-Assistants.

W. Bertie,	Sudaseo Bulal,
Gopal Rao Deshmook,	Vishnoo Moreshwur,
Bapoo Raojee,	Vishnoo Purushram,
R. Welsh,	J. Stewart.

LAND REVENUE.

H M F. Hutchinson, (Uncovenanted) Collector of Bombay, and in charge of the Stationery Department.
W. Crawford, Revenue Judge.

CUSTOMS, SALT, AND OPIUM.

12 *H. Young,* Commissioner of Customs, Salt, and Opium, and Reporter General of External Commerce, for the Presidency of Bombay. (Officiating Chief Secretary.)
9 R. Spooner, Officiating Commissioner.
21 *J. H. Pelly,* Deputy do. *(On leave.)*
67 J. W. Robertson, do.
31 E. L. Jenkins, *Acting* during the absence of Mr. Pelly.
H G A. Stewart, (Uncovenanted) do.

Uncovenanted Assistants to the Commissioner.

H M	A. W. Elliot.	H M	A. J. Glass.
H M	W. A. Pelly.	H M	H. Miles.
H M	W. H. Payne.	H M	A. D. De Souza.
H M	N. A. Dalzell.	H G	E. Brown.
H M	A. Taylor.	G H P	A. Faulkner.

J. L. Gillett, Superintendent Customs Flotilla.

FINANCIAL APPOINTMENTS.

ACCOUNTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE.

1 E. E. Elliot, Accountant General, and Revenue and Judicial Accountant, and Accountant General to the Supreme Court.
72 *J. M. Erskine,* 1st Assistant to the Accountant General. *(On leave to England, on sick certificate, for a period of fifteen months, from the 17th February 1856.)*
93 R. W. Lodwick, *Acting* ditto.
93 *R. W. Lodwick,* 2nd Assistant to ditto. *Acting* 1st Assist.
D. B. Hodge, (Uncovenanted) *Acting* ditto.

CIVIL AUDITOR'S OFFICE.

24 A. K. Corfield, Civil Auditor.
A. W. Clarke, (Uncovenanted) Assistant do.

GENERAL TREASURY, PAY OFFICE, STAMPS, AND SAVINGS' BANK.

3 J. W. Muspratt, Sub-Treasurer, General Paymaster, Supdt. of Stamps, and Secretary to the Government Savings' Bank.

MINT COMMITTEE.

1 E. E. Elliot, Accountant General, *President.*
12 H. Young, Offg. Chief Secretary, & Financial Secretary.
24 A. K. Corfield, Civil Auditor .. .. } *Members.*

93 R. W. Lodwick, *Secretary.*
Captain J. H. Burke, Engineers, Mint Master and Mint Engineer.
Surgeon E. T. Downes, Assay Master.
Surgeon *W. Collum*, Deputy Assay Master. *(On leave to England.)*
Assist. Surgeon M. Kane, Madras Establishment, *Acting* do.

MEDICAL OFFICERS WHO HOLD CERTIFICATES OF QUALIFICATION FOR CONDUCTING THE DUTIES OF THE ASSAY DEPARTMENT.

H M Surgeon R. Collum, M.D.
„ G. J. Shaw, M.D.
„ *W. Collum.*

Assistant Surgeon J. F. Shekleton.
„ T. Boycott.
„ J. A. F. J. G. Von Liebig.

BANK OF BOMBAY.

(INCORPORATED BY ACT III. OF 1840.)

*Directors appointed by Government.**

1 E. E. Elliot, Accountant General.
12 H. Young, Officiating Chief Secretary, and Secretary to Government in the Financial Department.
24 A. K. Corfield, Civil Auditor.

Directors elected by the Proprietors.

A. T. Binny.
H. D. Cartwright.
T. S. Cowie.
Limjee Manockjee.
Rustomjee Jamsetjee.
Framjee Nusserwanjee.

Secretary and Treasurer—John Stuart.

GOVERNMENT SAVINGS' BANK.

Committee of Management.

The Accountant General. } Government Agents.
The Sub-Treasurer. }
The Adjutant General of the Army.*
The Brigade Major of Queen's Troops.
The Town Major.
24 A. K. Corfield.
J. K. Malcolmson.
Colonel G. I. Jameson.
Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, Kt.
Rustomjee Jamsetjee.
Juggonath Sunkersett.
Cursetjee Jamsetjee.
3 J. W. Muspratt, *Secretary.*

* In his absence from the Presidency, the Deputy Adjutant General.

Judicial Appointments.

COURT OF SUDDER DEWANEE AND SUDDER FOUJDAREE ADAWLUT.

JUDGES, &c. OF ZILLAH COURTS.

MISCELLANEOUS JUDICIAL APPOINTMENTS.

BOMBAY POLICE MAGISTRATES.

COURT OF PETTY SESSIONS.

COURT OF SMALL CAUSES.

OFFICERS OF THE SUPREME COURT.

GOVERNMENT LAW OFFICERS.

HOUSE OF CORRECTION.

CIVIL CORPS IN THE JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.

COMMISSIONERS AND SUPERINTENDENTS OF POLICE.

THUGGEE DEPARTMENT.

JUDICIAL APPOINTMENTS.

COURT OF SUDDER DEWANEE AND SUDDER FOUJDAREE ADAWLUT.

8 The Honorable J. G. Lumsden, Chief Judge.
10 W. E. Frere, Puisne Judge.
13 *M. Larken,* do. *(On leave to Europe until the 17th January 1857.)*
16 W. H. Harrison, do.
11 R. Keays, *Acting* do. during the absence of Mr. Larken.
49 M. A. Coxon, Registrar.

Uncovenanted.

M J. Morris, First Assistant Registrar.
Bhasker Soonderjee, Second Assistant Registrar.
Shaik Alee bin Shaik Ibrahim, Kazee.
Venayek Luxumon, Shastree.

Inspector General of Prisons.

14 A. Bettington. (Is also Commissioner of Police in the Bombay Presidency.)

JUDGES, &c. OF ZILLAH COURTS.

AHMEDABAD & KAIRA.

Judge and Session Judge ...	45 A. B. Warden.
Acting Assist. Judge and Session Judge until further orders	89 A. Bosanquet.
Senior Assistant do. for the detached Station of Kaira.	80 C. Walter.

Ahmedabad.

Principal Sudder Ameen ..	Khan Bahadoor Syed Sheriff Shaik Syed Hoosein.
Sudder Ameen at Ahmedabad	Rao Saheb Bhow Muheeral.
„ „ Dholka ..	Khan Saheb Goolam Mohideen wulud Abdool Kadur.
Moonsiff at Dhundooka....	Azim Bhugwan Nurbheram.
„ Gogo	„ Muncheram Gokuldass.
„ Dholka.....	„ Muthooradass Pranvulubdass.
„ Veerumgaum ..	„ Muddun Shri Crustna.
„ Prantej.....	„ Sewlal Bhogeelal.
„ Ahmedabad....	„ Temuljee Hormuzjee.
Cazee at the Adawlut.....	„ Mahomed Hooseinoodeen.
Shastree	„ Bappoojee Gunesh.

Kaira.

Sudder Ameen		Rao Saheb Bholanath Surabhaee.
Moonsiff at Kaira		Azim Chimnajee Narayen.
,,	Borsud	,, Jumutram Himutram.
,,	Neriad	,, Jorabhaee Dwarkadass.
,,	Oomrut	,, Purshotumdass Poonjashaw.
,,	Moundha	,, Nownutroy Gununchram.
,,	Kupperwunj	,, Mahomed Abdoola Hafiz.

SURAT.

Judge and Session Judge	25	H. Hebbert.
Assistant do	78	*The Hon'ble G. A. Hobart. (On*
Acting do	99	W. Sandwith. [*leave to England.)*
City Deputy Magistrate		Meer Mohmoodeen Khan Sadroodeen Khan.
Principal Sudder Ameen		Rao Bahadoor Junardhun Wassoodewjee.
Sudder Ameen		Khan Saheb Manockjee Pestonjee.
Moonsiff at Surat		Azim Moteeram Dulputram.
,, Oolpar		,, Dinshaw Pestonjee.
,, Bulsar		,, Izutallee Jumaloodeen. [deen.
,, Bardolee		,, Goolam Moheedeen Shaik Tajoo-
Cazee at the Adawlut		,, Shaik Goolam Ali Jumaloodeen.
Shastree		,, Rughoonath Witul Datay.

BROACH.

Senior Assistant Judge and Session Judge of Surat for the detached Station of Broach	76	R. F. Mactier.
Sudder Ameen		Rao Saheb Hureelal Ambashunker.
Moonsiff at Broach		Azim Kristnarao Wittojee.
,, Sujode		,, Narayen Bulwunt.
,, Wagra		,, Meer Kidwutoola Hikmuttoola.
,, Jumbooseer		,, Huzrutmeea Budroodeen.
Cazee at the Adawlut		,, Mahomed Nurroola.
Shastree		,, Nilkunt Runchord.

KONKUN.

Judge and Session Judge	19	*C. M. Harrison. Acting* Judge and [Session Judge of Poona.
Acting do	50	H. P. St. G. Tucker.
Assistant do	70	*C. H. Cameron. (On leave to England until the 17th April*
Acting do	98	J. L. Warden. [1857.)
Senior Assistant Judge and Session Judge of the Konkun, for detached Station of Rutnagherry	50	*H. P. St. G. Tucker. Acting* Judge and Session Judge of the Konkun.
Acting do	87	R. H. Pinhey.

KONKUN (*continued*).

Principal Sudder Ameen at Tanna	Rao Bhadoor Pandoorung Moreshwur.
Moonsiff at Tanna	Azim Ramchunder Bajeerao.
„ Callian	„ Shreedhur Ladko.
„ Oorun	„ Dajee Govind.
„ Dahnoo	„ Venayek Sudasew.
„ Bassein	„ Naro Succaram.
„ Panwell	„ Sewram Bullal.
„ Moorbar	„ Vittul Wasoodew.
„ Penn	„ Venayekrao Govindjee.
„ Bhewndy	„ Venayek Govind Chobul.
„ Mahar	„ Lalloobhaee Bhanabhoy.
„ Colaba	„ Bulwuntrao Hurree.
„ Ditto (Extra)	„ Ardaseer Pestonjee.
Cazee at the Adawlut	„ Mahomed Cassim wulud Abdool [Kadir Sheriff.
Shastree	„ Atmaram Kassinath.

RUTNAGHERRY.

Sudder Ameen	James King.
Moonsiff at Sooverndroog	Azim Dajee Ladba.
„ Anjunwell	„ Narayen Trimbuck.
„ Viziadroog	„ Purshotum Shideshwur.
„ Scindiadroog	„ Rughoonath Bulwunt. [Mukdoom.
Cazee at the Adawlut	„ Sheriff Abdool Lateef bin Sheriff
Shastree	„ Lulleetanund Gowreenund.

POONA.

Judge and Session Judge, (& Agent for Sirdars in the Deccan.)	[the Sudder Adawlut. 11 *R. Keays*, *Acting* Puisne Judge of
Acting do.	19 C. M. Harrison.
Assistant Judge & Session Judge, (& Assistant to the Agent for Sirdars.)	[*the 17th January* 1857.) 79 *R. White. (On leave to Europe, until*
Acting do.	86 C. G. Kemball.

Principal Sudder Ameen	Rao Bahadoor Wamunrao Juggonath.
Sudder Ameen	Rao Saheb Crustnarow Wittul.
Moonsiff at Poona	Azim Ardaseer Cursetjee.
„ „	„ Cassinath Kessow.
„ „ *(Acting)*	„ Chinto Wassodew.
„ „ *(Acting)*	„ Crustnarow Sudasew.
„ Wargaum	„ Abbajee Baboorao.
„ Baramuttee	„ Gopinath Rughoonath.
„ Kheir	„ Govindrao Huree.
„ Tulegaum	„ Moro Rughoonath.
„ Jooneir	„ Chintamun Hurree. [Kadur.
Cazee at the Adawlut	„ Syed Hubeeboola wd. Syed Abdool
Shastree	„ Muneenund Gowreenund.

SHOLAPOOR.

Judge and Session Judge...	44 T. A. Compton.
Sudder Ameen.....	Rao Saheb Shamrao Appajee.
Moonsiff at Sholapoor.....	Azim Venkutrow Appajee.
,, Mahra.....	,, Purushram Venayek.
,, Hypurga.....	,, Wamunrao Purushram.
,, Barsee.....	,, Venkutrao Jeewajee.
Cazee at the Adawlut.....	,, Abdoola Araee.
Shastree	,, Luxumonacharia Dassacharia.

AHMEDNUGGUR.

Judge and Session Judge ..	23 J. W. Woodcock.
Assistant do.	92 A. E. D. Grey.
Principal Sudder Ameen....	Rao Bahadoor Wassoodew Shewram.
Sudder Ameen at Nasik	Khan Saheb Burjorjee Bhiccajee.
,, at Kurda.....	,, Syud Kumaloodeen wulud Meer Hajee.
Moonsiff at Ahmednuggur ..	Azim Vitul Bulwunt.
,, Ditto } Ex-	,, Shaboodeen Emamoodeen.
,, Ditto } tra.	,, Ramchunder Junardhun.
,, Patoda.....	,, Syed Muckbool Ali.
,, Sungumnair....	,, Narayen Dadajee.
,, Newasa.....	,, Succaram Bajee.
,, Chandore.....	,, Gunputrao Junardhun.
,, Sinnur.....	,, Wiswasrao Bhaskur.
,, Jamkheir.....	,, Pandoorung Nilkunt.
,, Nasik	,, Anundrao Kessow.
,, Asstg. Sudder Ameen at Khurda	Joseph Hanson.
,, ,, at Rahooree ..	Azim Narayen Ballajee.
Cazee at the Adawlut.....	,, Mahomed Bakur.
Shastree	,, Govind Appajee.

KHANDESH.

Judge and Session Judge ...	36 A. St. J. Richardson.
Assistant do.....	(Vacant.)
Principal Sudder Ameen....	Rao Bahadoor Moroba Canoba.
Moonsiff at Amulnair.....	Azim Rajaram Chintamun.
,, Jamnair	,, Narayen Chintamun.

KHANDESH *(continued)*.

Moonsiff at Malligaum	Azim Appajee Luxumon.
„ Baglan.....	„ Moreshwur Mahadeo.
„ Nundoorbar....	„ Gopal Amroot.
„ Yawul	„ Raojee Govind.
„ Bhurgaum	„ Huree Gungadhur.
Cazee at the Adawlut	„ Syed Abdool Futteh.
Shastree	„ Succaram Cassinath.

DHARWAR.

Judge and Session Judge.....	26 A. W. Jones.
Assistant . do	87 *R. H. Pinhey. Acting* Senior Assistant Judge and Session Judge of the Konkun.
Acting do	88 J. R. Arthur.
Principal Sudder Ameen....	Rao Bahadoor Bheemrao Anunt.
Sudder Ameen at Bagulkote.	Rao Saheb Trimulrao Venktesh.
„ „ Hooblee ..	„ Raghoovendrow Kantrow.
Moonsiff at Belgaum	Azim Shreenewasrow Krishn.
„ Chikodee.....	„ Mahadowrow Krishn.
„ Roan	„ Duyaram Muyaram.
„ Haveree	„ Prubhakur Bullal.
„ Sounduttee	„ Soobrow Krishn.
Cazee at the Adawlut.....	„ Gyasoodeen wulud Hussein Maineen.
Shastree	„ Luxumon Trimbuck.

AGENT FOR SIRDARS IN THE DECCAN.

11 *R. Keays*..... Agent. (*Acting* Puisne Judge of the Sudder
19 C. M. Harrison..... *Acting* Agent. [Adawlut.)
79 *R. White* ..... Assistant do. *(On leave to Europe until the*
86 C. G. Kemball.....*Acting* do. [*17th January* 1857.)

SATARA.

Judicial Assistant.....66 H. B. Lockett.

SIND.

Judicial Assistant.... 63 J. Gibbs.

BOMBAY POLICE MAGISTRATES, &c. &c.

Senior Magistrate, W. Crawford.
Second Magistrate, T. Thornton. (Uncovenanted.)
Third Magistrate, N. W. Oliver. (Do.)
Superintendent of Police, C. J. Forjett (Do.)
Superintendent of Floating Police, W. H. G. Dunlop. (Do.)
Surgeon to the Police, Surgeon W. Arbuckle, M.D.
Surgeon to the Jail, *Assistant Surgeon R. Haines,* M.B. *(Absent on duty.)*
Surgeon W. Arbuckle, M.D., *Officiating.*
Coroner, Edward Arthur.
Deputy Coroner, R. H. Barnett. *(Charge of the Byculla Schools.)*
Coroner's Surgeon, Assist. Surgeon H. J. Carter. *(Also in Medical*
Sheriff, Major H. J. Parkinson.
Deputy Sheriff, F. Leggett.
Attorney for Paupers, E. Arthur.
Assessor and Collector of Wheel Tax, and Collector of Assessment on Houses and Grounds, and Shop and Stall Tax, W. B. Fellows.
Assessor of House Tax, F. Leggett.

COURT OF PETTY SESSIONS.

* Senior Magistrate of Police, W. Crawford, *Chairman.*
* One European Justice of the Peace. } In rotation from the list
* One Native do. do. } of Justices of the Peace.

(These three form the Bench, and the Court sits on the Thursday of each week.)*

F. L. Brown, Clerk.
H. Aher, Surveyor.
H *Major J. H. G. Crawford, Engrs.,* Surveyor. *(On leave to England, for fifteen months, from the 12th May 1856.)*

COURT OF SMALL CAUSES.

J. F. Hore, First Judge. Manockjee Cursetjee, Third Judge.
J. L. Johnson, Second Judge. M G N. Spencer, Junior, Clerk.

OFFICERS OF THE SUPREME COURT.

J. H. Standen, Administrator General. *[October 1856.)*
C. M. I. Pollock, Clerk of the Crown. *(On leave from the 18th*
G. Taylor, *Acting.*
O. W. Ketterer, Deputy ditto.
James Flynn, Chief Translator, and Interpreter to the Court. *(On leave to England, on sick certificate, for fifteen months.)*
Narrayen Dinnanathjee, *Acting* ditto ditto.
Narrayen Dinnanathjee, Second Translator, and Interpreter; and Assistant Translator in Goozerathee.
Nowrojee Furdoonjee, *Acting* ditto.
Nowrojee Furdoonjee, Third Translator, and Interpreter; and Assistant Translator in Marwadi.
Ballajee Pandooruug, *Acting* ditto.
Nanabhoy Hurridass, *Acting* 4th Translator and Interpreter.
Nanabhoy Hurridass, Assistant Translator in Murathee.

Byramjee Cursetjee, Assistant Translator in Goozerathee.
Shamrao Bhasker, *Acting* ditto.
Mahomed Husson, Persian and Arabic Translator, and Interpreter.

GOVERNMENT LAW OFFICERS.

W. R. Westropp, *Acting* Advocate General.
E. J. Howard, Remembrancer of Legal Affairs. (*Acting* Director of
J. J. Lowndes, *Acting*. [Public Instruction.)
J. P. Bickersteth, Company's Solicitor.

HOUSE OF CORRECTION.

COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT.

W. Crawford, Senior Magistrate of Police, *President ex officio.*

Members.

T. Thornton.
N. W. Oliver.
C. J. Forjett.
Surgeon A. H. Leith.
Major J. M. Glasse.
The Deputy Adjutant General at the Presidency.
The Brigade Major of Queen's Troops.
Captain. C. M. Barrow.

Surgeon.

H Assistant Surgeon *R. Haines,* M.B. *(Absent on duty.)*
Acting, Surgeon W. Arbuckle M. D.,

CIVIL CORPS IN THE JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.

Ahmednuggur Police Corps.

H M Lieut. J. W. Henry, 3rd European Regt., Bheel Agent, and Commandant of the Ahmednuggur Police Corps, Supdt. of Police in the Ahmednuggur Collectorate, and Assistant Magistrate in the Ahmednuggur, Poona, Khandesh, and Tanna Collectorates.
Gooljar Misser, Native Commandant.

Guzerat Koolee Police Corps.

Major E. W. Agar, Commandant, Superintendent of Police in the Ahmedabad Collectorate, and Assistant Magistrate in the Ahmedabad and Kaira Collectorates.

Guzerat Police Corps.

H P Major Keith Jopp, 16th Regt. N. I., Commandant, Superintendent of Police in the Kaira Collectorate, and Assistant Magistrate in the Ahmedabad, Kaira, and Broach Collectorates.
Soobedar Sheikh Wuzeer, Native Commandant.

Khandesh Bheel Corps.

H Major A. M. Haselwood, 3rd Regt. N. I., Commandant, Bheel Agent, Superintendent of Police in the Khandesh Collectorate, Assistant Magistrate, and Political Assistant to the Collector. Is also Assistant Agent for carrying out the objects of Act XI. of 1846.

H M *Capt. James Rose,* 3rd Eur. Regt., Second in Command, Bheel Agent at Kunhur, and Assistant Superintendent of Police in the Khandesh Zilla. *(On leave.)*

Capt. H. Birch, 27th Regt. Bombay N. I., *Acting.*

H M *Lieut. F. W. M. Atkins,* 20th Regt. N. I., Adjutant, 3rd in Command, and Assist. Magistrate.

Lieut. R. C. Kennedy, 2nd Regt. L. C., *Acting* ditto. *Acting* Asst. Supt. of Police in the Khandesh Collectorate.

Poona Police Corps.

H M P Lieut. Col. F. C. Wells, 15th Regt. N. I., Commandant of the Police Corps, Superintendent of Police in the Poona Collectorate, and Assistant Magistrate in that Collectorate.

Surat Sebundee Corps.

H Lieut. H. B. Hodgson, 3rd European Regt., Commandant, Supdt. of Police in the Surat Zillah, and Assistant Magistrate in that Zillah.

POLICE.

14 A. Bettington, Commissioner of Police in the Bombay Presidency. (Is also Inspector General of Prisons.)

W. Crawford, Commr. of Police for the Town and Island of Bombay.

C. J. Forjett. } Deputy Commissioners.
W. H. G. Dunlop. }

Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents of Police in the Bombay Presidency.

	Names.	Station.	Date of Appointment.
	Major E. W. Agar (Retired List)....	Ahmedabad..	21st May 1856
H M	Captain J. W. Henry (3rd Eur. Regt.)	Ahmednuggur.	27th Apr. 1853
	Mr. F. H. Souter (uncovenanted) ..	Belgaum	27th Feb. 1856
H M G P	*Captain J. S. Kemball* (26th Regt. N. I.) *(On leave to Europe for fifteen months)*.....	Broach....	29th Aug. 1853
	Lieut. A. Bell, (3rd Regt. N. I.) *Acting*.....		21st May 1856
H M P G	Maj. W. F. Cormack (15th Regt. N. I.)	Dharwar	20th Aug. 1852
H P	Major K. Jopp (16th Regt. N. I.)..	Kaira	„ „ „
H	Major A. M. Haselwood (3rd Regt. N. I.).....	Khandesh..	26th Mar. 1856
H M	*Captain J. Rose* (First Assistant Superintendent), 3rd Eur. Regt. *(On furlough to Europe for six months)*		
	Capt. H. Birch, 27th Regt. N. I...		13th Apr. 1853
H M	Lieut. A. Bell (Assist. Supt.) 3rd Regt. N. I.	Nasik	9th Mar. 1853
H M P	Lieut. Col. F. C. Wells (15th Regt. N. I.)	Poona	7th Feb. 1849

	Names.	Station.	Date of Appointment.
H M	Lieut. G. E. Thomas (Officiating), 13th Regt. N. I.	Rutnagherry	21st May 1856
H M	Lieut. W. Y. H. Shortt (22nd Regt. N. I.)	Sholapoor ..	14th Apr. 1856
H	Capt H. B. Hodgson (3rd Eur. Regt.)	Surat	29th Aug. 1853
H M	Captain C. W. Walker, (5th Regt. N. I.)	Tanna	21st Jan. 1852
H M	Lieutenant J. Harpur, (Assist.) 6th Regt. N. I.		20th Dec. 1852

THUGGEE DEPARTMENT.

G H M *Captain C. R. W. Hervey*, 2nd European Regiment, Magistrate, and Assistant General Superintendent of the Operations for the Suppression of Thuggee and Dacoitee in the Territories subordinate to Bombay. *(On leave to Europe, on private affairs, for the period of twelve months, from the 17th April 1856.)*

Captain W. D. Dickson, *Officiating* do.

Lieut. A. Elliot, Assistant to the General Superintendent of the Thuggee and Dacoitee Department in Malwa, Khandesh, and Guzerat. (Is vested with Magisterial powers in the Provinces of Guzerat and Khandesh.)

General and Public Works Departments.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT.

CIVIL SURGEONS UNDER THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

SUPERINTENDENTS OF VACCINATION.

REGISTRARS OF MARRIAGES.

GRANT MEDICAL COLLEGE.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF VERNACULAR AND DEPARTMENTAL EXAMINATION.

BOARD OF CONSERVANCY.

BOTANICAL GARDENS.

MISCELLANEOUS APPOINTMENTS.

CENTRAL MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY AND ECONOMIC MUSEUM OF GEOLOGY, OF INDUSTRY, AND THE ARTS.

POST OFFICE APPOINTMENTS.

PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT.

Presidency.

Secretary to Government in the Department of Public Works..	30 W. Hart.
Chief Engineer of Public Works..	Major General C. Waddington, C. B., Engineers.
Assistant Ditto ditto ..	Major C. F. North, Engineers (Officiating).
Garrison Engineer and Civil Architect	Major C. W. Tremenheere, Engineers.
Assistant ditto ditto ..	Supervisor, H. G. Wilcox.
Engineer to the Dock Yard ..	Captain F. Wemyss, Engineers.
On special duty	H. West, Civil Engineer.

Southern Province.

Superintending Engineer... ..	Lieut. Col. J. Kilner, Engineers.
Executive Engineer, Dharwar Collectorate ..	H *Lieut. J. W. Playfair*, Engineers. (On Field service.) Lieut. J. B. G. Close, Engineers, *Acting*.
Do. do. Belgaum Collectorate ..	*Captain W. R. Dickenson*. Engineers. (On Field service.) Capt. W. R. Houghton, 14th Regt. N. I., *Acting*.
Do. do. Kolapoor Territory ..	H Lieut. A. Davidson, Engineers.
Do. do. Rutnagherry Collectorate ..	Supervisor, T. P. Armitstead.
Do. do. Sattara do.	Capt. M. K. Kennedy, Engineers.
Do. do. Sholapore Collectorate ..	Capt. H. A. Adams, 13th Regt. N. I.
Civil Engineers	C. Atkinson. (Appointed to act as Executive Engineer Surat and Broach Collectorates.)
	S. Perkes. (Temporarily employed in Bombay.)

Assistant Executive Engineers	H M	Capt. W. R. Houghton, 14th Regiment N. I.
		Lieut. W. W. Goodfellow, Engineers. (On Field service.)
		Lieut. W. A. Connell, 11th Regt. N. I. (*On furlough.*)
		J. H. E. Hart, Civil Engineer.
		Lieut. G. M. Duncan, Engineers.
		J. Smith.
		Supervisor, W. Whittenbury.
		Lieut. J. G. T. Griffith, Engineers.
		Lieut. J. H. White, Engineers.
		Lieut. R S. Sellon, Engineers.
Sub-Assistant Executive Engineers.		F. B. Pemberton.
		J. S. Alexander. (*Acting.*)

Central Province.

Superintending Engineer.. ..	H	Colonel Walter Scott, Engineers.
Executive Engineer Poona and Kirkee..		Capt. P. L. Hart, Engineers.
Do. do. Poona Collectorate		Capt. W. D. Graham, Engineers. (Returned from Furlough, but not yet joined. Mr. C. Gerrard, Civil Engineer, *Acting.*)
Do. do. Tanna Collectorate		Lieut. J. A. Fuller, Engineers.
Do. do. Ahmednuggur Collectorate ..	H	Lieut. R. E. F. Cotgrave, Engineers. (*Acting.*)
Do. do. Nassick district & Peinth State.		Lieut. A. U. H. Finch, Engineers. (*Acting.*)
Do. do. Nagpoor Dâk Line		R. Scott.
Do. do. Khandesh Collectorate ..		Capt. H. W. B. Bell, Engineers.
Civil Engineers		C. Gerrard.
		H. Cooke, M.A.
Superintendent of Public Works.		H. Latimer.
Assistant Executive Engineers.		*Capt. J. Mungavin*, Veteran Establishment. *(On furlough.)*
	H	*Lieut. R. E. Henry*, H. M.'s 86th Regt. (On Field service.)
	H M	Lieut. H. Gillmore, H. M.'s 78th Highlanders.
		Capt. G. A. Lockhart, H. M.'s 78th Highlanders.
		Capt. C. O. Creagh, H. M.'s 86th Regt. (On Field service.)

Assistant Executive Engineers.		Lieut. J. Sprott, H. M.'s 83rd Regt.
	H	Capt. T. T. Piers, 29th Regt. N. I.
	H	*Lieut. D. C. E. Twyford*, 2nd Regt. European Lt. I. (On Field service.)
	H	Capt. E. C. Beale, 22nd Regt. N. I.
	H	Capt. G. U. Price, 3rd European Regiment.
	H	*Lieut. R. V. Dickens*, H. M.'s 64th Regt. (On Field service.)
		Lieut. H. Pym, Engineers. (Transferred to the Sappers and Miners.)
		Lieut. J. R. Maunsell, Engineers.
		Lieut. C. M. Browne, Engineers.
Sub-Assist. Executive Engineer. .		F. Robins.

Northern Province.

Superintending Engineer ..		Col. W. B. Goodfellow, Engineers.
Executive Engineer Surat and Broach Collectorates .	H	Lieut. J. B. G. Close, Engineers. (Mr. C. Atkinson, Civil Engineer, to act while Lieut. Close is employed in Dharwar.)
Do. do. Ahmedabad and Kaira Collectorates ..		Capt. C. Scott, Engineers.
Do. do. Deesa	H M	Capt. A. H. Curtis, 2nd Gr. Regt. N. I.
Do. do. Nusseerabad and Neemuch..	H	Capt. G. B. Munbee, Engineers.
Assistant Executive Engineer ..		Lieut. R. S. Sellon, Engineers.
Sub-Assistant Executive Engineers.		R. W. Barton.
		E. Nue (Probationary).

Sind Province.

Superintending Engineer ..	H	Lieut. Col. H. B. Turner, Engineers.
Assistant do. do. ..		*Lieut. C. W. Finch*, Engineers. (On Field service.)
Attached to the Office of the Superintending Engineer. ..		Lieut. W. A. Baker, Engineers.
		Lieut. J. LeMessurier, Engineers. (Transferred to the Sappers and Miners.)
Executive Engineer Kurrachee.		Lieut. D. Thomson, Engineers. (*Acting.*)

Executive Engineer, Hyderabad.		*Lieut. C. J. Merriman*, Engineers. (On Field service.) Mr. C. W. Mossop, Civil Engr., *Acting*.
Executive Engineer, Shikarpoor.	H	Lieut. G. J. Melliss, 8th Regt. N. I.
Civil Engineers		W. H. Price. F. Jones. C. W. Mossop.
Assistant Executive Engineers		R. Woodhouse. Ensign C. D. J. Dodd, 8th Regt. N. I.
Sub-Assistant Executive Engineers.		C. Lee. [tionary). W. C. Radenhurst (Proba-

Canal Establishment in Sind.

Superintendent of Canals. ..		*Captain J. G. Fife.* (*On furlough.*) Lieut. J. R. Soady, Engineers, *Acting*.
1st Class Executive Engineer ..	H	*Lieut. J. R. Soady*, Engineers. Mr. W. H. Price, Civil Engineer, *Acting*.
2nd do. do. ..	H	*Captain J. H. Kirby*, H. M.'s 86th Regt. (On Field service.) Mr. F. Jones, Civil Engineer, *Acting*.
3rd do. do. ..		*Lieut. D. Thomson*, Engineers. Mr. J. Barnes, Asst. Executive Engineer, *Acting*.
Assistant Executive Engineer ..	Coll. H	J. Barnes.
Do. ..		Lieut. D'Arcy W. Jopp, 27th Regt. N. I. (Probationary.)
Do. ..		Lieut. J. J. Elder, 6th Regt. N. I. (Probationary.)
Do. ..		Ensign J. P. M. Newton, 11th [N. I.
Assistant Collectors for Canals .... Kurrachee		G. Elander.
Hydrabad		J. Beatty, B. A., Civil Engr.
Shikarpore		(Vacant.)

Aden.

Executive Engineer..		Lieut. H. St. Clair Wilkins, [Engineers.
Offig. Assist. do. (and in Command of a Company of Sappers and Miners.)		Lieut. J. M. Greig, Engineers.

Forest Department.

Conservator of Forests	H M G	Surgeon A. Gibson.
Forest Ranger in Sind		Captain B. Hamilton, I. N.

Deputy Forest Ranger in Sind .. J. Cabral.
Assistant Conservator of Forests,
Northern Branch .. .. W. A. Fenner.
Assistant ditto Bombay.. W. Williams.
Deputy ditto, Southern Branch. G. N. Smith.

Standing Committee for the Examination of Candidates for the Public Works Department.

The Officer Commanding the Corps of Sappers and Miners.
The Revd. James McDougall.

EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT.

39 *C. J. Erskine* .. .. Director of Public Instruction. (*Absent on sick certificate.*)
E. J. Howard .. ... *Acting* Ditto.
H M Assistant Surgeon John Peet. Educational Inspector, Presidency Division.
100 T. C. Hope .. .. Educational Inspector, Guzerat Division.
H M G S Captain J. F. Lester .. *Acting* Educational Inspector Deccan Division.
Vacant .. .. .. Educational Inspector, Sind Division.

John Harkness, L.L.D. .. Principal, Elphinstone Institution, and Professor of Logic and Mental and Moral Philosophy.
R. S. Sinclair, L.L.D. .. Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, and *Acting* Professor of Political Economy.
V. Green .. .. .. *Acting* Professor of History and Geography.
C. G. Smith .. .. Asst. Professor of English Literature.
C. Beyts .. .. .. Master of the Candidate Class in the Elphinstone Institution.

R. T. Reid, L.L.D... .. Government Professor of Law and Perry Professor of Jurisprudence.
J. F. Hore, M.A. .. .. Government Professor of Law.
Bomonjee Pestonjee . .. School Master.
W. H. S. Crawford . .. Instructor in Photography.
H C. Morehead, M.D... .. Principal of the Grant Medical College and Professor of Medicine.
H M J. Peet .. .. .. Professor of Surgery.
G. R. Ballingall, M.D. .. Professor of Anatomy and Physiology, and Curator to the Museum, and *Acting* Professor of Surgery.
* *H. Giraud, M.D.* .. .. Professor of Chemistry and Botany. (*Absent on sick certificate.*)
H R. Haines, M.B. .. .. *Acting* Ditto.

	J. H. Sylvester ..	.. *Actg.* Professor of Anatomy and Physiology, & Curator of the Museum.
M	C. C. Mead ..	.. *Acting* Professor of Midwifery.
	W. Campbell, M.D.	.. Professor of Medical Jurisprudence.
	G. M. S. Seaward..	.. Ex-Officio Professor of Materia Medicia.
	H. J. Carter ..	.. Ex-Officio Professor of Ophthalmic Medicine and Surgery.
H M	*Major T. Candy* ..	.. Principal Poona College. (*Absent on sick leave to Europe.*)
	Rev. J. McDougall	.. *Acting* Ditto, and Professor of Mathematics & Natural Philosophy.
	*W. Draper.. ..	.. Professor of English Literature (*Absent on sick leave to Europe.*)
	Rev. R. Wallace ..	.. Head Master in the School Branch of the Poona College.
	G. Millar	.. Assistant Ditto.
	Karoo Luxumon ..	.. Assistant Professor of Natural Philosophy, Vernacular.
	Christna Shastri Chiploonkur.	Assistant Professor of Vernacular [Literature.
	Major T. Candy ..	.. Marathi Translator in the Educational Department, and Supdt. of the Depository Poona College. (*Absent on sick leave to Europe.*)
	Rao Saheb Bhasker Damodhur . ..	.. *Acting* Ditto.
	Revd. D. Glassgow..	.. Guzerathi Translator and Literary Referee.
	Rao Saheb Bhogilal Pranwulubdass ..	.. Deputy Inspector Kattywar.
	Rao Saheb Pranlall Muthooradass	.. Deputy Inspector in the Collectorates of Ahmedabad and Kaira.
	Mohunlall Runchordass ..	Provisional Deputy Inspector in the Collectorates of Surat and Broach.
	Rao Saheb Vishwanath Narayen	.. Deputy Inspector in the Collectorate of Tanna, and the Sub-Col. of Colaba and of Maratha Schools in the Island of Bombay.
	Rao Saheb Ramchundra Dinanathjee ..	.. Deputy Inspector in the Collectorate of Rutnagherry.
	Cowasjee Shapoorjee..	.. Deputy Inspector of Guzerati Schools in the Island of Bombay.
	Narayen Bhai ..	.. *Acting* Deputy Inspector in the Collectorates of Kandeish and Ahmednuggur.

Rao Saheb Mahadeo Govind Shastree..	Deputy Inspector in the Poona and Sattara, and the Murathee Districts of Sholapoor.
F. P. Baker	Deputy Inspector in the Collectorates of Belgaum and Dharwar, and the Canarese Districts of Sholapoor.
Vacant	Hindoo Deputy Inspector in Sind.
Vacant	Mahomedan ditto ditto.
E. E. Good..	Master of the English School at Surat.
T. B. Curtis	Do. do. Ahmedabad.
A. J. da Silva	Do. do. Ahmednuggur.
Rao Saheb Bhogilal Pranwulubdass	Do. do. Rajcote.
PrannarayenMayashunker..	Do. do. Bhownuggur.
Purvutishunkur Manishunkur	Do. do. Broach.
Jehangeer Hormusjee ..	Do. do. Tanna.
Rao Saheb Ramchundra Dinanathjee	Do. do. Rutnagherry.
Narayen Bullal	Do. do. Dhoolia.
Succaram Balkrushna ..	Do. do. Poona.
Govind Luxumon	Do. do. Sattara.
Balcrishna Sudasew ..	Do. do. Sholapore.
Narsing Shastree Oak ..	Do. do. Dharwar.
Mahadeo Shastree Pooranic.	Do. do. Kurrachee.

CIVIL SURGEONS, &c. UNDER THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

Aden.....	H	Assist. Surgeon	J. F. Steinhaeuser,
Ahmedabad.....	H	„ „	D. Wyllie, M.D.
Ahmednuggur.....		„ „	J. G. Fraser.
Bagdad		„ „	J. McA. Hyslop, M.D.
Belgaum	P	Surgeon	T. Waller.
Bombay	C	„	W. Arbuckle, M.D.
Ditto		Assist. Surgeon	H. J. Carter.
Ditto (Lunatic Asylum)		„ „	W. Campbell, M.D.
Ditto (Port Surgeon)		„ „	J. Reynalds.
Broach	H	„ „	*J. Bean,*
„		„ „	J. Glen, *Acting.*
Bushire.....		„ „	J. McAlister. [Magistrate.)
Dharwar	C	Surgeon	G. F. Forbes. (Hoozoor Asst.
Dhoolia.....		Assist. Surgeon	M. M. Mackenzie.
Hyderabad (Sind)..		„ „	R. W. James, M.D.
Jacobabad		„ „	J. Daubeny.
Kaira.....	H	„ „	R. Bayne, M.D.

Kolhapoor	H M	Assist. Surgeon	F. Broughton.
Kurachee.....		„ „	J. G. Nicolson, M.D.
Malcolm Peth (Mahableshwur) ..	H G M	Surgeon	J. W. Winchester. (Assist. to the Collector and Magistrate of Mahableshwur.)
Nasik	M	Surgeon	S. M. Pelly.
Poona	H	Assist. Sur.	J. Keith, M.D.
Rajkot		„ „	W. F. Clay.
Rutnagherry		„ „	E. N. C. De Crespigney, M.D.
Satara	H G M	„ „	*C. G. Wiehe, M.D.* (Is also Assistant Magistrate and President of the Municipal Committee for the town of Satara.) (*On leave to England, for the period of fifteen months, from the 28th April* 1856.)
„	M	„ „	G. G. W. Maitland, *Acting*.
Shikarpoor.....		„ „	W. G. Hunter.
Sholapoor.....		„ „	C. J. Sylvester, M.D.
Surat		Surgeon	R. Dent.
Tanna	H	Assist. Surgeon	A. V. Ward.

SUPERINTENDENTS OF VACCINATION.

Bombay and Colaba....	H M	Assist. Surgeon	J. Peet.
Deccan (N. Division)..		„ „	W. Davey.
Deccan (S. Division) ..	M	„ „	*G. G. W. Maitland, Acting* Civil Surgeon Satara.
„ „		„ „	T. B. Johnstone, *Actg.*
Guzerat (W. Division)..		„ „	R. G. Lord, M.D.
Guzerat (S. E. Division)		„ „	W. Peach, M.D.
Konkun	H	„ „	T. B. Beatty, A.B.
Satara District	G H M	„ „	*C. G. Wiehe, M.D.* (*On*
Sind.....		„ „	T. E. P. Martin. [*leave.*)

REGISTRARS OF MARRIAGES IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY,

Under Sec. XVIII. of Act of Parliament 14 *and* 15 *Vic., Cap. XL.*

H AHMEDABAD.—Assist. Surgeon D. Wyllie, Civil Surgeon.
„ Revd. H. Ballantine, M.A.
AHMEDNUGGUR.—Revd. A. Hazen.
„ Assistant Surgeon J. G. Fraser.

P BELGAUM.—T. Waller, Civil Surgeon.
BOMBAY.—A. W. Clarke.
H BROACH.—*J. Bean*, Civil Surgeon.
„ J. Glen, *Acting*.
C DHARWAR.—G. F. Forbes, Civil Surgeon.
HYDERABAD (SIND).—Assistant Surgeon R. W. James, M.D.
H KAIRA.—Assistant Surgeon R. Bayne, Civil Surgeon.
„ Revd. J. Taylor. [Civil Surgeon.
KHANDESH (DHOOLIA).—Assistant Surgeon M.M. Mackenzie,
KURACHEE.—Assistant Surgeon J. G. Nicolson, M.D
M NASIK.—Surgeon S. M. Pelly, Civil Surgeon.
H POONA.—James Keith, Civil Surgeon.
„ Revd. W. K. Mitchell. [Civil Surgeon.
RUTNAGHERRY.—Assistant Surgeon E. N. C. DeCrespigney,
H C M SATARA.—*C. G. Wiehe*, Civil Surgeon. (*On leave to England.*)
„ G. W. Maitland, *Acting*.
„ Revd. W. Wood. [Magistrate.
SHOLAPOOR.—C. J. Sylvester, Civil Surgeon, and Assistant
M SURAT.—Surgeon J. J. Atkinson, 8th Regt. N. I.
„ Revd. James McKee.
TANNA.—Assistant Surgeon A. V. Ward.

REGISTRARS OF MARRIAGES UNDER THE ABOVE ACT, IN THE NON-REGULATION DISTRICTS.

H ADEN.—Assistant Surgeon *J. F. Steinhaeuser*.
„ Assistant Surgeon J. Pinkerton, *Acting:*
H BARODA.—Major Andrew Crawford, 3rd European Regt., Major of Brigade. [N. I.
DEESA AND PAHLUNPOOR.—Captain R. Richards, 3rd Regt. Bombay
KATTYWAR.—Major Burdett Richard Powell, 26th Regt. N. I., Major of Brigade at Rajkot.
H M KOLHAPOOR.—Assistant Surgeon Francis Broughton, Civil Surgeon.
KUTCH.—
SAWUNT WAREE.—Sub-Assistant Surgeon R. Spencer.

GRANT MEDICAL COLLEGE, AND JAMSETJEE JEJEEBHOY HOSPITAL.

H M Surgeon J. J. Don, M.D., Government Examiner for the purpose of conducting the final Examinations.
H Surgeon C. Morehead, M.D., Surgeon Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Hospital, and Principal, Grant Medical College.
Surgeon G. M. S. Seaward, Professor of Mat. Medica, Gr. Med. Coll.
H M Assistant Surgeon J. Peet, in Medical charge J. Jejeebhoy Hospital.
Assistant Surgeon W. Campbell, M.D., Professor of Medical Jurisprudence, Grant Medical College.
Assistant Surgeon *H. J. Giraud*, M.D., Professor of Chemistry, Grant Medical College, and Assist. Surgeon J. J. Hospital. (*On leave.*)

C Assistant Surgeon C. C. Mead, Professor of Midwifery, Grant Medical College, and Assistant Surgeon J. J. Hospital. *(Acting.)*

Assistant Surgeon H. J. Carter, Officiating Professor of Ophthalmic Surgery, Grant Medical College.

Assistant Surgeon G. R. Ballingall, M.D., *Acting* Professor of the Principles and Practice of Surgery and Clinical Surgery, and Assistant Surgeon Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Hospital.

Assistant Surgeon *J. F. Watson*, A.M., M.D., Curator of the Museum, Grant Medical College, and Assistant Surgeon Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Hospital. *(Europe, S. C.)*

Assistant Surgeon J. H. Sylvester, *Acting* Curator of the Museum, Grant Medical College, *Acting* Professor of Anatomy and Physiology, and *Acting* Assistant Surgeon J. J. Hospital.

Assistant Surgeon *H. J. Giraud*, M.D., Chemical Analyser at the Presidency. *(On leave to England, from the 3rd January 1856 to the 3rd April 1857.)*

H Assistant Surgeon R. Haines, *Acting* do., and Professor of Chemistry and Botany during the absence of Assistant Surgeon Giraud.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF VERNACULAR EXAMINATION.

One of the Judges of the Sudder Adawlut,	*President.*
The Secretary to Government in the Revenue Department,	*Members.*
The Oriental Translator to Government, with one or more other Officers, to be named on each occasion by Government,	*Members.*
The Oriental Translator to Government,	*Secretary.*

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF DEPARTMENTAL EXAMINATION.

One of the Judges of the Sudder Adawlut,	*President.*
The Secretary to Government in the Revenue Department,	*Members.*
9 R. Spooner,	*Members.*
The Oriental Translator to Government,	*Members.*
The Oriental Translator to Government,	*Secretary.*

CIVIL AND MILITARY EXAMINATION COMMITTEE.

H M	Major C. D. Mylne ..... 6th Regt. N. I.	*President.*
H M	Captain C. F. Kneller ..... 11th „ „	*Members.*
H M	Joseph Miles ..... 16th „ „	*Members.*
	Venayek Wassoodew	*Members.*
H M	Captain C. F. Kneller ..... 11th Regt. N. I.	*Offg. Secy.*

BOARD OF CONSERVANCY.

Ex-officio Members.

Senior Magistrate of Police, Bombay.
Collector of Bombay.

Elected Members.

H M Major C. D. Mylne, 6th Regt. N. I.
E. Heycock.
Juggonath Sunkersett.
Meerza Mahomed Ali Khan.
Narayen Dinnanathjee.

Clerk to the Board.—J. F. Hutchinson.
Superintendent of Repairs.—H. Aher.

BOTANICAL GARDENS. (Dapooree and Hewra.)

M H G Surgeon A. Gibson, Superintendent Botanical Gardens, and Conservator of Forests. (Is an Assist. Magistrate in all the Zillahs of the Bombay Presidency, under the provisions of Act XIV. of 1835.)

H G W. Fenner, Assistant to the Conservator of Forests. Is also extra Political Assist. to the Collector and Magistrate in Khandesh.

G. N. Smith, Assist. Timber Agent, Southern branch, and Deputy Conservator of Forests.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Surgeon W. H. Pigou, employed in taking copies of the Ancient Sculptures and Inscriptions in Western India. (Temporarily placed at the disposal of the Commander in Chief for Regimental Duty.)

C. Kingcome, Registrar of Merchant Seamen. (*On leave to England for the period of — months from the — Dec.* 1856.)

J. D. Freeman, *Acting* Assistant ditto.

N. Fernandes, Portuguese Translator to Government.

J. Brodhurst, French do. do.

CENTRAL MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY AND ECONOMIC MUSEUM OF GEOLOGY, OF INDUSTRY, AND THE ARTS.

Surgeon E. Impey, *President.*
Revd. A. G. Fraser,
Professor Sinclair, LL.D., } *Members.*
W. F. Hunter,
Secretary.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

H. B. Riddell, Director General. (*On leave.*)
G. Paton, *Officiating* Do.

BOMBAY GENERAL POST OFFICE.

Surgeon E. Impey, Post Master General.
W. Blowers (Uncovenanted), Post Master.

INSPECTING POST MASTERS.

Berar.

F. G. Harrison.

Southern Muratha Country.

L. C. Moore.

Guzerat.

R. E. Wilson.

Khandesh.

H. Vears.

Deccan.

Merwanjee Dadabhoy.

Southern Konkun Division.

Cursetjee Pallonjee.

Northern Konkun Division.

D. L. Nicker.

Nagpoor.

Captain J. R. Wilson.

Sind.

E. Lodwick.

P. W. Hewett, *Acting.*

POST MASTERS.

Aden.

Hormuzd Rassam.

Bhooj.

Captain S. N. Raikes.

Bhopawar.

Lieut. A. R. E. Hutchinson.

Mahableshwur.

Surgeon J. W. Winchester.

Pahlunpoor.

Lieut. Col. J. R. Keily.

Rajkot.

Capt. J. T. Barr.

Sawunt Waree.

Major J. W. Auld.

Sind.

POLITICAL, REVENUE, JUDICIAL, AND POLICE APPOINTMENTS IN SIND.

INDUS FLOTILLA.

MISCELLANEOUS APPOINTMENTS.

PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT IN SIND.

SIND.

H M G 27 *H. B. E. Frere*, Commissioner. *(On leave to Europe on sick certificate, for fifteen months, from 4th February* 1856.)
Lieut. Col. John Jacob, C. B., Artillery, *Acting Commissioner.*
H G 63 J. Gibbs, Assistant Commissioner, Judicial and Political.
74 *M. J. M. Stewart*, Assistant Commissioner, Revenue and General. *(On leave to Europe, on medical certificate, for fifteen months, from the 30th March* 1856.)
H M S Coll. Capt. L. Pelly, *Acting.*
A H P S *Major F. J. Goldsmid*, 37th Regt. M. N. I. (Grenadiers), 1st Assistant Commissioner for Jagheers. *(Acting Deputy Magistrate in charge of the Adawlut at Shikarpoor.*
H M S Coll. Capt. L. Pelly, 17th Regt. N. I., 2nd Assistant Commissioner for Jagheers.
G H M H. Ingle, Uncovenanted Assistant Commissioner.

FRONTIER OF UPPER SIND.

Lieut. Col. John Jacob, C. B., Artillery, Political Superintendent, and Commandant on the Frontier of Upper Sind. Honorary A. D. C. to the Most Noble the Governor General of India. *(Acting Commissioner.)*
H Capt. W. L. Merewether, 3rd Eur. Regt., 2nd in Command 1st Regt. Sind Irregular Horse, Assistant Political Superintendent, and Deputy Collector and Magistrate in charge of the Frontier districts of Upper Sind. *(Acting Political Superintendent and Commandant.)*
H Lieut. W. L. Briggs, 22nd Regt. N. I., Adjutant and *Acting* 2nd in Command of the 2nd Regt. Sind Irregular Horse, *Acting Assistant Political Superintendent and Deputy Collector and Magistrate of the Frontier of Upper Sind.*
Assistant Surgeon F. T. Bond, in charge Civil Medical duties at Jacobabad, and Medical charge of the Frontier Police.

KURRACHEE.

H M Major H. W. Preedy, 25th Regt. N. I. .. .. Collector and Magistrate.
H M S *Capt. J. B. Dunsterville*, 4th Regt. N. I. (Rifles) .. Deputy Magistrate in charge of the Adawlut. *On Field service.*
Captain R. M. Johnstone.. *Acting.*
H M S Coll. Capt. F. Phillips, 1st Eur. Regt. (Fusiliers) .. 1st Class Deputy Collector and Magistrate in charge of Sehwan.

Coll. H S	Capt. R. M. Johnstone, 1st Grenadier Regt. N. I.	2nd Class Deputy Collector and Magistrate, in charge of Jerruck.
Coll. S	W. T. Cole (Uncovenanted).	3rd Class Deputy Collector and Magistrate, in charge Shahbunder.
	Vacant	3rd Class Supernumerary Deputy Collector and Magistrate.
	W. J. Surtees (Uncovenanted)	Deputy Collector and Magistrate, in charge Treasury. (*On leave to Europe, on medical certificate.*)
	W. Maher (Ditto) ..	3rd Class Deputy Collector Hyderabad, *Acting ditto.*
	G. Elander (Ditto) ..	Assist. Collector for Canals.
	Assist. Surgeon J. G. Nicolson	Civil Surgeon and Registrar of Marriages.
	Sub-Assist. Surgeon Ananta Chundroba	In charge Kurrachee Dispensary.

Customs Department.

H M	P. M. Dalzell (Uncovenanted)	Deputy Collector of Customs, and vested with the powers of a Deputy Magistrate in the Kurrachee Collectorate.

HYDERABAD.

H M	60 E. P. Down	Collector and Magistrate.
Coll. H M S	94 J. W. Stack	Deputy Magistrate, in charge of Adawlut.
Coll. H S	Capt. R. Cowpar, 1st Eur. (Fus.) Regt.	1st Class Deputy Collector and Magistrate, in charge Nowshera.
H M S	Lieut. L. D. Dunsterville, 28th Regt. N. I. ..	2nd Class ditto ditto, in charge Mahomed Khan's Tanda.
Coll. H S	Lieut. G. B. Tyrwhitt, 5th Regiment N. I.	2nd Class ditto, in charge Meerpoor.
	Vacant	3rd Class ditto ditto, in charge of Halla.
	W. Maher (Uncovenanted)..	3rd Class Deputy Collector and Magistrate. *Acting Deputy Collector, in charge of the Kurrachee Treasury.*
Coll. S	W. Dowman (Uncovenanted)	Deputy Collector and Magistrate, in charge Treasury.
	John Beatty (Ditto) ..	Assistant Collector for Canals.
	Assist. Surgeon R. W. James.	Civil Surgeon and Registrar of Marriages.
Coll. S	Capt. W. R. Lambert, 1st Gr. Regt. N. I.	Settlement Officer.

SHIKARPOOR.

	Major T. R. Steuart, 8th Regt. N. I.	Collector and Magistrate.
H M	86 *C. G. Kemball*.....	Deputy Magistrate, in charge Adawlut. *Acting Assistant Judge and Session Judge, Poona.*
A H P S	Major F. J. Goldsmid, 37th Regt. M. N. I., (Grs.)	1st Assistant Commr. for Jagheers. *Acting ditto.*
H M Coll. S	Lieut. St. Clair Ford, 14th Regt. N. I.	1st Class Deputy Collector and Magistrate, in charge Larkhanah.
Coll. H S	Lieut. J. Currie, 15th Regt. N. I.	2nd Class do. do., in charge of Mehur.
Coll. H S	Lieut. W. C. Lester, 2nd Gr. Regt. N. I.	3rd Class do. in charge of Roree.
Coll. H S	Capt. W. Southey, 48th Madras N. I	Supernumerary Deputy Collector and Magistrate, in charge Sukkur.
	G. Wood (Uncovenanted). .	Deputy Collector and Magistrate, in charge Treasury.
	Vacant	Assistant Collector for Canals.
	Assistant Surgeon W. G. Hunter	Civil Surgeon and Registrar of Marriages.
H M	Capt. H. J. Day, 19th Regt. N. I.	Settlement Officer.
H S	Lieut. R. R. Wallace, 2d Gr. Regt. N. I.	Ditto ditto.

POLICE DEPARTMENT, SIND.

Coll. S	Capt. E. C. Marston, 25th Regt. N. I.	Captain of Police.
H	Capt. W. Pirie, 1st Gr. Regt. N. I.	Lieut. of Police, Kurrachee.
M G S	Lieut. C. E. Naylor, 19th Regt. N. I.	Lieut. of Police, Hyderabad.
H	Capt. G. S. Montgomery, 14th Regt. N. I...	Lieut. of Police, Shikarpoor.

RAILWAY DEPARTMENT, SIND.

	.. .. ..	Deputy Superintending Engineer.
	Lieut. Col. H. B. Turner ..	Superintending Engineer. In charge.

INDUS FLOTILLA.

	Commander E. Daniell, I. N.	Commanding Indus Flotilla. Assistant Magistrate in Sind, with the full powers of a Magistrate.

Lieut. H. W. Etheridge, I. N.	Assistant Superintendent Indus Flotilla, and Superintendent of Boats.
Lieut. T. H. T. Twynam, I. N.	Port Officer, Kurrachee.
Lieut. F. W. Hopkins, I. N.	Boat Department, and Agent for Steamers, Mooltan. (*On*
Lieut. W. L. Searle, I. N..	Ditto ditto at Sukkur. [*leave.)*
J. Amos, Acting Master ..	Ditto ditto at Kurrachee.

MISCELLANEOUS APPOINTMENTS IN SIND.

Commander B. Hamilton, I. N.	Forest Ranger.
W. Williams (Uncovenanted)	1st Deputy Forest Ranger. (*On special duty in Bombay.*)
J. Cabral	*Acting* ditto.
J. A. Veveiras	2nd Depy. Forest Ranger.
E. Lodwick	Inspecting Post Master in Sind.
P. W. Hewett	*Acting* ditto.
G. P. Gardiner	Post Master at Kurrachee.
(Vacant)	Supt. of Vaccination in Sind.

SIND REVENUE SURVEY.

Lieutenant J. Macdonald, Bengal Establishment ..	Revenue Surveyor in Sind.
Mr. W. Lane.	Assistant to ditto.
„ W. Bolton	Sub-Assistant ditto.
„ F. Kelly.	Ditto.
„ E. Foy..	Ditto.
„ J. Hodjson	Ditto.
„ M. Scott.	Ditto.
„ R. Scott.	Ditto.
„ J. Todd.	Ditto.

PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT IN SIND.

H Lieut. Col. H. B. Turner, Engineers.	Superintending Engineer, Sind.
Lieut. C. W. Finch, Engrs.	Assistant to ditto. (*Absent on Field service.*)
Lieut. W. A. Baker, ditto..	*Acting* ditto.
(Vacant)	Executor Engineer, Kurrachee.
Lieut. D. Thomson,.. ..	*Acting* Executive Engineer, Kurrachee.
C. Lee.	Sub-Assistant Executive Engr.
Lieut. C. J. Merriman, Engrs.	Executive Engineer, Hydrabad Collectorate. (*Absent on Field*
G. W. Mossop, C. E. ..	*Acting* ditto. [*service.*)
Vacant	Assistant to ditto.

H	Lieut. G. J. Melliss, 8th Regt. N. I.	Executive Engineer, Shikarpoor Collectorate.
	(Vacant)	Assistant to ditto.
	C. W. Radenhurst	Sub-Assist. Executive Engineer.
H	Lieut. C. D. T. Dodd, 8th Regt. N. I.	Assistant Executive Engineer, for the Survey of Roads.
	R. W. Woodhouse	Do. (*Absent on sick certificate.*)

Canal Department.

H	Lieut. J. R. Soady, Engrs. .	*Acting* Supdt. of Canals.
	Do. do.	1st Executive Engineer.
	W. H. Price, C. E.	*Acting* ditto.
	F. Jones, C. E.	*Acting 2nd* ditto.
	J. W. Barnes	Assistant Executive Engineer, and *Acting 3rd* ditto.
	Lieutenant D'A W. Jopp, 27th Regiment N. I.	Probationary Asist. Ex. Engrs.
	Lieutenant J. J. Elder, 6th Regt. N. I.	
	Ensign J. P. M. Newton, 11th Regt. N. I.	
	(Vacant)	

HONORABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S AGENTS AT HOME AND ABROAD.

ANNUITANTS ON THE CIVIL FUND.

GREAT INDIAN PENINSULA RAILWAY COMPANY.

ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH.

LIST OF DIRECTORS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

THE HONORABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S AGENTS ABROAD.

Bussora	John G. Taylor.
Canada	Forsyth, Richardson, and Co.
Cape	W. Dickson and Co.
Corfu	Charles Schomberg Thomas.
Egypt (Alexandria)	Captain H. Johnson. (H.M.S.)
„ (Cairo)	A. Walne.
„ (Suez)	Henry Levick. [*leave.*)
„ (Judda)	*C. J. D. Cole.* (*Absent on sick*
„ „	S. Page (*Acting*).
Genoa	Grant, Balfour, and Saunders.
Gibraltar	William Sherwill.
Halifax	S. Cunard and Co.
Lisbon	Joseph Van Zeller and Sons.
Madeira	Henry Veitch.
Malta	Vincent G. Montanaro.
Mauritius	Jack and Co.
Naples	Cotterill, Iggulden, and Co.
St. Helena	Thos. Baker and Co.
Trieste	Lang, Freeland, and Co.
Venice	E. Valentine, Esq.
Vienna	J. G. Schuller and Co.

AT HOME.

Cork	Nicholas Cummins.
Dartmouth	Thomas Newman.
Deal	George Hammond.
Falmouth	John Carne and Sons.
Glasgow and Greenock	J. and A. Dennistoun and Co.
Gravesend	Thomas Elkin.
Leith	James Wyld and Co.
Limerick	Thomas Westrop and Son.
Liverpool	William Rathbone.
Margate	Geo. Hammond and Co.
Plymouth	Fox, Sons, and Co.
Portsmouth	Garratt and Gibbon.
Torbay	John and Samuel Calley.

BOMBAY CIVIL SERVANTS

Who have retired upon the Honorable East India Company's Annuity Fund.

Dates.		Names.	Dates.		Names.
App.	Ann.		App.	Ann.	
1806	1844	Anderson, Sir G.W., K.C.B.	1810	1837	Lumsden, Wm. Jas.
1819	1847	Arbuthnot, Sir R. K., Bart.	1821	1836	Malet, Wm. W.
1807	1837	Baillie, E. H.	1806	1846	Marriott, Saville.
1805	1833	Barnard, Thomas	1817	1845	McKenzie, J. A. S.
1808	1842	Bax, John	1816	1842	Mills, Richard.
1819	1854	Blane, D. A.	1816	,,	———, Edw. B.
1818	1846	Borradaile, Harry.	1820	1847	Montgomerie, E.
1812	1842	Bouchier, Frederick.	1820	1851	Pringle, R. K.
1820	1852	Brown, H.	1815	1841	Ramsay, Thomas W.
1820	1840	Chamier, William.	1825	1852	Ravenscroft, A. W.
1825	1854	Coles, G.	1816	1850	Reid, L. R.
1806	1857	DeVitre, Jas. Denis.	1798	1832	Romer, John.
1814	1842	Elliot, G. L.	1826	1846	Scott, Patrick.
1805	1840	Farish, James.	1821	1851	Shaw, A. N.
1817	1847	Glass, H. H.	1820	1849	Stewart, Phillip.
1816	1846	Giberne, George.	1815	1841	Stubbs, William.
1810	1844	Greenhill, David.	1821	1851	Townsend, E. H.
1820	1847	Harrison, H. A.	1815	1842	Vibart, John.
1808	1835	Henderson, James.	1810	1840	Wathen, Wm. Henry.
1821	1852	Hunter, W. J.	1820	1849	Webb, R. T.
1818	1853	Hutt, Benjamin.	1807	1837	Wedderburn, John.
1810	1839	Kentish, John.	1817	1851	Willoughby, J. P.
1824	1856	Luard, R. D.			

Annuitants on the Private Fund.

H. Clephane.
T. G. Gardiner.
J. A. Grant.
D. D. Inglis.
S. Rolleston.
H. Shank.
J. Skrine.

GREAT INDIAN PENINSULA RAILWAY COMPANY.

London Directors.

W. J. Hamilton, Chairman.
Sir James C. Melvill, K.C.B., *ex-officio.*
Melvill Wilson.
J. R. Hadow.
J. G. Frith.
William Nicol.
A. S. Ayrton.
Cornelius Nicholson, Superintending Director.

Directors in Bombay.

Col. Melvill.
Lieut. Col. J. Swanson.
Thomas Stock Cowie.
Major H. J. Barr.
Cursetjee Jamsetjee.
Juggonath Sunkersett.

BOMBAY STAFF.

H *Major J. H. Crawford,* Engineers, Superintending Engineer. *(On leave to England, for the period of fifteen months, from the 12th May* 1856.*)*
Captain H. Rivers, Engineers, *Acting* ditto.
Captain H. Rivers, Engineers, Deputy Superintending Engineer. (*Acting* Superintending Engineer.)
H Lieut. J. S. Trevor, Engineers, Deputy ditto.
Thos. R. Watt, Secretary.

J. J. Berkley, Chief Resident Engineer.
C. B. Ker, 2nd Engineer.
R. W. Graham, 3rd Engineer. *(On leave to Europe.)*

Assistant Engineers and Surveyors.

First Class.

Assistant Engineers.	*Surveyors.*
T. E. Darke.	W. J. Wright.
John Preston.	R. Boddington.
S. Adamson.	C. J. Hawkes.
W. Butt.	

Second Class.

Assistant Engineers.	*Surveyors.*
H. Winteringham.	W. Sanderson.
A. A. West.	C. W. Bennett.
William Inglis.	
J. S. Tate.	
E. W. West.	

Third Class.

Assistant Engineer.	*Surveyor.*
W. B. Wright.	J. A. Hawkes.

W. Cooper, Traffic Manager.
J. Kershaw, Locomotive Superintendent.
W. Langdon, Accountant.
W. Walker, Storekeeper.

ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH.

R. L. Brunton, *Acting* Deputy Superintendent.

A LIST OF THE DIRECTORS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY FOR THE YEAR 1857, WITH THE DATES WHEN FIRST APPOINTED.

Years to serve.	Committees.			Names, and Date of Appointment.
	Finance and Home.	Political and Military.	Revenue, Judicial, and Legislative.	
4	Chairman			Col. Wm. H. Sykes, July 2nd, 1840.
6	Deputy Chairman.....			Charles Mills, Esq., Aug. 28th, 1822.
6	....	....	....	Ross Donnelly Mangles, Esq., M. P., April 14th, 1847.
6	F. H.	.....	R. J. L.	Elliot Macnaghten, Esq., June 8th, 1842.
2	F. H.	....	....	Russell Ellice, Esq., Feb. 23rd, 1831.
2	.....	....	R. J. L.	William Butterworth Bayley, Esq., July 23rd, 1833.
4	F. H.	....	....	John Shepherd, Esq., June 17th, 1835.
6	F. H.	....	....	Martin Tucker Smith, Esq., M. P., December 12th, 1838.
4	.....	....	R. J. L.	Sir Henry Willock, K.L.S., January 30th, 1838.
4	F. H.	....	....	Sir James Weir Hogg, Bart., M. P., September 11th, 1830.
2	.....	P. M.	....	Lieut. Col. James Oliphant, January 24th, 1844. [Vivian, April 21st, 1856.
2	.....	P. M.	....	Major General Robert John Hussey
4	.....	P. M.	....	William Joseph Eastwick, Esq., June 30th, 1847.
6	F. H.	....	....	John Harvey Astell, Esq., July 9th, 1851.
2	.....	....	R. J. L.	Henry Thoby Prinsep, Esq., July 31st, 1850.
6	.....	P. M.	....	Sir Henry Creswicke Rawlinson, K.C.B., April 10th, 1856.
2	.....	P. M.	....	John Pollard Willoughby, Esq., April 12th, 1854.
4	.....	....	R. J. L.	Sir Frederick Currie, Bart., April 12th, 1854.

SECRET COMMITTEE OF THE HONORABLE THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.

Colonel William Henry Sykes, Chairman.

Charles Mills, Esq., Deputy Chairman.

Ross Donnelly Mangles, Esq., M. P.

LIST OF HER MAJESTY'S EUROPEAN AND NATIVE JUSTICES OF THE PEACE

For the Town and Island of Bombay

AND THE DEPENDENCIES THEREOF.

LISTS OF HER MAJESTY'S JUSTICES OF THE PEACE

For the Town and Island of Bombay, and the Dependencies thereof.

EUROPEAN JUSTICES.

A

Acland, Lawford..... Solicitor Supreme Court.
Anderson, Henry Lacon..... Civil Servant.
Arbuthnot, Forster Fitzgerald.. Ditto.
Armstrong, John Frederick.... Ditto.
Arthur, Edward Penfold..... Military.
Arthur, John Raynor ..... Civil Servant.
Ashburner, Lionel Robert .... Ditto.
Auld, John William..... Military. Pol. Supt., Sawunt Waree.

B

Baldwin, Solomon Cosby..... Military. Bazar Master, &c., Dapoolee.
Barr, John Turnly ..... „ 1st Assistant Political Agent, Kattywar.
Battye, Arthur Frederick..... „ 2nd in Command S. M. Irregular Horse.
Battye, Montague John ..... „ Assist. Resident at Baroda.
Baumbach, John Andrew .... Merchant, Firm of Remington & Co.
Bellasis, Augustus Fortunatus.. Civil Servant.
Berkley, James J..... Civil Engineer G. I. P. Railway Comp.
Bettington, Albemarle..... Civil Servant.
Birdwood, Christopher..... Military. 3rd Regiment N. I.
Blowers, William..... Post Master, Bombay.
Bosanquet, Arthur ..... Civil Servant.
Boswell, Henry Bruce..... Ditto.
Brown, Robert..... Merchant, Firm of Ewart, Latham, & Co.
Buckle, Christopher ..... Military. Assist. Political Agent, Rewa Kanta.
Buist, George, LL.D..... Editor of the "Bombay Times."

C

Cameron, Charles Henry..... Civil Servant.
Campbell, George William .... Merchant, Firm of Ritchie, Steuart, &Co.
Campbell, John ..... Ditto Ditto.
Cartwright, Henry Durance .. Ditto, Firm of Leckie & Co.
Chapman, Francis Stewart .... Civil Servant.
Clarke, Anthony William .... Assistant Civil Auditor.
Coghlan, William Marcus .... Military. Pol. Resdt. & Comdt., Aden.
Cole, William Trimley..... Uncovenanted. Dep. Collr., Kurrachee.
Compton, Thomas Abingdon .. Civil Servant.
Corfield, Arthur King..... Ditto
Cormack, William Forster .... Military. Supt. of Police, Dharwar.
Costelloe, Daniel..... Medical Establishment. 1st Bombay European Regt. (Fusiliers.)
Cowie, Thomas Stock..... Merchant, Firm of Remington & Co.
Cowpar, Robert ..... Military. Deputy Collr., Shikarpoor.
Coxon, Michael Agnew ..... Civil Servant.
Crawford, Archibald ..... Military. Brigade Major, Baroda.
Crawford, James Henry Graham. „ Suptg. Eng. Railway Comp.
Crawford, William ..... Senior Magistrate of Police.
Currie, James ..... Military. Dep. Collector, Shikarpoor.
Curtis, William Frederick .... „ Dep. Judge Adv. Genl., S.D.

D

Dalzell, Nicholas Alexander.... Assist. Commissioner of Customs.
Dalzell, Pulteney Mein ..... Depy. Collector of Customs, Kurrachee.
Daniell, Edward Webb Stone .. Indian Navy. Comdg. Indus Flotilla.
Davidson, David..... Military. Commissary General.
Davidson, Duncan ..... Civil Servant.
Davies, Charles James..... Ditto. [Light Cavalry.
Deas, John ..... Medical Establishment. 3rd Regiment
Down, Edward Phillip..... Civil Servant.
D'Oyly, William..... Ditto.
Duff, James Adam Gordon.... Ditto.
Dunlop, Wm. Henry Glasgow.. Superintendent of Floating Police.
Dunsterville, John Bruce .... Military. Dep. Magistrate, Kurrachee.
Dunsterville, Lionel D'Arcy .. „ „ Hyderabad.

E

Elliot, Augustus William..... Assist. Commissioner of Customs.
Elliot, Edward Eden ..... Civil Servant.
Elliot, Gilbert Wray..... Ditto.

Ellis, Barrow Helbert ..... Civil Servant.
Erskine, Claudius James..... Ditto.
Erskine, Henry Napier Bruce.. Ditto.
Erskine, James Mackintosh.... Ditto.
Ethersey, Richard ..... Indian Navy. Commodore Persian Gulf.

F

Fawcett, Edward Gordon..... Civil Servant.
Fleming, John ..... Merchant, Firm of W. Nicol & Co.
Forbes, Alexander Kinloch.... Civil Servant.
Forbes, Charles ..... Ditto.
Forbes, George Fiddes..... Medical. Civil Surgeon, Dharwar.
Forbes, Gordon Stewart ..... Civil Servant.
Ford, St.Clair ..... Military. Deputy Collector, Shikarpoor.
Fraser, Thomas Gamble..... „ Assist. Commissary General.
Frere, Henry Bartle Edward .. Civil Servant.
Frere, William Edward ..... Ditto.

G

Gibbs, James ..... Civil Servant.
Gilmour, Hamilton Boswell .. Merchant, Firm of Martin, Young, &Co.
Glass, Andrew James..... Assist. Commissioner of Customs.
Goldfinch, William Agnew.... Civil Servant.
Gonne, Charles ..... Ditto.
Gordon, Stewart St.John..... Ditto.
Gordon, William Fletcher .... Military. Sub-Asst. Comy. General.
Graham, James ..... Merchant, Firm of Graham & Co.
Grant, Alexander Ronald .... Civil Servant.
Grant, Charles Fortunatus.... Military.
Grant, Gregor ..... Civil Servant.
Gray, Alexander ..... Ditto.
Gray, William ..... Military. Sub-Assist. Commy. Genl.
Gray, William Hancock ..... Merchant, Firm of King & Co.
Grey, Arth. Egypt Donoughmore. Civil Servant.
Guerin, Edmund Arthur ..... Military. 2nd European Regt. L. I.

H

Hadow, John William..... Civil Servant.
Harkness, John ..... Principal Elphinstone Institution, &c.
Harrison, Charles Matthew.. ...Civil Servant.
Harrison, William Henry .... Ditto.
Hart, William ..... Ditto.
Haselwood, Alexander Malet.. Military. Supt. of Police, Khandeish.
Havelock, William Henry .... Civil Servant.

Hebbert, Henry ..... Civil Servant.
Hervey, Charles Robert West. .Millitary. Assist. Supt. Thuggee and Dacoitee Department.
Heycock, Edwin ..... Merchant, Firm of Heycock & Co.
Hobart, The Hon. G. Augustus.Civil Servant.
Hockin, Parr Willesford..... Medical Estab. Staff Surgeon, Rajpootana Field Force.
Holland, Henry William..... Millitary. Acting Deputy Assistant Commissary General, Aden.
Hope, Theodore Cracroft .... Civil Servant.
Hore, James F. ..... 1st Judge, Small Cause Court.
Hosken, Richard..... ..... Medical. Staff Surg. &c. Ahmedabad.
Howard, William ..... Barrister, Acting Advocate General.
Hunter, James ..... Merchant, Firm of Ewart, Latham, & Co.
Hunter, William Forsyth .... Ditto Firm of Dirom, Hunter & Co.
Hutchinson, Frederick ..... Collector of Bombay.

I

Inverarity, George ..... Civil Servant.
Inverarity, John Stewart..... Ditto.
Inverarity, Jonathan Duncan.. Ditto.

J

Jacob, George LeGrand ..... Military. Political Agent in Kutch.
Jacob, John, C. B..... ,, Pol. Supt. on the Frontier of Upper Sind. (*Acting* Commissioner in Sind.)
Jameson, George Inglis ..... Military. Auditor General.
Jenkins, Edward Leighton.... Civil Servant.
Jenkins, Thomas Lowten .... Barrister, Master in Equity.
Johnson, John Lewis ..... 2nd Judge, Small Cause Court.
Jones, Arthur Wellington .... Civil Servant.
Jones, Edmund Champagne .. Ditto.
Jones, James Felix ..... Indian Navy. Resident, Persian Gulf.
Jordan, Thomas S..... Uncovenanted. Deputy Collector Ahmedabad.

K

Karr, George Berkley Seton .. Civil Servant.
Keays, Robert..... Ditto.
Keily, John Richard ..... Military. Political Supt. Pahlunpoor.

Kemball, Arnold Burrows .... Acting Political Agent, Turkish Arabia.
Kemball, Charles Gordon .... Civil Servant.
Kemball, John Shaw ..... Military. Supt. of Police, Broach, (Acting do. Tanna.)
Kerr, William Alexander .... Military. Adjutant Southern Muratha Irregular Horse.
Ketterer, Oswald William .... Deputy Clerk of the Crown.
Kingcome, Charles ..... Registrar of Seamen.
Knapp, James Michael ..... Medical. Under the Govt. of India.

L

Lang, William ..... Military. Political Agent in Kattywar.
Larken, Metcalfe ..... Civil Servant.
Leeke, Henry Edward..... ———
Leeke, Sir Henry J..... Commander in Chief, Indian Navy.
LeGeyt, Philip William ..... Civil Servant.
Leighton, David Clarence Russell. Ditto.
Leith, Andrew H..... Medical. Garrison Surgeon, Bombay.
Lindsay, Hugh Barlow ..... Civil Servant.
Lloyd, Francis..... Ditto.
Loch, Francis Adam Ellis .... Military. 1st Regt. Light Cavalry.
Lockett, Hugh Barnett ..... Civil Servant.
Lodwick, Robert William .... Ditto.
Lodwick, William ..... Military. Sub-Assist. Commy. Genl.
Loughnan, Thomas Charles.... Civil Servant.
Lowndes, John James..... Barrister.
Lyon, Alfred ..... Merchant, Firm of Lyon Brothers.

M

Mactier, Robert Ferguson .... Civil Servant.
Maitland, Gilbert George Wm.. Medical. Supt. of Vaccination, Deccan, S. Division.
Malcolm, George..... Military. Comdt. S. M. I. Horse.
Malcolmson, James Kinlock .. Merchant, Firm of Forbes & Co.
Manisty, Francis..... Medical.
Mansfield, Samuel ..... Civil Servant.
Manson, Charles James ..... Ditto.
Marriott, William Frederick .. Military. Corps of Engineers.
Marston, Edward Charles .... ,, Captain of Police, Sind.
McCulloch, David ..... Merchant, Firm of McCulloch & Co.

McGregor, James ..... Military. Brigade Major, Hyderabad.
Melvill, Peter Melvill ..... „ Secy. to Govt. in Military and Marine Departments.
Merewether, William Lockyer.. Military. 2nd in Command 1st Regt. Sind Irreg. Horse, and Actg. Pol. Supt. and Comdt. on the Frontier of U. S.
Moir, William ..... Merchant, Firm of Finlay, Scott, & Co.
Morgan, John Robley..... Civil Servant.
Morris, James ..... Uncovenanted. Deputy Registrar, Sudder Adawlut.
Morris, William John ..... Military.
Morse, Thomas Robert ..... „
Muspratt, Jackson William.... Civil Servant.
Mylne, Charles David..... Military. Agent for Clothing the Army.

N

Neave, Edward Digby..... Civil Servant.
Newton, Henry ..... Ditto.

O

Ogilvy, Thomas ..... Civil Servant.
Oliphant, James Erskine..... Ditto.
Oliver, Norman William..... Uncovenanted. Third Magistrate of Police.

P

Parsons, John ..... Merchant, Firm of Cardwell, Parsons, & Co.
Payne, William Hugh..... Uncovenanted. Assist. Com. of Customs, Tanna.
Pearson, Edw. T. Graham .... Uncovenanted. Assist. Secy. Judicial Department.
Pelly, John Hinde ..... Civil Servant.
Pelly, William Augustus..... Uncovenanted. Assistant Commissioner of Customs, Tanna.
Phillips, Frederick ..... Military. Deputy Collr., Kurrachee.
Pinhey, Robert Hill..... Civil Servant.
Playfair, Robert Lambert .... Military. Assist. Pol. Resdt. at Aden.
Pollock, Charles Mason Innes.. Clerk of the Crown.
Pope, G. ..... Military.
Preedy, Henry William ..... „ Collector of Kurrachee.
Pym, John Archibald ..... „ Adjt. Guzerat Irregular Horse.

R

Raikes, Stanley Napier ..... Military. Assist. Pol. Agent in Kutch.
Ravenscroft, Edward William.. Civil Servant. [trate, Sholapoor.
Raymer, William..... Uncovenanted. Deputy Collr. & Magis-
Reeves, Henry Wilson..... Civil Servant.
Reid, Lestock ..... Ditto.
Richardson, Arthur St.John .. Ditto.
Richardson, Charles Welstead.. Uncovenanted. Deputy Collr. & Magistrate, Hyderabad.
Ritchie, John ..... Supt. P. & O. Steam Navigation Comp.
Ritchie, Walter Adolphus .... Civil Servant.
Robertson, Archibald ..... Merchant, Firm of Martin, Young, & Co.
Robertson, Archibald David .. Civil Servant.
Robertson, Elphinstone Pourtales Ditto.
Robertson, James Walker .... Ditto.
Rogers, Alexander ..... Ditto.
Rose, James..... Military. 2nd in Command, Khandesh Bheel Corps.
Rose, John Nugent..... Civil Servant.
Ross, John ..... Merchant, Firm of Lyon Brothers & Co.
Ryrie, Robert ..... ,, Firm of Ewart, Latham, & Co.

S

Salmon, William Broome..... Military. Depy. Assist. Commy. Genl. Sind Division.
Sandwith, William ..... Civil Servant.
Schneider, John William..... Military. 2nd in Com. Kolapoor Infy.
Scott, George ..... Civil Servant.
Scott, Henry ..... Merchant, Firm of Finlay, Scott, & Co.
Scott, William ..... Ditto Firm of Peel, Cassels, & Co.
Shaw, Charles Forbes Hodson.. Civil Servant.
Shaw, Robert James ..... Military. Assist. Commissary General.
Showell, Richard Henry..... Uncovenanted. Deputy Collector and Magistrate, Tanna.
Sibley, C. W. ..... Military.
Spencer, Nathaniel ..... Uncovenanted. Assist. Secretary, Military and Marine Departments.
Spooner, Richard..... Civil Servant.
Spry, W. F. A..... Uncovenanted. Deputy Collector and Magistrate, Kaira.
Stack, John William ..... Civil Servant.
Standen, James Henry ..... Barrister. Administrator General.
Stanley, Henry..... Military. Lieut. of Police, Upper Sind.
Stenhouse, Thomas ..... Merchant, Firm of Edward Bates & Co.
Steuart, Thomas Ruddiman .. Military. Collector of Shikarpoor.
Stewart, Alexander ..... Uncovenanted. Depy. Com. of Customs,
Stewart, Michael John Maxwell. Civil Servant. [Tanna.

St. John Robert ..... Military. Lieut. Col., 25th Regt. N. I.
Straker, Charles D'Oyle, C.B.. Medical. Physician General, Bombay.
Strong, Robert..... Merchant, Firm of Robert Strong & Co.
Stuart, John..... Secretary & Treasurer, Bombay Bank.
Surtees, William Ingham..... Uncovenanted. Deputy Collector and Magistrate, Kurrachee. [Board.
Swanson, John..... Military. Stipendiary Member, Mily.

T

Tapp, Thomas..... Military. Comdt. Poona Irr. Horse.
Taylor, Andrew ..... Uncovenanted. Assist. to the Com. of Customs.
Thomas, Alfred ..... Military.
Thomas, Robert Hughes..... Uncovenanted. Assist. Secretary, Political and Secret Departments.
Thornton, Thomas ..... Uncovenanted. Second Magistrate of Police, Bombay.
Tremenheere, Charles William.. Military. Garrison Engineer and Civil Architect at the Presidency.
Trevelyan, Henry Willoughby.. Military.
Tristram, William Barrington.. Merchant, Firm of Remington & Co.
Trott, James H. ..... Uncovenanted. Dep. Col. & Magistrate, Rutnagherry.
Tucker, Hy. Pendock St. George. Civil Servant.
Tucker, Leighton Hamerton B.. Ditto.
Turner, Henry Blois ..... Military. Suptg. Engineer in Sind.
Turquand, William James .... Civil Servant.
Tytler, Charles Edward Fraser. Ditto.

V

Vincent, Henry ..... Military. 10th Regt. Native Infantry.
Vincent, Henry Torrens..... „ Paymaster Sind Division.

W

Waddington, Charles, C.B.... Military. Chief Eng. of Public Works.
Walker, Chamberlain William.. „ Supdt. of Police, Tanna.
Wallace, Lewis Alexander .... Merchant, Firm of Wallace & Co.
Wallace, Robert ..... Military. Political Agent, Rewa Kanta.
Wallace, William..... Merchant, Firm of Frith, Sands, & Co.
Waller, Thomas ..... Medical. Deputy Medical Storekeeper, Belgaum.
Walter, Charles ..... Civil Servant.
Warden, Augustus Brooke.... Do.
Warden, John Lodwick ..... Do.
Warden, Thomas Smith .... Military. 2nd in Command Guzerat [Irregular Horse.

Watt, Thomas Rossiter ..... Secretary G. I. P. Railway Company.
Webster, Thomas Bullock .... Military.
Weeding, Thomas ..... Civil Servant.
Wells, Francis Charles ..... Military. Supdt. of Police, Poona.
Westropp, Robert Michael.... Military. Brigade Major, Malligaum.
White, Richard ..... Civil Servant.
White, James George ..... Ditto.
Whitehill, Stephen James Keate. Military. Commandant G. I. Horse.
Whitelock, Charles Robert.... Military. Pol. Agent, Mahee Kanta.
Willis, Richard ..... Merchant, Firm of Forbes & Co.
Winchester, James Webster.... Medical Establishment.
Wood, George ..... Uncovenanted. Deputy Col. & Magis-
Woodcock, John William..... Civil Servant. [trate, Shikarpoor.

Y

Young, Henry ..... Civil Servant.

NATIVE JUSTICES.

A

Abdoola David Sassoon ..... Merchant.
Akbar Ali Khan ..... Nuwab of Mazagon.
Appajee Ramchunder (Rao [trate, Surat.
Bahadoor) ..... District Deputy Collector and Magis-
Ardaseer Cursetjee Dady Settna. Broker. [Yard Factory.
Ardaseer Cursetjee Wadia .... Chief Engineer in charge of the Dock
Ardaseer Hormusjee ..... Merchant and Broker.

B

Ballajee Attiajee Sumbhoo .... District Depy. Col. & Magis. Sholapoor.
Ballajee Gunesh Maté (Rao
Bahadoor) ..... Ditto ditto ditto, Satara.
Ballajee Krishn Koosoorkur .. Depy. Sub-Col. & Joint Magis, Colaba.

Bheemrao Anunt..... Principal Sudder Ameen, Dharwar.
Bomanjee Hormusjee Wadia .. Merchant and Broker.
Bomanjee Jejeebhoy ..... Ditto ditto.

C

Cowasjee Jehangeer..... Merchant and Broker.
Cursetjee Cowasjee Ashburner.. Merchant, and Owner of the Distillery at Bhandoop, Salsette.
Cursetjee Furdoonjee Paruck .. Partner in the Firm of Sir J. Jejeebhoy, Sons, & Co.
Cursetjee Jamsetjee..... Merchant and Broker.
Cursetjee Nusserwanjee Cama.. Ditto ditto.
Cursetjee Rustomjee ..... Master Builder.

D

Dadabhoy Pestonjee Wadia.... Gentleman.
Dadoba Pandoorung (Rao Bahadoor) ..... Deputy Collector and Magistrate, Ahmednuggur.
Dawood Sassoon ..... Merchant.
Dossabhoy Sorabjee..... Moonshee.

F

Framjee Nusserwanjee..... Merchant and Broker.

G

Gunesh Ramchunder (Rao Bahadoor) ..... District Deputy Collector and Magistrate, Belgaum.

H

Hoosain Mahomed Fureed (Khan Bahadoor) ..... District Deputy Collector and Magistrate, Rutnagherry.

J

Janardhun Wassodewjee..... Principal Sudder Ameen, Surat.
Jejeebhoy, Sir Jamsetjee, Kt.... Merchant.
Juggonathjee Sunkersett..... Merchant and Banker.

L

Limjee Manockjee ..... Merchant and Broker.

M

Mahomed Ameer Rogay ..... Partner in the Firm of Sir J. Jejeebhoy, [Sons, & Co.
Mahomed Yusoof Moorgay.... Kazee of Bombay.
Manockjee Nusserwanjee Pittee. Merchant and Broker.
Meerza Ali Jan ..... Gentleman.
Meerza Ali Mahomed Khan .. Ditto.
Moroba Canoba ..... Principal Sudder Ameen, Khandesh.
Muncherjee Framjee Cama.... Merchant and Broker.
Muncherjee Jamsetjee..... Ditto ditto. [tonjee.)
Muncherjee Pestonjee..... Gentleman (Brother of Dadabhoy Pes-
Munguldas Nathoobhoy ..... Merchant and Banker.

N

Nana Morojee (Rao Bahadoor). Deputy Collector & Magistrate, Poona.
Narrayen Dinnanathjee ..... Interpreter, Supreme Court.
Narro Wittul Champekur (Rao [Khandesh.
Bahadoor) ..... District Deputy Collector & Magistrate,
Nowrojee Byramjee..... Hoozoor Deputy Col. & Magis. Broach.
Nowrojee Jamsetjee..... Merchant and Broker.

P

Pandoorung Moreshwur ..... Principal Sudder Ameen, Konkun.

R

Ragoba Janardhun (Rao Baha- [gaum.
door) ..... Deputy Collector and Magistrate, Bel-
Ramchunder Balcrishnajee (Rao [toms.
Bahadoor) ..... Dufterdar of the Commissioner of Cus-
Ramlall Thackursee..... Merchant.
Ram Naid (Rao Bahadoor).... Deputy Col. & Magistrate, Khandesh.
Rugoonath Ramchunder Do.. Ditto ditto ditto, Ahmedabad.
Runchordbaee Oomyasunker Do. Ditto ditto ditto, Broach.
Rustomjee Jamsetjee ..... Merchant and Broker.

S

Sorabjee Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy.. (Youngest son of Sir J. Jejeebhoy.)
Sorabjee Jehangeer Sett..... Gentleman.
Succaram Luxumonjee..... Broker.
Syud Sheriff Shaik Syud Hoosain. Principal Sudder Ameen, Ahmedabad.

V

Venayek Krishn (Rao Bahadoor). District Deputy Collector & Magistrate, [Poona.
Venayekrao Gungadhur Shastree. Gentleman.
Venayekrao Juggonathjee .... Ditto.
Venayek Wassoodewjee ..... Oriental Translator to Government.
Vurjeewundass Madowdas .... Banker and Merchant.

W

Wamunrao Gunesh Gunpooley [Ahmednuggur.
(Rao Bahadoor) ..... District Deputy Collector & Magistrate,
Wamun Rao Juggonath ..... Principal Sudder Ameen, Poona.
Wasdeo Pandoorungjee ..... Assist. Secy. Revenue & Financial Depts.
Wassoodew Shewram ..... Principal Sudder Ameen, Ahmednuggur.
Wittul Rao Narayen (Rao Baha- [Dharwar.
door) ..... District Deputy Collector & Magistrate,

OUR FINANCES.

In these few pages I shall avoid details, and confine myself to the more immediately pressing matter in hand. I hope that it is not now necessary to go into minute calculations to shew the amount of the deficit. It is enough that it has become matter of notoriety that we have to deal with no ordinary short-coming. Every official statement makes it more and more evident that, none of the calculations of deficit which have been ventured by individuals are extravagant. The immensity of the gulf which lies before us every day becomes better known, and we begin to see that all is not extraordinary expenditure; that setting aside the temporary expences of the war, we shall still remain with a regular fixed expenditure vastly exceeding the income. Without, therefore, being precise I only claim to assume that the subject with which we have now to deal, is not one to be disposed of by any calculations of lacs or even of one or two millions sterling, but that in fact we have to deal with many millions. It must be remembered that, not only is there the primary increase in size and cost of the European army, but that throughout India during the last two years almost every expenditure has been increased and scarcely any thing decreased. Even the civil expenditure has in many ways increased. Men in high places have openly said that they made hay while the sun shone; the mutinies insured sanction for any thing. And still there are large schemes of police reorganisation, and other accepted improvements to be carried out.

As regards the number of the European army, we must not lose sight of the fact that, of the total charged against India in the parliamentary Returns, a large proportion is in fact in England. Every regiment leaves two depot companies in

ngland, though, they are borne on the Indian Estab
d thus deducting men in England and on the seas,
least one fourth of the European army charged
venues of India, will usually be not really present a
ve. When we have nominally and financially upward
undred thousand men, we have thus scarcely eighty th
n India; and so if we pay for eighty thousand, we sha
have little more than 60,000.

I should think it may fairly be argued that, if India is to receive in no shape financial assistance from England, England might at least fairly pay to the extent of the advantage which she derives from the presence of the depots. But the present fact is as above stated.

I may add that, we are now every day very properly becoming more careful of the health and equipment of our European soldier. He is better housed, better kept, much better armed, and more frequently relieved. But all this, while adding to his efficiency, costs money.

Then as to the native army, we have added much to the expense per head as compared with former days. The increase in the pay of the irregular cavalry is alone a very large item, and not less so is the enormous increase of European staff appointments. Even the late order for the gradual reduction of the number of rank and file leaves the most expensive part of every regiment untouched; for instance: take the Irregular Cavalry of the Bengal Army under the Commander-in-Chief. I have counted the regiments enumerated in the late order and I find that instead of 18 regiments previously existing, there are now 24 regiments formally recognised by Government, with 24 commandants and staff, and every thing else to correspond. Regiments which were supposed to have mutinied over and over again, and even to have murdered their officers, are somehow resuscitated. The 4th Irregular Cavalry at Hansee and Hissar was the first of that branch of the service which engaged in mutiny and massacre. A squadron which was detached, mutinied and murdered the 2nd in command at Mozuffurnuggur; and so it was with several other regiments. But some officer kept a handful of men together, called them by the name of the regiment, recruited

them, and these regiments still subsist as well as the new ones which have been raised in their place. These are wholly exclusive of the Punjab army, and of the great forces of military police. In the N. W. P. where some twenty-seven thousand men are called military police, I find that not only the old police but the Magistrate's or Collectorate sowars, and all the old establishments of every kind still subsist; so that in fact the endless regiments of police, horse and foot, do no duty hitherto performed by civilians, but only part of those of the old native army, and the force must be considered a military force. In Oude the military police of 20 regiments, costing upwards of $\frac{1}{4}$ of the gross revenues of every kind, take the duties of the civil police, and about 10 per cent of the expenditure may perhaps be credited as saved in this way; the remaining nine tenths must be considered either as the cost of a new system, or as an addition to the military force. The whole of the Bengal military police is a clear addition to our expenditure. The native force now maintained in the Punjab is exceedingly large. According to the official return, it avowedly exceeds 50,000 men exclusive of the Punjab troops employed elsewhere.

My impression, therefore, is that even when the extraordinary expenses of the war have been concluded, and the No. of rank and file in the various regiments throughout India is reduced in consequence of the late orders of Government, and even some European troops are sent home, there will still remain an army fully equal to that fixed by the army Organisation Commission, and costing per head a great deal more than the army before the mutiny. Lord Derby calculated the army of the Commission to cost 4 millions per annum more than the old army, and I cannot but fear that in fact till great radical reductions are made which have not yet been pointed at (and till the natives are reduced we cannot reduce the Europeans) the permanent military expenditure will in fact be about 4 millions more than heretofore

The interest of the debt will, up to 1st May 1860, be avowedly increased by 2 millions sterling per annum. Further there are the various miscellaneous increases of expenditure to be met. The payments on account of Railway Stock must now be very heavy, and there is to be resumed the great expen-

diture on Public Works for which our normal finances left us no margin.

Altogether, then, I cannot calculate that it will be possible to put the finance of India upon a safe and prosperous footing without effecting an improvement in our regular and permanent finance to the extent of about 8 millions sterling per annum, as compared to our present situation.

I do not pretend to exactness. It may be somewhat less, it may be a good deal more, but some such figure is that with which we have now to deal.

It is useless to avoid looking in the face the magnitude of the difficulty. The deficit is a great one and will not be materially touched by any thing but very great measures.

It must also be, I think, accepted that the mutiny will bring no profit in compensation for our losses. The gain by lapse of territory and political pensions is a mere trifle, and will probably be much more than absorbed by rewards and compensations to individuals.

Public gain I fear there will be none, but the contrary.

I will not attempt to go into the finance of the money market. That is, after all, a minor matter of detail.

By skilful management or mismanagement we may get money at a rate $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent cheaper or dearer on the 40 millions which the war has cost. But in some shape or other we must always pay for money, money's worth. I will only say that while no one could wish that India should be permanently supplemented by England, one cannot help remarking that in the very crisis of our necessity we have been placed in a worse situation than any foreign ally.

The mutiny of 1857 is not an every day occurrence. We shall hardly willingly run the risk of such occurrences even if we think that those of us who survive might in such a crisis get some little assistance from England. Parliament only interfere to limit the power of borrowing in England, which Russia posseses without limit, and which Austria would possess if any one would trust her. And in India the present state of the

money market is injurious not only in the enhanced price which we pay for money, but in the destruction of confidence among the natives, which has certainly resulted from the excessive depreciation of the old stocks caused by late measures.

I confess that I am one of those who view with distrust the system of public expenditure on the faith of the future which has arisen, it may be said, within the last two generations. Perhaps that system may not last. A few great examples of failure may destroy it. Probably we are about to see nearly 300 millions sterling of public securities disappear. When Austria has lost Italy, her bankruptcy appears to be inevitable, and when she is bankrupt her artificial empire will no doubt collapse. If we follow the same course in India, we shall probably meet with the same fate. Our position is not very dissimilar. Let us then be warned in time.

Before going further, I would here make one general remark, viz. this that, I believe taxation in so vast an empire to be a matter of experiment and gradual elaboration. I do not think that it is possible successfully to introduce at once a complete and detailed system elaborated by any theorist; and therefore I believe that we shall never succeed in remodelling our taxation and expenditure to the advantage of our finances, till we have in a very large degree something of that localisation of finance which is so extraordinarily wanting in India; till, I mean, every local administration, great and small, is in some degree bound to regulate its expenditure by its receipts. In this particular subject we have obtained a false centralization, which is in fact nothing but anarchy. The Supreme Government is in a most difficult and unsatisfactory position. It checks the finances without really administering the executive administration.

Local finance is a thing unknown. Every thing collected goes to the credit of the Government of India, and every thing expended is expended from the common Treasury of the empire. Officials in this country are to a remarkable extents, local in their prejudices and ambitions. Most public spirited they certainly are. But every man looks to the good of his own province and listens to those around him. Consequently we find that the

better the administration the more he looks to local interests.

No one cares to propose a new tax in his own province, for the proceeds would only go to the Government of India ; and few much care to reduce an expenditure. Every man shews that this, or that expenditure is desirable, and probably shews so with very good reason, but no one weighs the cost. The budget system seems to have been in some degree designed to remedy this evil, but it has been very imperfectly understood, and as yet the only result seems to be to cause additional delay in obtaining sanction for any thing pressingly required. Who has yet heard of propositions for self-taxation volunteered by any local Government. Madras and Bombay have been for years aggrieved about the check upon their expenditure but has any proposition for raising the disproportionately low, salt duties of those presidencies, or equalising the stamp duties, or otherwise improving their finance ever come from Madras or Bombay ? Are not on the contrary such propositions usually strenuously resisted ; and even in these days, is there not a disposition to maintain the claim of those faithful armies in which the mutiny did not occur, and to object to their reduction ?

If we would successfully devise new taxes, we must then so re-arrange the organization of the empire that the local disposition shall be to emulate in financial improvement, not steadily to resist it. In some shape or other every province must have its separate local Exchequer. The financial duties and liabilities of each province must be marked off and improvement on the one hand must be made entirely to depend on increase and new taxation on the other. It is for some such financial mapping out of India, that we want an impartial Royal Commission, not to settle the details of taxation, for that foreigners and strangers must necessarily be unfit. Taxation is not a question of figures, but of social and internal administration. Our real finance belongs to the Home, rather than to what is called in India the Financial Department. A strong fresh mind might guide and control others, but could never devise a system of taxation for India.

If the finance of each province were defined, we might then hope that one administrator would try one new tax or reduction and another would either try something else or put the

same thing in a different shape ; and so gradually with so many able men as the public service undoubtedly possesses emulating, instead of checking one another, a new system of finance would gradually grow up.

With these views then it will be understood that, I am far from confident in the suggestions which I venture to make. In some things I shall doubtless prove wrong, and in all there will certainly be daily room for modification.

But at least my views, such as they are, are the result of considerable experience and reflection, and amid other avocations I roughly note them down, and leave them to be taken for whatever they may be deemed worth.

Before going into particular measures, I would make one or two observations regarding our position with respect to.

1st. Native States, and

2nd. The people of our own territories.

I do not now look to annexation as an immediate means of improving our finances. But at the same time I am very far from admitting that late events prove all recent annexations to have been inexpedient. I do not think it possible that those who hold that language can have for one moment reflected that if in our troubles Oude has proved an incumbrance, the Punjab was beyond all doubt or question the means of reconquering Hindoostan. It not only furnished men, but also the materials through which the European forces were rendered effective in 1857. It is not even a conclusive argument against future annexation, that the existence of Native States was during the mutiny advantageous to us. That the fact was so I believe. The mutiny has proved that the Native Chiefs are men who have every thing to lose and probably little to gain by revolution, and that they are as a body opposed to violent change. That is one very strong argument to be weighed in the balance against the financial or other advantages of annexation, in cases in which there really might be some advantage. The truth is that affairs march under a guidance which often surpasses the plans of human wisdom. If we had not annexed so much, the probability is that we should have had powerful and ambi-

tious Native States ready to take advantage of our prostration. Delhi would not have been retaken, and failing before Delhi, the last remnants of our power in Northern and Central India would have been at once supplanted by organized Native Military Dynasties. As it happened, the teeth of those States had been drawn, and their resources were for the most part in our hands, while at the same time there remained around the scene of the war, native feudatory states without sufficient power to justify ambition, but with so much influence as to be able to maintain that neutrality which best suited our purpose. Socially, too, taking India as a whole, the Native States have their uses, and in any view it would be desirable that our advance towards complete dominion should be gradual. Of late years that advance has been unusually rapid, and we can therefore well afford to pause in accordance with the present turn of public opinion. We cannot regret (speaking generally) that we have annexed so much. We rejoice that we had not annexed more, and we have now little desire to annex. Certainly we shall never annex without perfect justice, added to undoubted expediency.

But if the result of the mutiny has tended to stop the tide of annexation, it has on the other hand shewn us how little military danger is to be apprehended from the Native States, even in our greatest difficulty ; and we may turn the result to a purpose more profitable for all parties than annexation by availing ourselves of this experience to reduce our own Military Force. The Nizam's Territory excepted, it is clear that we have no formidable enemies to fear, but may rather look to assistance from such forces as the Native States possess.

As regards the Government of the country, my impression has long been this, that small Native States governed by a really native ruler, territories which do not exceed the personal rule and supervision of one man unaided by European organization, that such States are frequently very tolerably governed, and on the whole they have such advantages to set against those afforded by our rule, that we cannot confidently assert that a change would be for the happiness of the people.

All the very large Native States on the other hand, have been as a rule most grossly misgoverned, and are an unmitigated-

evil to the people whom they oppress. A congeries of small states is the ancient indigenous native system. The large states are but foreign despotisms emasculated and deprived of every good quality. They are too large for individual rule, and they have not the system and organization of civilized communities.

Let us see what are the Native States, taking them principally in a military point of view. I do not go out of India or allude to Burmah. In India the eastern frontier is quite unassailable. Next we have the Nepaulese, still in some sense a foreign power, but all military men are quite convinced that for aggression they are not formidable. Whatever the discipline of their regular troops, those troops are wholly unfitted for warfare in the irregular native style. They are slow in the extreme in their movements, and require abundance of carriage and aid of all kinds, while the entire want of Cavalry and of efficient Artillery makes them inefficient for regular warfare. The Railway by Patna will render communication easy along the whole line of their frontier, and it is clear that the very ordinary and moderate garrisons of our own stations will at any time suffice to keep the Nepaulese also in check, whatever may happen in Nepal. On the northern frontier the ruler of Cashmere is entirely our feudatory. He is by no means allied with the Seikhs, and in but a small portion of his own territory is he a native and personally influential ruler.

That the Afghans and Beloochees are for offence contemptible, is abundantly proved, and before the events of succeeding generations can bring any more formidable enemy on that frontier, Railways may have made us invulnerable.

Turn then to the interior of India. The whole of the states of Rajpootana form a loose and effete feudatory system only bound together by our superior rule. Experience has shewn that the result of the disappearance of our power in those territories is simply this that, the inferiors set their superiors at defiance. Everywhere it was the same thing, viz that the feudatories threw off the allegiance of their chiefs We are in Rajpootana but the Police to keep the Peace.

Those worn out dynasties will never be dangerous to us.

Next we have Scindia; that power is not a truly native, (as regards the part of the country now forming Scindias's territories) and least of all a Mahratta power. The chief himself has done for us the work of extinguishing all nationality. He has systematically set himself to root out the Mahratta element from his camp. Scindia himself seems to be a man of some eccentric energies, but he is Europeanised. He relies for his support on our bayonets. By treaty he undertakes to pay for a subsidiary force which must now be European, and he is not dangerous.

The other states of central India are minor, and events have shewn that none of them need give cause for anxiety.

The great territory of the Nizam alone in southern India presents a difficult political problem which I do not now attempt to solve. Suffice it to say that, with this exception, there is nothing among the native states of India to hinder a great and immediate reduction of our Military Force.

With respect to our own territory, we may hope that we have now seen the limit of what we have to fear from domestic rebellion. I will not argue whether it was the will or the power that was wanting. It is enough for our present purpose that when the whole country was in a flame, in consequence of the military mutiny we have no where experienced formidable popular resistance, Where the mutinous troops congregated there we were opposed, where our power was withdrawn there was anarchy. But in the worst of the crisis of 1857, the people no where successfully resisted the smallest detachments of our troops; great districts were recovered by mere handfuls of volunteers and held by very petty detachments. The moment the resistance of mutineers was overcome, we re-entered into possession of our districts, and governed them without difficulty as peacefully as ever. It is made perfectly clear beyond all dispute that, so long as we avoid another great mutiny we may maintain our civil administration with an inconceivably small military force. Fifty faithful soldiers may hold any district in India, I may almost say any half dozen districts. It is clear that whether the people like us or not, they do under our present system of government so far tolerate us, that they do not resist us with any courage derived from frenzy or bigotry. We have governed them mildly on non-interference

principles, and have confined ourselves to taxes to which they are accustomed, and they will not run any great risks to get rid of us.

I do not see in the events of the mutiny sufficient grounds for lasting hatred on our part towards the natives. The frightful atrocities of a military mutiny are after all not unprecedented in history, and were not the work of the people in general. But there is one change of feeling in respect to the natives in which I confess that I take part. The events of the crisis have certainly in some respects generated a legitimate contempt for them. My feeling is that they have made such bad rebels at a time when they had every opportunity, that our estimate of what we can expect of them as subjects must be very much lowered. Something is evidently wanting to them. The upper class is altogether deficient. They have wanted, now want, and for long will want leaders in every thing. It has long been noticed that in native armies they often made good soldiers, but almost always bad officers. They also serve us not ill in all the inferior ranks of life, but they have not aided us in superior places. Their inferior classes are not without some social virtues. A creditable native gentleman has been almost unknown. Many sanguine people have supposed that we have deprived them of opportunity and have argued that the door to the higher places should be opened to them. I have myself participated in this feeling. But that is to a great degree passed now. In 1857 they promoted themselves, but invariably they failed miserably. Evidently something more than opportunity is wanting to enable them to fill with credit superior places. Nor is it only the want in the upper classes which has been marked. The absence of individual energy in all classes has been above all things surprising in the mutinies. The whole country presented one mass of occasions on which one man with one spark of energy might have done us infinite mischief; stopped our travellers, plundered our posts and interrupted our communications. But such attempts were throughout almost unknown. Evidently in all our arrangements we cannot look to energy in the lower classes any more than to efficiency, honesty, or influence among the upper classes.

These virtues we may gradually and patiently instil into the country, but it is not to be done in a day.

As to ourselves, when our military power was over-turned

above all things was conspicuous the entire absence of any thing like a social root or place in the country. If we had among the people few very bitter enemies, we also had no partizans; and every day our isolation becomes more complete. As we communicate more easily with Europe, we become more European. The change in the course of a generation is most marked. Read Lord Hastings journal, and see how much we then approached to social intercourse with the natives of Lucknow, and see again how different it is in these days.

Nothing was more marked during the mutiny than the strength which we derived from very small knots of volunteers at a few stations where the men of our class were gathered together. That sufficiently shews how enormous would be the accession to our strength, if we had but in the country a very small partizan following of our blood, religion or community of interest.

Seeing then the want of any competent upper class among the natives, the want among the lower class of the energy peculiar to Europeans, and the want to ourselves of a root in the country, I am quite convinced that of all things most necessary to strength and improvement is some sort of colonization; and as pure European colonization to a considerable extent is hardly to be hoped for, I would add to a small nucleus of colonization a considerable accession from amalgamation and mixture with something of what we find in the country. The object should be I think to attain in a very minor degree something of the position which the Mohomedans held. I believe that a Europeanised population as large as that of the Mohomedans would be dangerous to the rule of England, and I hope that we shall never so much as the Mohomedans assimilate to the blood and customs of the country. But I should be glad to see a population of say one tenth of the number of the Mohomedans retaining much European blood and habit, but not altogether holding aloof from the natives, and forming to some extent a dominant and military class.

Believing that colonization under ordinary conditions is impossible, and that European capital will not come in without European labor, nor labor without capital, that in fact the two must go hand in hand, I believe that the only possible mode of colo-

nization is that which would at the same time most strengthen our rule viz. a system of military colonization, and it is with a view to what I have to say regarding the army, that grand item of Finance, that I have entered into these observations.

I now proceed to discuss the different items of expenditure and taxation.

The purely Civil expenditure is in reality smaller in proportion than in most countries, and I think it is almost universally admitted that in this department of finance it is only a question of re-distribution. If the truth must be told we shall have continual increase of expenditure in this department. That result invariably follows reform and organization. Salaries may be reduced, abuses may be remedied, but still at every turn there will be improvements which cost money. In England there was infinitely more room for saving; sinecures and abuses without end have ceased to exist. But still since the reform Bill the Civil expenditure of the British isles has more than doubled. We will hope that it may not be so in this country; doubtless much room for reduction to counterbalance expenses will be found.

I might suggest to those who think the higher offices over paid that they have but to compare the salaries with the market price of labor. It has never been disputed that an educated European must be paid at least three times as high as in England, to induce him to come to India, and few men would accept a sudder judgeship who could get a county court judgeship in England.

Perhaps, then, it may hardly be proper to reduce the salaries of Indian judges, unless it is thought that ability inferior to that of an average county court judge will suffice for the sudder; and it might be asked why an English government, which is so scrupulous of every vested right in every abuse in England, should think that men who have cast their lot in India and incapacitated themselves for any other profession should alone have no claim under the general doctrine of vested interests. But let that pass. I for one am fully convinced that the crisis is so serious that almost any measures which might restore our equilibrium would be justifiable, and I should think that every class must cheerfully submit to any reductions which should form part of a great gene-

ral scheme for really redressing our finances, although any class will resent a petty clipping applied to it alone with scarcely any appreciable benefit to the empire.

All I now argue is this that whatever reductions can be made in the Civil branch of the administration, must inevitably be absorbed by the reforms and additions which every enquiry must render necessary. Professing therefore to avoid details which do not bear upon the main question, I set aside the expenditure in Civil administration as not admitting of material financial improvement.

It is in fact evident that the backbone of all financial reforms must be the reduction of the Military expenditure. That is the gigantic item which swallows up our revenues in a proportion far exceeding anything known in any other country in the world; and it is the increase of this expenditure which has mainly brought our finances to their present pass. That then the main remedy is to be found in the reduction of the great army, which I have above argued to be necessary neither to check Native States nor to rule our own subjects, is a proposition which I believe that all have in theory accepted. It is generally agreed that a great native army is only dangerous to ourselves and that a great European army is only necessary to keep in check the great native army. One must bear a certain proportion to the other. Therefore what is required is to reduce the native army. We all know that; we have all said so many times within the last two years. But practically to give effect to the admitted principle is the difficulty.

The Governor General has observed that it is necessary to proceed with great caution, that we cannot suddenly turn adrift the native soldiers who have served us well in our necessity.

I venture to propose a plan for getting over this difficulty. It is simply this; turn the native soldiers into policemen in fact as well as in name. Do not as heretofore add to our forces a vast number of real native regiments under the deceptive name of police, but take away their arms and use them as bonafide Policemen.

Opinion generally tends unanimously to this that reform

of our old police is required, that the loose and inefficient police which has hitherto existed must be replaced by an organized force The fierce and polemical discussions on the subject which now agitate the official world, do in fact but refer to a mere matter of detail viz. this, at what point shall the control of the police be concentrated in the same hand with that of the general administration ? One party would place the police in subordination to the District Magistrate. Some would place them under the Commissioner of the Division, and again another party would separate them entirely from the local administration, and place them only under the Government of the province. But on the main point that it is absolutely necessary to organize the police and make that branch of the service a regular force under regular and special officers, is, I believe, what no thinking man denies.

Of all things most necessary to an organized police is not the weapon of a soldier, but the discipline and habit of obedience which a soldier acquires, Sir Charles Trevelyan has expressed what has long been my own opinion, that the police shonld not be military but should have a quasi military organization. An ordinary police force is sufficiently oppressive to the country in one way. A military force is always oppressive in another way. But when the domestic tyranny of a Civil Police is joined to the high-handed violence of a military force armed and equipped as soldiers and combining with the duties of a police a military occupation of the country, it is difficult to limit the tyranny and oppression. Therefore not only as involving a dangerous body of native troops, but as oppressive and in the highest degree expensive, I would of all things deprecate a proper Military Police in a country which the open resistance of large bodies once suppressed, is the quietest in the world, and can ordinarily be easily governed by one Chupprasee representing the Government in his person. It must be fully understood that in India, in time of peace, we have to deal with no open individual resistance whatever.

I have no doubt whatever that every man will be a better policeman for having been once a soldier. The drill and discipline which he has acquired will be so much clear gain ; and in fact he has already acquired a personal discipline which it would be hardly possible to give to men actually engaged in police du-

ties. All I would argue is this, do not let him be a soldier and a policeman at the same time.

Here then is our situation. We have raised an immense body of native soldiers, many of whom have done our work in our necessity. They have acquired drill and discipline. But their work is now done and we do not want them longer. We only seek to find some means of getting rid of them. On the other hand all over India we want an organised police. Even in the Punjab the Civil Police is the same as elsewhere. The Military Police are there also but Native Regiments which do no police duties. In Oude the Civil Police has been dismissed, but the military force has not yet been really shaped to civil duties.

I would say then again, let us turn our soldiers into Police men. The men will probably by no means dislike the change. An option might, in fact be given them. Those who like police duties might be permitted to volunteer. There will probably be no difficulty whatever in thus disposing of half the Native Army: In fact I feel no doubt that we should be able to exercise some degree of selection and to accept as policemen only men well fitted for that duty.

There are certain duties which can hardly be called police; the guarding of treasure and such like, for which armed men are required, and I think that it might be advantageous and tend to the maintenance of the quasi military discipline, and to the personal supervision of the men that these duties should be taken by the police rather than by separate corps. The plan therefore which I have always urged has been this, that there should be supplied for the use of the police of each district, muskets, equal to about $\frac{1}{3}$d. of the number of men, and that the policemen should take it by turns to come into the Head Quarters, and perform for a time military duty under the eye of their officers.

I propose then that as each province is completely pacified, $\frac{2}{3}$ds of the arms of the Military Police should be returned to the magazine and the regiments should be converted into a Civil constabulary.

In Madras I would turn half the regular army (after it has been weeded under recent orders) to the same purpose. The

Bill for constituting an organized Police in Madras is about to pass the Legislature. The moment it passes, let Government announce the reduction of the Native Army, and invite the Native Soldiers to volunteer for the Police.

It will probably be better not to take over whole regiments, but I believe that a large proportion of the Madras Native Officers are sufficiently young and good active men who would be quite qualified for Police posts. Thus men and Officers might be withdrawn in equal proportion. A large number of European Officers would be taken for the same duties. The remainder of all ranks who prefer or are best fitted for Military service would be brought together into half the former number of Regiments. I propound this plan with deference to local knowledge. But to an outside observer there seems no difficulty about it.

In Bombay there is already so much organized Police that there might be there somewhat more difficulty in disposing of the Sepoys. But many of them might doubtless be provided for in the Civil Force, and the Bombay Army is fortunately the smallest, and in many respects, the best in India, and if it takes the duty of Rajpootana and Central India it may perhaps be sufficiently employed when spread over a much larger surface than heretofore.

Throughout all the divisions of the Bengal Presidency we have but to take the Arms from the Police Regiments already existing, and to put them to Police duties. The rest is mere matter of Police detail, and I need not here dwell upon it. I may mention one duty which would at once absorb with advantage some 10,000 Sepoys. I mean the frontier Custom's line of the North-Western Provinces. There is reason to rejoice that the Custom's Establishments were not armed when the Mutiny broke out, but the service is one which especially requires a quasi Military discipline. Throughout a very long line the smuggling of salt, to which there is the enormous temptation of a duty of from 800 to 1600 per cent, is prevented by the sheer occular vigilance of a line of Sentries about a thousand miles long. Nothing could be better suited for Soldiers whose arms have been turned into sticks. Here then we may provide for a dozen faithful Regiments. If the North-West Military

Police cannot supply so many in addition to filling the Police we might get the required 10,000 men from Bombay. And I dare say that in other parts of India there are similar services into which our Native soldiers and Officers might be, with great advantage drafted.

The great argument for keeping up the Native Army has always been that their duties of detail give them quite sufficient occupation. A commandant of native Infantry would always tell you that his men were worked to death, and prove it by his returns. But in truth this was the result of a false system. To say nothing of the lax practice of Native Regiments under which the number of men to a guard and to duties of all sorts was unnecessarily large, the truth is that armed Native Guards were employed for purposes in which their arms were only an encumbrance. Keeping up a large Native Army it was just as well to give them something to do. But in reality the duty of guarding an officer's baggage over peaceful roads, and in a peaceful country, and keeping watch over all manner of peaceful things, could always be more efficiently performed by one unencumbered Chowkeedar with a stick than by a whole guard of Native Soldiers. Now as our object is not to keep up, but get rid of, those Soldiers, the whole of these duties may be much more cheaply performed without them.

While most men are agreed that an organized Police is necessary, they are also, I think, agreed that such a Police, must be under European Officers. Real discipline is not to be achieved through natives. We must certainly have European officers, and the disputed question under whose orders they are to act is, as I have already said, one of detail which I do not here touch. In some shape it is quite clear, that a large proportion of the Officers of disbanded Native regiments may be permanently employed in real Police duties. But more than this, it is certain, that the Civil Service is at present in numbers wholly unequal to the work required of it, and the great improvement which I believe to be required in its organisation is to give it a much greater breadth. Let it have much increased numbers, receiving on an average a smaller salary per head, but let there be a much greater selection for the superior appoint-

ments. I think too that not only in its numbers, but in its duties and scenes of action, the Civil service is too confined. There is too little room for a variety of talent of different kinds. Every Civil servant runs too nearly in the same groove, and the rule which restricts particular officers to particular Provinces, and renders Bengal almost unknown to the North-West, and Madras as unknown as Siberia, is in its strictness prejudicial to the service. Local knowledge, and local languages, may be useful to the mass, but some interchange between the officers of different Provinces, as well as different Departments, would be useful. I would amalgamate the whole civil service of India, and would include in the Civil administration, the Police and many other offices. I would supplement the civil service, by practically altogether turning over to it the whole of the officers of the native army, who are fitted for, and are willing to accept, such employment. The vast injury which is done to the army from the constant occasional transfer of officers to Civil employ is I believe beyond dispute, and although selection (modified as it is by patronage) might be in some degree useful to the Civil branch, I do not think, that the retention of Military views, and military ambitions, will be generally advantageous to officers in Civil employ. Especially in the Police, the assumption by the officers of a military character is injurious. They wish to turn their Police into regiments, dislike civil control, and attach secondary importance to mere thief-catching duties. In every way it is advantageous that an officer who takes civil employ should elect it once for all, and that henceforth his interests and aspirations should be Civil. I would therefore have it, that the whole of the officers transferred to civil employ on account of the breaking up of the native army, should be permanently placed as officers unattached on a Civil staff corps. Let the individuals transferred retain their rights to pension, &c. as Military officers, but in future let there be no transfers, and supply the civil service by an increased number of appointments made on modified terms to a broader service which will henceforth supply Officers of Police, as well as Judges and Collectors and Treasury officers.

By the transfer of a large portion of the present officers to civil employ, and of another portion to European Corps, and to

the command of Pensioner colonies, the officers of the native Army will probably be reduced to the number required for the reduced force.

As regards that Force I will only say, that, as the advantages of regular and irregular troops seem pretty nearly balanced, I would prefer Irregular corps, simply because they are by far the cheapest. With respect to the composition of those corps, and the many different plans proposed, variety is *every thing*; therefore try a little of every possible plan. Have one regiment all Afghans, one all Seikhs, one all Hindooostanees, one with companies of each class, one with every class mixed in every company, and so on. In short let no two regiments in the service exactly resemble one another.

I have said that if we only reduce the native army we may reduce the European Force, to very moderate proportions. The late Mutiny and disbandment of the local European Troops may have gone far to settle the disputed question of locals or no locals. As an argument on the other side it may, however, occur to us that if ever unfortunately when there is but one European Army it should happen (which God forbid) that the men should become dissatisfied on any question effecting them generally, and should learn their power, where then is Government to find the remedy ? Military discipline is after all not a matter of reason, but of habit and severe control. I have no doubt whatever, that by far the greater part of our force should come from England, and should be relieved at comparatively short intervals. It has always been almost impossible to maintain a very strict discipline among European Troops permanently located in this country. The company's European Regiments, brave as lions in action, were always disorderly in cantonments.

But apart from the strict question of Military discipline and division, I advocate a certain local European Force of no dangerous magnitude for the purposes of colonization in accordance with the views on that subject which I have already noted. Government already draws from its local European force a large subordinate European agency in many departments, and I believe that it is from a similar source that the subordinate agency of European capitalists and others may be supplied.

The discipline of a regular Regiment, relieved from time to

time from England, would not admit of the temporary withdrawal of men for civil duties, nor would they generally be fitted for such occupations.

My plan, then, would be this. I would have a very small number of local European Regiments. I would give them higher pay than the line, and I would admit into them only men of special qualifications. I would enlist for this special service, skilled artizans and tradesmen, and men of a superior education and receive no unskilled and uneducated recruits. With the opportunities and advantages which would be open to them, men of a very superior class might probably be obtained in England, and volunteers for permanent transfer to these Regiments might be admitted from the general service. To such men I would look eventually to settle in India, not as mere laborers, but as the directors and teachers of native labor, and agents for the employment of capital. I would by all means encourage them to marry, and make their position as desirable as possible. In every local Regiment I would have Schools of art of every kind, and after 3 years' service and proof of good character, and of an acquaintance with the vernacular language, a man should have the option of becoming a candidate for subordinate Government employment, or a military colonist.

A military colonist would be a trained soldier, holding himself in readiness to serve Government, when required, and drilled like a militia man for a certain number of days in every year, but relieved from all ordinary military duties and receiving perhaps half the pay of a regular soldier, by the aid of which he might find colonization profitable. I would mark out circles for military colonists, both in the Hills and in the plains. A province might be occupied by a Regiment, and a District by a company of such colonists, over whom would be Commissioned Officers pensioned on similar terms, and themselves forming a superior class of colonists. To men of this class, I would give every encouragement in the way of a preferential employment for the furnishing of Govt. supplies &c. &c. I would use the power of Government towards obtaining for them the limited quantity of land, which they might require, on the same equitable terms on which land is taken up for public purposes. In short, they would not be ordinary colonists, but colonists aided and pensioned by Government, and who would, in

return, render to Government a military aid in time of need, which would render them for the security of our power almost as efficient as an equal number of regular soldiers. How infinitely stronger would be our position, if all our Hill districts and all our great plains Stations could be at any time held, and our wives and families protected, and the country in some degree kept in check, by an organized military colony, leaving the regular troops free to take the field to a man. I do not venture upon further details of this scheme. I merely throw it out as one by which we might obtain considerable military strength, at a decreased rate of expenditure, while at the same time we greatly promote the advancement and improvement of the country. The saving would be not only in diminished pay; we should chiefly save still more in the Barrack and commissariat, and transport and other expences, which render European troops so ruinous to our finances. A military colonist might probably draw a handsome pension, sufficient to make his position easy, and yet cost but a fraction of the gross expenditure upon a regular soldier.

Public works form a financial point of view I shall very briefly touch. That a large expenditure towards developing the resources of the country is our duty and our necessity, I as much as any one feel. I assume, that we shall spend much upon Public Works, but I do of all things deprecate the disposition which seems to have grown up in England to place a fallacious reliance upon Public Works as means of increasing the revenue. I believe that in truth there will be no such result in this generation, that in fact, we shall obtain very little direct return from by far the greater portion of the money expended upon public works. It is only in the gradual enrichment and improvement of the country that in the course of future generations the effect may be financially felt. Statistics are notoriously fallacious, and most fallacious of all are those of the projectors of Public Works. But even making every allowance for conventional exaggeration, I do not know from whence is expected to come the increase of revenue. We are told, that with the progress of Public Works the revenue must doubtless encrease. But we have no distinct plan shewing where the Revenue is to come from, and no general figures tested by impartial persons; nor are failures set off against successes. In Madras where Government is the landlord of the country,

there may have been some successful local works for the improvement of local estates. But we do not find that irrigation companies will expend their capital to obtain the fabulous profits held out, without a Government guarantee. The Jumna canal is almost a natural water-course, adapted by the Mahomedan emperors, and repaired by us. It may therefore well pay. But the great Ganges canal is, I fear, as a financial speculation a loss and not a gain to Government. The interests of humanity it may some day greatly promote. But my impression is that the Government exchequer it will never benefit. At any rate we have not had figures.

I trust that I may not be misunderstood. I am far from depreciating Public Works. I always have urged them, and always will, in my own sphere especially urge them; but let us not be deceived in the expectation of a large immediate return.

There is one kind of work which if it does not repay in money does amply repay in political strength. I mean the main line of Rail connecting the distant parts of India. The force supplied by southern India was just one year marching to the Jumna in 1857-58. When the Railway on Lord Dalhousie's plan is completed, and those troops can reach the most distant part of India in 8 days, the accession of strength will of course be vast. Government now contributes largely towards the making of Railways, and in undertaking the whole risk it has surely earned a right to demand that the great public interests should be first consulted. It is, therefore, a subject of the most extreme regret if it has been permitted, that imperial, are sacrificed to local, interests. Yet is it not certainly so? Is it not the fact that Calcutta, Madras and Bombay are each working the Rail for local interests and local objects to the entire neglect of the lines of imperial necessity? We know the delay which has occurred, and is likely to occur, in the great Gangetic line. Yet a succession of petty local Railways about Calcutta have obtained a Government guarantee, while the vital line from Delhi to the Punjab, is still entirely neglected. But from Calcutta to Delhi we have tolerable means of communication. It is communication between the gangetic valley and the west and south that is most essentially required for political and military purposes. The Railway from Allahabad to Bombay and from Bombay to Madras, will

not only bring us much nearer to England, but will really unite the empire now dissevered by the vast expanse of roadless Central India. Yet what is the fact? Is there really the least prospect of this great line being made? See how the matter stands. In Madras every thing has been devoted to a local Railway, not running North-West to Bombay, but South-West to the neighbourhood of the Neilgherry Hills, and to the favorite Madras Station. That Railway may be the most convenient for the people of Madras, but it seems to me to conserve no imperial interest. For those who would embark for Europe at the nearest point, Bombay or Kurrachee must always be the point of departure. Those who sailing from Calcutta prefer the ease of an unbroken sea voyage, will hardly care to transship twice and travel across country to avoid steaming round Ceylon. Yet the Madras local Railway may soon be made, while the line from Madras towards Bombay has not been touched. I think I am correct in that assertion.

Again in Bombay what is the state of things? It has suited Bombay to push on the Rail to Poonah and the Bombay sanataria and the stations beyond, although without any corresponding line from Madras the imperial object is lost. But in the other direction what has been done towards by far the most important line in all India, that from Bombay to Allahabad? Absolutely nothing.

I have seen with extreme disappointment, and regret that even when working in this direction, the available strength has been turned aside from the imperial object to one in which the local commercial interests of Bombay may be more directly concerned; I find that the contract for the line to Oomrawuthee and Nagpoor has been leased out. That local line is to take precedence of the main line to Jubbulpoor, and as rails are only supplied at a certain rate, we may I fear regard the latter as indefinitely postponed. It is exactly the same on the Bengal side of Jubbulpoor. We have seen in the English papers the attempt which was made to use for another purpose the money raised for the Allahabad and Jubbulpoor line. That it is true was negatived by Government, but notwithstanding it is pretty evident that the wishes and energies of the East India Railway Company are not turned in that direction.

I have recently made local enquiries on the subject, and although there was an extreme discrepancy in the belief expressed by officials of different classes, the general inclination seemed to be almost to laugh at the question when the Rail would be ready to Jubbulpore, as if one spoke of a thing which people had not begun practically to think of. I certainly derived the very strong impression that there was no prospect whatever of an early and vigorous prosecution of this line. Sanguine officers of Government may fancy that within a few years something will be done. But in sober earnest I am oppressed with grievous doubt that in reality the Railway communication between Allahabad and the Western coasts is postponed to the Greek Kalends, and I would beseech the attention of Government to the matter. This unlucky line appears to be pushed on by no local interests; it is only the Empire and the general public that are concerned. Without vigorous and peremptory Government action, it will probably be neglected. Why should we have railways to unknown places in Eastern Bengal and Oomrawuthee and Ahmedabad, and Salem, and obscure places on the Madras coast, when the backbone of our communication is utterly neglected?

It is all very well that private enterprise should be devoted to private purposes, but why should the Government guarantee go exclusively to those purposes? Why should the Government which pays the interest, not obtain in this generation the line which would really conserve the public interests?

As a reason for preferring trunk to local and branch lines, I would also urge not only that in England these latter generally ruin the parent line, but also that in the greater part of India, we may have the best metalled roads in the world and absolutely level at an expense of about £ 500 per mile. They are constructed solely of indigenous material, and in no way come into competition with railways in the market. They are for transport, the next best thing to railways witness the Grand Trunk Road from Allahabad to Delhi; and they save the disproportionately large expense of locomotive power. For the cost of one mile of railway, we may have 20 miles of metalled road; I would therefore say let us have in this generation trunk Railways, and metal roads to feed them.

The Land Revenue I only touch to say, that I do not here discuss the great systems of Land Revenue management, because I do not look to this source for material improvement of our finances. I believe that whatever be the system followed, it can only lead to a better distribution of the land revenue for the benefit of the country and the people, and I should hope for such re-adjustment as may make the burden fall lighter. Direct gain to the exchequer is not to be expected. On the contrary, I should consider it to be one of the principle objects of a revised taxation that we might be enabled at some sacrifice, to give to the land a more stable value, and to make it more than now of the nature of fixed private property, and a source of accumulation and wealth and investment. I am one of those who do not believe that a panacea for all the ills of India is to be found in any one system of Land Revenue. I feel that the further we go in this strange country, the more we learn our ignorance, and I sympathise with the ancient officer who after a life spent in the Revenue service said that he did not yet understand it himself, and therefore could not explain it to any one else. We all have our theories, and I believe that India is in most respects one country, and that the same principles are applicable every where. But there is a great difference in local facts and population and history and circumstances. The only conclusion I have come to is this, that we cannot be so confident of any theory whatever as to justify us in attempting to destroy the tenures which we find existing. After all I believe that our duties in connection with the land Revenue should be in the first instance for the most part judicial. I think that we should fairly ascertain the rights which we find to exist, and should maintain them till they are legitimately altered. While the systematic breaking up of the village communities which we found in Madras can never be justified, we may in some places have found a pure ryotwaree system which it was necessary in the first instance to maintain. No one will deny that it was right and necessary to maintain and cherish the pure and perfect village communities which we found in the Punjab, and although there has been much misapprehension in regard to the nature of the extremely varied tenures of the North-Western Provinces, and I believe that nothing has occurred during the rebellion to shew that, the original principles of settlement were wrong, I also quite feel that where we have found the system which is called Talooq-

daree really existing as a permanent and well rooted institution, we were bound to maintain it. I believe that a system of violently and suddenly over-throwing the superior tenures in favor of inferior holders, was in the highest degree unjust. But I think that this injustice will only be exceeded, if without Judicial enquiry, and following an uncontrolled re-action of public opinion, we roughly over-ride the rights of inferior holders and deliver them over to those whom we arbitrarily, with or without right, choose to place as superiors over them. All is not pure and unalloyed gold in the favorite theory of a day.

I have no doubt that in the existing state of the country, the only real improver is the small proprietor or privileged tenant of his own fields when lightly assessed and well to do. The small farmer class exist every where. The only question is through whom Government is to deal with this class, and that I do not now discuss. I will only say that for the purposes of future improvement and colonization it seems absolutely necessary to introduce some greater *simplicity* and security of tenure. I would have it that the privileged ryot, call him by what name you will, and deal with him through whom you will, should be made, subject to prescribed and limited obligations, a *bonâ fide* beneficiary holder and proprietor of his own fields, and should have every encouragement to invest in them his little saving, and to encrease their value and make the most of them without being liable to be further taxed for the benefit of another. But on the other hand all those tenants who are not adjudged to possess so much right (and such are the cultivators of many estates) I would absolutely and without reserve make tenants at will (of course encouraging leases) of the recognized proprietor so that the proprietor should be (as he very seldom now is) really proprietor of his own land, and it should be possible for capitalists to acquire such land out and out, and to make the most of it. We are bound to afford facility for the new state of things which must arise with colonization and civilization.

But I am departing from my present subject. What I have said of the land only amounts to this, that I look to improved management as the means of improving and enriching the country, but by no means as a source of increased Revenue.

In devising new taxes, I would deprecate *too* much innovation. The natives are strange creatures, we yet hardly know them. But this at least we *do* know, that our Revenue system has not aggrieved them. Hitherto they have borne our imposts contentedly, and whatever real grievances they may have against us, our Revenue administration has probably been a set off in our favor. They have at least tolerated us. In our necessity the people have not risen actively against us. If they had, our situation would have been very different. We have learned by experience with how few soldiers, we can maintain our rule among the people upon our present system. I would then most especially protest against any tendency to urge that the deficit can be safely met by new taxation alone; that in fact we may thus raise the means for maintaining our increased army. Such a plan might be dangerous, and would certainly be injurious. If taxes and soldiers must go together, rather let us dispense with both, and let us reign cheap and inglorious with few soldiers over an unresisting people. I consider that the main measure of finance is the reduction of the Military expences rather than increased taxation, and I would not attempt taxes which would involve the permanent retention of our military force.

In fact, I confess that I view with great apprehension the present apparent disposition to rely principally on direct taxes. In the countries lately re-subdued, such taxes of small amount may probably be collected without very serious opposition. Whether it would be so in other parts of India I should think very doubtful. I make no doubt that we may fairly, and without insuperable difficulty, enforce small direct and considerable indirect taxes, and such as fall on a limited class. But my impression is this that, if we fix direct taxes at a pitch which will make them really remunerative, then although by firmness and severity in the first instance we may perhaps enforce them, it will not be prudent to attempt to do so without maintaining a large army, and that whatever we get by the tax we shall spend on the army, and so after all the result will be negative, except in the odium and burden which will result.

I do not mean to assert that we should require a very large force compared to that used to enforce unpopular contributions on conquered countries in other parts of the world. We could

probably do what is absolutely necessary with our present military force, if we use it unflinchingly and make that force pay itself. But I am deeply convinced of this that so long as we keep mainly to the accustomed revenues, with the addition only of some indirect and special taxes, India may be governed in safety and security by a wonderfully small military force provided that force is so composed that it is not itself a source of danger And it would be very much better for India, as well as for England, to govern in peace a contented people than, to adopt an Austrian system, and collect by bayonets the revenue that is to pay bayonets. I think that by indirect taxes on tobacco and such luxuries with so small a direct taxation as is not likely to provoke serious opposition, we may obtain funds enough to keep up all the army we require, and to administer the country beneficially besides; while on the other hand I believe, that, if we would raise 3 or 4 millions sterling by direct taxation we cannot spare a man of the 100,000 Europeans necessary to counter balance the great army of natives which would be more immediately employed, and that even then we shall run a risk in India, besides perpetuating an intolerable drain on England.

If it be proposed to make new taxes local to certain parts in the country, I would observe, that while this would destroy their productiveness, we must also remember that even if we can of any degree blame the people generally for the anarchy resulting from the mutiny of our army, it is certain that the wealthy classes whom we now chiefly desire to tax, have suffered enormously from the anarchy in which we have failed to protect them. I should doubt whether at this moment the upper classes of the most disturbed districts are really in a condition to pay very heavy direct Taxes; while on the other hand those of districts less disturbed fancy that they have not deserved, and may be less than ever inclined to pay odious imposts. I would ask whether if there were local emeutes at Surat or Trichenopoly or Dacca in opposition to such taxes, Government would be prepared to go in at once with military force and put down by prompt and severe example. That would probably be successful; but any thing like merciful compromise would greatly weaken us. I am not sure that it would not be well to avoid the complete suppression of the native press which is now the policy in some

provinces. As it is we know far too little of the native mind, and perhaps during changes it might be well to hear the worst they have to say of us.

So much I have said by way of warning against going too far. But seeing that our normal Revenue (increased Military expenditure apart) is certainly too small for improvement. I have no doubt that some new taxation is necessary, and I think that gradually and tentatively we should introduce the small end of Taxes, such as prevail in civilized and wealthy communities.

There can be no doubt that whatever the effect on the resources of a country of the absorption by Government of the greater part of the rent of the land, that rent, being the property of the state from time immemorial, can scarcely be considered a Tax on any individual member of the Community.

The Opium Revenue also is a peculiar income paid by China, not by India. Consequently the proper taxation of India is undoubtedly very small indeed. It consists in fact of only these four items.

The Salt Tax, nearly universal but quite unequal in different parts in India.

The Excise on Spirituous liquors paid by a very limited Class.

The Sea Customs, confined to the foreign trades while the traffic between all the countries of this Continent is left entirely free.

The Stamp Tax, which is principally a substitute for the fees payable in Courts of Justice.

The whole of these Taxes throughout the whole of our vast Empire have hitherto yielded only about 5 Millions Sterling per Annum, of which sum Salt alone gives upwards of half. That is no doubt a very light taxation, and in some shape or other a considerably larger sum may no doubt be collected without real hardship.

The popular European feeling has run very strong in favor

of what is called taxing the monied Classes. It is said that the accumulators of Capital are those who chiefly benefit by our rule, and who pay least for our protection. Some truth there is no doubt in this, but I think that there is in many of the plans put forth a good deal of fallacy and a great deal of exaggeration; and I especially feel that, however great reason there may be, there are practical difficulties in the way, because the wealthy can only be fully taxed by direct taxation, and our social isolation presents insuperable difficulty to the inquisitorial progress which is necessary to such taxation on a large scale.

I think that the accumulation in the hands of Capitalists of tangible and taxable wealth is exaggerated.

I doubt the policy of taxing traders alone, while we so much study to relieve trade. We have abolished all the transit duties of our predecessors, undoubtedly a large source of income. Will a direct Tax upon traders yield a large income more willingly paid, and less likely to fall on the consumer? I very much doubt it. I think that our income under such a system would probably be small, the odium great, and the incidence upon the consumer as inevitable as ever. A Tax upon Bankers as distinguished from other Traders, I consider to be, under a, Civilized Government, unjustifiable and in fact altogether a delusion. We may, if we would return to the finance of Richard the 1st, once for all seize the Bankers and extract their teeth till they pay large sums, but we should certainly kill the goose that lays such golden eggs. Among the Native States although occasional and irregular aids may be obtained from Bankers, any thing like a systematic taxation of this Class is wholly unknown; on the contrary every Native Chief is anxious to attract Bankers to his territory as the distributors of wealth, and they often grant to such men many privileges. In fact what is a Banker? and why should he be especially taxed? He is simply a trader in Money, and he ministers most directly to the necessities and convenience of the community. By all means let him pay taxes in common with every one else. But a special tax upon Bankers I believe to be unjust, inexpedient, and unprofitable.

Still I would certainly as much as possible tax not particular classes of wealthy men, but wealthy men in general. I would have some special taxes on the luxuries of the wealthy,

I would tax their outgoings rather than their incomings, both on grounds of general policy, and because we can in some measure ascertain the degree of expenditure when we can never hope even approximately to estimate income. I would lay upon the luxurious expenditure of the Upper classes such taxes as are paid by the same classes under the name of assessed taxes in England. I would strictly limit these taxes to a small class of wealthy men with whom the mass of the community would not sympathize. Taxes on Servants, equipages, &c. would, therefore, be confined to men who keep large and expensive Establishments. I would not tax the one or two servants of a man of the middle class.

I would, then, impose taxes on the rich somewhat such as the following :—

On servants exceeding three in number.
On all Equipages, Elephants, and horses above a low standard.

On houses worth more than Rs. 5000
On all marriages and festivals exceeding a certain sumptuary scale.

On titles, dignities, and privileges.
On guns and other weapons.
And probably other luxuries proper for taxation may be suggested.

Power might be given to the European Collector to commute the assessed taxes payable by any individual for a fixed sum as in England.

So much taxation of the rich I would then advocate, but of this I am thoroughly convinced that the financial result would be comparatively small. It is so in all countries. A tax never draws well till it reaches the mass of the people. It is so in England, and how much more so will it be the case in India where the rich are comparatively so few, and the poor so many. Something the tax on the rich will no doubt, yield at once, and something we may gain for the future by initiating a taxation which will increase with wealth and civilization. But for

our major revenues we must look to a broader basis.

Turn we, then, to taxes of more universal application. The first and greatest question is this, whether we shall prefer direct or indirect taxation, and I have already alluded to my objections to the former. All history, and all experience show, that direct taxes are unpopular in all countries, and that they are especially unpopular in India, where even in a minute form they have already on some occasions excited a popular resistance usually foreign to the character of the people. That direct taxes levied from a large proportion of the population will be detested is, I think, unquestionable.

Still greater is the difficulty arising from our entire social isolation from the people. Of all things direct taxation most especially requires a thorough knowledge of the affairs of the taxed. He who levies direct taxes must thoroughly know where, and in what proportion, to levy them. In some shape or other, a direct tax is an assessment upon means. An absolutely fair and just assessment falling in equal proportion upon all would be without doubt, however unpopular, the most equitable of all taxes. And among our own people such taxes can be levied, if not fairly, at least without so enormous a scandal of inequality as to make them totally impossible in times of necessity. But in this country, we are socially blind men, walking among the people. We are utterly without the power to attempt an equitable assessment. If we do attempt it, we shall either fail to realize revenue, or we shall assess so unequally, as to provoke hatred and resistance in a very high degree. I am not so confident in my own opinions, or so hopeful about our finance, as to wish to reject experiment even in direct taxation. But I certainly would not at present attempt to raise a great revenue in this shape, since, I believe, that by reduction and indirect taxation, our difficulties may be for the most part met.

I shall now notice briefly the particular direct taxes (besides the special taxes on the rich) which have been most seriously advocated.

1st. A general income and property tax.

Some people would levy a percentage on all income after the recent English fashion. But I think that the objections which I have already urged to direct taxation particularly apply to this its primary form, and that to impose anything like an equal or practicable general income tax, would be simply impossible. Look around; which of us has the least idea what is really the income of any of the natives around us? Let him try to find out and see how far he will succeed in the attempt; and how much less likely will success be when the object is taxatino? Probably the only result would be, a general concealment of wealth. People would bury their capital in the ground instead of turning it to any profit. Sincerely I believe that an income and annual property tax is out of the question.

2nd. A succession duty.

This I consider to be practically to all intents and purposes, a property tax. It is a tax on property paid, not annually, but once in each generation, or allowing for collateral successions, we might, perhaps say, on an average twice in every generation. The tax is not so objectionable as an annual income tax; but I think that in common with all schemes of direct taxation of property and income in this country, it labors under this great disadvantage, if imposed at a heavy rate, that while it cannot possibly be carried out on all with any equality, or certainty, it may fall with very exclusive force on all holders of Government securities, and of investments of a European and tangible character. That would be impolitic and unjust in ordinary times. It is most undesirable that those who trust their money to Government, or invest in Railways, or in houses in cantonments, or in Steamers on the Ganges, should be taxed, while wealth sunk in the old native way is exempt. Here in Lucknow the thing has been illustrated. We have had a war amercement: but in practice it has fallen almost wholly upon the holders of Government securities. House property only has in any degree shared the burden. The said-to-be-untold wealth of Bankers we know not where to find. A man may be worth a lac or a crore.

I should have no doubt that we are fully entitled to tax a

permanently settled Zemindar upon his property, in common with all other persons, and all other property; but if in practice the tax only falls on certain special kinds of property, it will be unjust to the permanent zemindar as it is to the fund holder. From temporarily settled estates I do not think that a special tax could be taken with any advantage. I should be glad to see a special tax on maafee lands considered not only as property, but as assignments of revenue.

Upon the whole I do not think that a general succession duty fixed at such a rate as to yield very large financial relief would be at present expedient. But admitting the *principle* of the tax to be fair, and looking to present experiment and future increase, I think, that a succession duty might be, with advantage, imposed at such a rate as might give no great temptation to evade it, and might be not unwillingly paid, as the price of a Certificate of succession, which a Native might look upon as a kind of title to, and security for, the property. Something appreciable would thus be derived to the Revenue. I would fix the tax at say 3 per cent, and strive, as far as possible, to realize it equally from all. The right to property on which the tax is not paid would be forfeited so far as a legal remedy is concerned.

3rd. A House tax.

I have no doubt whatever that this is the fairest of all direct taxes. But unfortunately it is everywhere the most unpopular, and it is particularly so in India, as our experience of the small chowkeedary tax in towns has shewn. A universal house tax is open to this objection, that if imposed on the mass of agriculturists, composing perhaps two-thirds of the whole population, it would be practically felt in little other light than as an addition to the land tax. A ryot considers his house part of that for which he pays his rent, and I hardly think we could lay further direct tax on this class with fairness, or expediency, or consistently with the settlement arrangements, in temporarily settled districts. On the other hand, a tax on the houses of non-agriculturists only, will be very much the same as one on trades and professions, and it would not be desirable to impose two similar taxes. A house tax would certainly be levied on the occupiers rather

than the owners of houses, and it would only be a question whether to assess according to professions and supposed earnings, or according to the house. I think the former would be upon the whole the least unpopular, and I should prefer it. A mere house tax might come hard on decayed needy disaffected people living in large old houses. On the whole, I do not doubt, that by a general house tax unflinchingly carried out throughout all India, a considerable sum, say one million sterling per annum, might be realized. But still the doubt strongly arises to my mind, whether it would be worth our while to assess and collect an odious tax over so vast a surface for such a sum as I have mentioned. I would rather avoid it; I do not think it would pay the soldiers required, and I would prefer a very mild form of

4th. A tax on trades and professions.

This plan seems to be very popular. It is therefore a curious circumstance that it is in fact, I believe, absolutely identical with the much abused "Muturpha" of Madras. But for my own part, I find in this its chief recommendation, inasmuch as I recognize an old and general native tax, since, as I have said, I am all for small armaments, and not unpopular taxes. Custom is every thing in this country, and the "Muturpha" is a thoroughly established custom under native rule, and not by any means forgotten in our own territories, where it is frequently levied by Zemindars and others. I should explain, however, that it is in native states a light tax, and not an extremely large source of revenue. "Muturpha" is an Arabic word derived from "Hirfut" a trade, art, or cunning. "Atraf" or "Itraf" is an artizan or tradesman, and in the Punjab and Cis-Sutledge States the tax is well known as the "Atrafee" tax. According to the Arabic form of derivation we have "Hirfat," "Atraf," "Muturpha."

Native Rulers with that self-taught, but sound political economy which we so often find in India (where the artificial restrictions of Europe have not had a place) are generally indisposed to tax traders and shop-keepers, and the "Muturpha" or "Atrafee" is levied more generally from artizans and manufacturers than from shop-keepers. But the latter are also liable to be included in the tax. I have already argued against the too great disposi-

tion very heavily to tax traders alone, but I have no doubt that the shop-keeper class do not pay sufficiently for their protection, and that they should now be included in any general "Muturpha" tax; while as the richest and making the largest income they should pay the heaviest rate. I have in fact always advocated retention of the old Atrafee tax, with the idea of possibly making it a nucleus of future taxation, and I now do not object to the general trial of a very moderate tax of this kind. But I think that it should be extremely moderate. To make it productive, we must extend it very widely over an immense class. In fact almost all non-agriculturists practising any trade or profession must pay the tax. A heavy tax of this kind will be new to the people, and will provoke very serious dislike and opposition. While on the other hand a tax limited to the class of shop-keepers alone would be less productive, would injure trade, and would eventually fall upon the consumer.

The tax could not be imposed according to any exact calculation of actual income. The only distinction which we could make, would be to divide the payers into 3 or 4 classes.

For the present I would not attempt higher rates than the following :---

Ordinary laboring artizans, Weavers, &c., 1 Rupee per annum.

Superior artizans and small shop-keepers 2 Rupees ditto.

Superior shop-keepers, ... 10 Rupees ditto.

Large Bankers, traders and professional men of a high class, ... 100 Rupees ditto.

I should think that we might with great advantage let out the right to make these collections in rural villages, &c. to the superior zemindars, and would recommend that course, which would bring Government less directly into collision with the people, and would enlist the power of the land-holders to collect the tax. Otherwise it might well be doubted whether the receipts would at first repay us for the trouble and odium of collection. As it is I have considerable misgivings about the expediency of the tax if we would avoid all occasion for the use of force. But opinion is strong for some such taxation, and this,

I think, is the least objectionable form. A Tax on tobacco would fall very much on the same classes, and if a large and productive Tobacco Tax were successfully imposed, I should hesitate to exact the direct tax at the same time. If we place no customs or other tax on internal trade, a small license tax on shop-keepers only, might be tried experimentally.

Before going from direct to indirect taxes, I will touch on the stamp Revenue, which stands somewhere between the two, but is chiefly a direct tax, and to this I may add, as a source of Revenue, *fines*.

My own opinion is against any very large increase of Revenue from Stamps. However proper may be a re-distribution of Judicial fees, I do not think that we can properly enhance the total of the charges upon justice, especially considering the very inferior quality of the article supplied.

On the other hand to Stamps as a tax on commercial and social transactions there is in much force the objection which I have already urged to other direct taxes, viz, that our social isolation is so complete, that we shall be unable to enforce such a tax.

The calculation of deriving a lac or two from the stamps upon Foreign bills, &c. among the European communities of the Presidency towns, is hardly large enough to find a place in Imperial finance. To make the tax pay, we must extend it to the native mass, and if we attempt to do that, I fear that we may not only fail but may cause great injury by invalidating the documents in common use among the people, and inducing evasion or even the disuse of openly attested acknowledgments.

If we are to require a stamp upon Hoondees and receipts all over India, how are we to enforce it? We can only withdraw the legal sanction. But if the Natives choose to carry on their exchange transactions in their own way, trusting to their own indigenous mercantile faith, how can we prevent them?

If one man chooses to give, and another to take, and a third to pay an unstamped Hoondee, by what inquisition can we put a stop to such transactions? And will not such be the common

practice? I suspect that it will. Again, as to receipts, we may declare unstamped receipts invalid, but I should fear that the great majority of the people will still not use stamped receipts, and that the result will be uncertainty and great temptation to breach of faith.

Fines formed one of the recognised and considerable sources of revenue in every Native State. Every offence was punished by fine, and it is probable that by this means, and by "nuzurs," and presents and benevolences, a native ruler in some degree manages to effect that taxation of the rich which he does not systematically attempt, and which we can hardly achieve. We must limit ourselves to judicial fines, and this can never be a very large source of revenue, but still I have no doubt whatever that when a man has the means of paying a fine really proportioned to the offence, it is perhaps the best of all punishments besides being the most profitable to Government. I heartily concur in the recent disposition, especially in the non-Regulation Provinces, to use fine more largely as a punishment, and hope that the system may be in some degree a source of appreciable Revenue.

I next go on to indirect taxes whch I have already argued to be from the nature of man the most politic and expedient all over the world, and more particularly so in India. I also here repeat that acknowledged principle of finance that a tax really to pay must touch the masses; we must never lose sight of that. Taxes on the luxuries of the higher classes will always be in theory the favorite with many people, and so far as it is possible, by all means tax those luxuries; but a really Imperial Revenue to meet great imperial necessities can only be derived from a very broad basis. I have already proposed special taxes for the wealthy, and I now assume that the general indirect taxes which we are about to discuss must be those which touch great masses of the population.

Such taxes may, I think, be divided, into three classes:—

1st. Taxes on the primary consumption, the necessities of the mass, which should be extremely moderate if they are imposed at all.

2nd. Taxes upon luxuries in common use, which are pro-

per taxes, and may be fixed at a tolerably high rate.

3rd. Taxes on what I may call, the intemperances of the people, *i. e.*, luxuries which used in any excess are productive of moral and physical injury.

These latter taxes are in every way the most proper of all, and may with advantage be raised to the very highest point which consists with their realization, in fact simply to the point which will raise the highest amount of Revenue ; since by such taxes we not only raise a great Revenue but benefit the people by limiting a deleterious consumption. On this point I do not think that there can be doubt or dispute.

Accordingly we find that in all civilised countries the largest proportion of the Revenue is derived from taxes on the intemperances and luxuries of the population, from spirituous liquors, drugs and tobacco, and from customs duties on articles of luxury. In England 4-5th of the Revenue is drawn from these sources notwithstanding the apparent number and severity of other taxes.

On these principles, then, let us review the indirect taxes levied or proposed to be levied in India.

1st. Opium.

Although this revenue is for the most part not paid by the people of India, I notice it as our greatest source of income after the land revenue. To the principle of an excessive tax upon this luxury of intemperance, I do not think that there can be any possible objection. It may be true that Opium is not more deleterious than spirits ; possibly it may even be that on minute comparison it is less so. But in Asia we all know what an Opium eater is, just as elsewhere we know what a drunkard is, and there can be no dispute that whichever is the worst, opium eating and spirit drinking are things of the same class, constantly tending to excess, and in excess the worst of vices and the most destructive of diseases. We may therefore tax Opium as well as spirits to the highest point of productiveness. That point has probably been reached as regards Bengal Opium, perhaps in some years even surpassed.

The Revenue is a most legitimate one with which we cannot

and will not dispense. The only doubt concerns the form in which it is now collected, and I confess that I regard the Government traffic in the article as under all the circumstances a very great evil. After some enquiry I have never been able to understand why an export duty accompanied by a prohibition of all cultivation, and unlicensed traffic within 3 or 400 miles of the sea, should not bring in the Revenue in Bengal as well as in Bombay. It must be remembered that the cultivation and the traffic is, and always has been, free in Oude, Nepal, Rewa, and other native states; and that, notwithstanding, there has never been any reason to suppose that illicit Opium from those states has been successfully exported to sea, although there is not on the frontiers of those Native States, any establishment sufficient to prevent Opium from being brought over the frontier. The prohibition of the traffic in Bengal proper, and of the export to sea is found sufficient. If then we can thus prevent the illicit exportation of Nepal or Oude opium, why should we not equally prevent exportation from our own Upper Provinces. Leave the trade free above a certain line, and raise the Revenue by the same system of passes which succeeds in Bombay. I should like to see the system tried. The Government Opium Agencies with their buildings, stock, and good-will might be sold to great mercantile houses, which would find it to be their interest to maintain the quality, and the sterling mark which is said to give the company's Opium its value in the eyes of the Chinese.

I successfully opposed the introduction into Oude of the system of Government cultivation, and mono-purchase of Opium, because I thought that it would not benefit the Revenue, and would only be an extension to another Province of an objectionable system. The cultivation is free but for the benefit of the people and of the revenue, the monopoly of the retail sale of Opium in towns and bazaars is leased out to contractors on exactly the same system which is followed in all the upper provinces with respect to spirits and drugs. In this manner, a considerable income is realized, whereas in our older districts the sale of Government Opium for local consumption is merely nominal, and the revenue nil, illicit Opium being there universally used.

I add an extract from a note on the Oude Opium question.

"I am opposed to the extension into Oude of the system of Government mono-purchase in any shape. I observe that the removal of the restriction on the cultivation of Opium is strongly advocated by Mr. Muir, and the Agra Board of Revenue, on the ground that the cultivators are thereby deprived of a profitable staple. In this view I do not quite concur, but I come to nearly the same conclusion on different grounds. I think that the importance of the staple as an article of agriculture is somewhat over-rated, that it is so important only in places where it is cultivated to an unusally large degree in consequence of its prohibition in other parts: that there is not room for its very great increase generally; that in immensely increased quantities, it could not be sold at the price which yields such a profit to Government; and that the advantage in an agricultural point of view of what increase there might be in Districts from which the restriction was removed, would be counter-balanced by the evils resulting from a cheap and plentiful supply of Opium to our own subjects. As regards, then, the actual merits of the present system of Government monopoly by which a Revenue is raised on the Opium exported from Calcutta, I believe that it has some advantages, and that much may be said on both sides".

"But it seems to me that the current of public opinion in England is very strongly set against the traffic in Opium on the part of Government, and that the more direct administration of India by Her Majesty's Government, and consequent more direct action of English popular opinion on Indian affairs is not likely to promote the continuance of this unpopular Government traffic. My individual belief, therefore, is that the Government Opium traffic is doomed, and that the sooner we devise some means for realizing the Opium Revenue by a proper tax instead of by Government dealing in the article, the less risk we shall run of losing the Revenue altogether by the force of a dammed up popular opinion at last bursting the barrier. I would, therefore, deprecate the extension to Oude of the old system".

There is at present an anomaly in the difference in the actual rate of duty realized from Bombay as compared with Bengal Opium. The duty or profit derived from the latter has, I believe, of late years averaged about Rs. 1,000 per chest, while in Bombay it has been but Rs. 400 per chest, and is now to be raised no

higher than Rs. 500. There seems to be no tendency to smuggling in Bombay, and as I have already said, I cannot find that the higher rate in Bengal is really due to the monopoly. Upon the principle, therefore, of realizing the rate most profitable to the Revenue, I should think that due precaution being taken, the Bombay rate might be raised, to the great increase of our Revenue, to say, Rs. 800 per chest, which rate may probably be in ordinary times a fair standard for Bengal also.

2nd. Indirect tax. Abkarry.

I have already said that the excise on spirits is one of the most proper of all taxes, and should be raised to the highest profitable point. That I imagine is not disputed. All will be agreed upon that. The smallness of our Abkarry revenue is not due to any moderation of rate. In fact usually Government does not fix a rate, but lets out the Abkarry contract of each district to a contractor who makes the most of it, and fixes the rate simply at the point which he finds to pay best. If spirits are cheap, it is only because the contractors find, upon free trade principles, that small profits on large sales really pay best. Higher rates may benefit the morals of the people, but it may be doubted whether they will increase the revenue. The fact is that the Abkarry revenue is for the most part derived from a very limited class of the lower population.

The great mass of the people of India do not consume spirituous liquors.

Our largest Abkarry Revenue is realized from our own large cantonments and Stations. Hence it is that the income is not large in proportion to the general population and size of the country. I do not think, then, that we can here find any great financial relief. It is a matter of administration, not of finance. We are all already agreed to levy the greatest possible Revenue from liquors. Improvements in administration may very probably be made, and if higher rates and repression of drunkenness are attainable without great loss of income, the benefit will be great But speaking financially, I do not think that more can be said upon the subject.

3rd Customs.

To the general principle of increase of the sea customs on account of our financial difficulties, I do not think that objection can be made. But till it is seen that the special rate imposed upon articles of European consumption, and for the most part upon them alone, is balanced by corresponding taxes upon the natives, the European community will certainly complain. It has struck me that perhaps some articles of native luxury which would bear an excessive tax are imported by sea; for instance spices or what are called "Keranah;" perhaps a duty of 100 or 200 per cent on such articles might bring in a considerable and not unfair Revenue.

On the subject of Customs this must be borne in mind, that the present Sea Customs are a very partial and limited tax in no degree corresponding to the customs levied in other countries. As compared to European countries, India is a continent, not a single country. Now we have abolished all internal customs lines, and made the coasting trade quite free. The traffic between the different countries, and provinces of India in so far as we are concerned is absolutely untaxed. It is as if in a European country all trade with Europe were free, and duty were only levied on the trade with other continents. India is, too, a simple and self supporting country; the imports from other continents are very small compared to the population. Hence the smallness of the customs receipts and the circumstance that so large a proportion of these receipts are derived from the consumption of the Europeans.

Whatever, then, be the advantages of free trade, it is, I think, to be borne in mind as a financial resource that it is always possible to realize a large revenue from internal customs lines. Probably this might be done without any very excessive hardship. Evils and great evils there certainly would be. But under a well managed system they need not be insuperable. Internal Customs formed a large source of Revenue of every native state. The people are thoroughly accustomed to the impost, and there would not be the least chance of the slightest resistance to a tax of this kind. In the disordered and divided state of India, these transit taxes were levied in so minute, vexatious, and intolerable a way that

they were odious in our eyes, and were consequently abolished altogether. I do not now absolutely advocate their re-imposition, but I have no doubt that a re-imposition is, if we are driven to it, practicable, easy, and profitable. We should no doubt reform the old system. We should establish well organised lines, forming convenient divisions between the different countries of India, and should make the inquisition and hindrance to trade as little felt as possible. The old ill-managed transit Customs were a very large source of Revenue, and I feel no doubt whatever that by a well managed system we might realize from the internal and coasting trade by very moderate duties, at least as much as is now derived, or will be derived from the Sea Customs. I should certainly prefer a system of this kind to any heavy and general direct taxation. I also deem it preferable to a severe tax upon traders. If the thing must be done I should think a receipt of 1½ to 2 millions sterling per annum from internal Customs not an excessive estimate. At any rate it is only in this shape that a tax on the commonest articles of consumption could be levied; a more direct tax on consumption would be impossible.

Of this I have no doubt that the local taxation of towns should be increased, and that it should be in the option of each town, according to local preferences and circumstances, to raise either by the house tax, or by the more popular town duty, enough to pay for, not only as now one portion of the Police, but the whole of the Police, and to maintain a sufficient conservancy, and pay the local establishments entertained for local benefit.

4th Duty on Salt.

There can be no doubt that this tax as now levied in all parts of the Bengal presidency sins against principle, inasmuch as it is a tax not upon a luxury, but upon a necessity, and is excessive in amount, being on an average about 800. per cent on the value of the article taxed.

On the other side it is only to be said, that the fact of the article being a necessity to all, makes the duty pay; that the natives have become accustomed to it; that it is the only tax of the kind; and lastly and principally that at present we cannot possibly do without the money. There is room for redistribution

and equalization of the tax, but its gross increase would be as unjustifiable, as its decrease is impossible. I have, therefore, heard with great surprise and regret, that it has been suggested to increase this tax, and to increase it in those very provinces where it is already highest. I have heard nothing of its increase in the provinces in which it is disproportionately low, which would I think, be the only justifiable increase. I consider an increase of the highest rates of salt duty impolitic and unjust, and would earnestly protest against any such proposition.

There is a point at which any tax ceases to be remunerative by either killing the consumption or inducing smuggling, and it is this last view of the matter which in addition to other reasons, we must especially keep in mind when considering salt financially. My own belief is, that we have already past the most profitable point in the saline countries of the north west, and that the incorporation in our territories of Oude (which is a great salt producing Country divided from our older districts by no natural boundary) has rendered a high duty much more impracticable than before. Under the circumstances an increase would be, I believe, a suicidal policy. The actual consumption is not materially affected. Practically salt seems to be even more a necessary than bread, if we may judge from the extraordinary uniformity of its consumption in all populations, whatever the poverty, sex or age, and from the singular fact that it is in no degree diminished by a taxation of several hundred per cent. This might seem an argument for a salt tax. But in truth resource is had to an illicit supply principally of the unwholesome earth salt. I have had considerable opportunity of investigating the subject as affecting the N. W. P. These Provinces are throughout more or less saline. There is an enormous salt frontier, far more embarrassing than a sea coast where the manufacture can be prevented. Throughout our whole frontier the manufacture of salt is unrestricted, and importation is only prevented by a most difficult land line and *enormous* establishment. The salt on which a 2 Rupees duty is charged, being immdiately beyond the line throughout a great part of its length, is of no higher value than 2 to 4 annas. So much for the frontier. But also salt may be, and is, manufactured from the soil to some extent in almost every Pergunnah. In many districts, and especially those in which the imported salt is dear-

est and the population are densest and poorest, (particularly the Benares Division) an inferior alimentary salt is extracted from the earth by the simplest domestic process. In a great part of the country, this illicit salt is the staple, I may say, sole consumption of all the lower orders. In consequence it is clearly proved that at present in the N. W. P. not one-half the natural and actual con sumption of salt per head pays duty. That is an ascertained statistical fact. So strongly has the inutility, injuriousness, and demoralization of this state of things been felt, that in the late arrangements for taxing the salt consumption of Oude the Government of India has thought fit to direct that the domestic manufacture of the inferior salt is to be "not even nominally prevented". The production of Oude is much larger than that of the N. W. P. and it is impossible to prevent smuggling across the border.

It is, then, I think certain that any objections to a very high salt duty, which may exist in Madras and Bombay, have much greater force in the N. W. P. And it is matter of history that till quite a recent date the duty was adjusted on the same principle as in those Presidencies.

Up to the year 1844 while the Bengal salt duty was high, that of the N. W. P. on the contrary was fixed at different times at different rates on a scale about equal to that in Madras and Bombay, being for a long period from 4 to 12 annas per maund and never exceeding 1 Rupee. In 1844 the frontier customs duties were abolished, and *as a compensation* the salt duty was doubled and made 2 Rs. per maund. In Madras and Bombay on the other hand, the land customs were maintained till, in accordance with the advance of public opinion, they were swept away *without any compensation*. I have always thought that historically, physically, and geographically the N. W. P. salt question must be considered with that of Madras and Bombay, not of Bengal, and that the present rate is, as compared to those Presidencies, a great injustice. Much more would a further increase be an extreme injustice. I am convinced that an increase would be futile. I think that the tax is already at a point which makes its expediency more than doubtful. The increased salt receipts since 1844 are more due to the increased preventive arrangements than to the increase of duty, and prevention cannot be further increased without terrible domestic tyranny and inquisition.

I would therefore say, increase experimentably to a moderate

extent the duty in Madras and Bombay. If that succeeds (and a moderate duty will no doubt succeed) a very large addition will be made to the Revenue. If it fails, the rate should be revised throughout those Presidencies, the N. W. P. and the Punjab simultaneously, till we find the maximum point to which the duty can be advantageously carried in saline countries. Bengal is not saline, the manufacture there is under control, it has from time immemorial paid a duty higher than at present, and most important of all the high duty *pays*. The consumption of duty paid salt reaches the full natural rate per head. The Bengal duty is, therefore, a separate question, and as Bengal under the permanent settlement does not pay its full share of land Revenue, it makes up in salt Revenue as a financial compensation. The consumpton of salt per head of the population is usually estimated at about 13 lbs or 6½ seers per annum, but it seems to be probably even larger.

I add some extracts from papers on the subject.

"With reference to the grounds (excessive price) on which the increased salt duty of Madras and Bombay was lowered while ours remained, I subjoin a *comparison* of the *Bazar* selling price of salt in different districts, (according to distance from place of production) in the North-Western Provinces, and in Madras.

N. W. Provinces.						Madras.	
District.	Price per Maund.					District.	Price per Maund
	Well salt.			Lake salt.			Sea salt.
Agra lowest price,	2	11	0	4	3 0	All places on coast,	1 0 0
Cawnpoor,	3	5	0	4	12 0	Tanjore,	1 4 0
Allahabad,	3	9	0	5	0 0	Arcot,	1 5 6
Mirzapoor,	4	3	0	5	11 0	Salem,	3 13 0
Azimgurh,	4	9	0	6	11 0	Bellary,	
Goruckpoor,	5	2	0	8	0 0	(highest price)	2 1 6

TABLE OF THE ANNUAL CONSUMPTION OF TAXED SALT.

Government.	Salt consuming population.	Rate of duty.	Consumption average quantity in maunds per annum.	Quantity per head per annum in seers.
Bengal,	41, 848. 941	Rs. 2-8	65, 05, 604	6-$\frac{1}{4}$
Madras,	31, 798, 287	12 as	51, 01, 276	6-$\frac{2}{5}$
Bombay,	19, 815, 630	12 as.,	32, 04, 427	6-$\frac{2}{3}$
Punjaub,	13, 000, 000	Rs. 2-0	9, 54, 801	2-$\frac{4}{5}$
N. W. P.	33, 071, 885	Rs. 2 and 2-8	22, 48, 234	2-$\frac{2}{3}$
Total,	139, 534, 743		180, 14, 342	

It thus apppears that in Bengal, Madras, and Bombay 148,11,307 maunds or about 541, 873 tons of taxed salt is consumed annually by a population of 93, 462, 858 souls, giving an actual average consumption of about 6-$\frac{2}{5}$ seers or about 13 pounds per head per annum; an estimate which *cannot* be lessened unless we suppose the population of India to be really *very much larger* than the high number at which I have stated it, although my calculation is numerically high giving a total of no less than 178 millions (untaxed consumers included,); *and* we find that the consumption is not materially less in highly taxed Bengal, than in lightly taxed Madras and Bombay.

On the other hand in the North-Western Provinces, the consumption of taxed salt is no more than about 2-$\frac{2}{3}$rds seers per head, a good deal less than half, not quite 3-7ths of the quantity actually consumed, and paid for in every other part of India. Any one who knows the Hindoostanees will not suppose that they are

less given to salt than other people. They eat nothing without it, land they have at least as large (probably a larger) proportion of animals also salt consumers. Surely, then, the figures which I have just stated are conclusive as to the fact that the taxed salt is but one part of their consumption, the luxury of those who are better off.

I have not been prepared to assume a higher rate of actual consumption than the 13 lb per head already stated, but when we consider the admitted very large consumption of untaxed and lightly taxed earth salt in Madras, the known large, and unimpeded manufacture of saltpetre salt in Behar, and the consumption of earth salt in the Bombay Deccan districts, and make allowance for smuggling, &c., &c., I *do* think that the Madras estimate of 18 pounds gross consumption per head is borne out by facts. On this calculation the consumption of taxed salt in these provinces is less than one-third the full rate of salt consumption

Besides independent of figures, this general fact is patent and well known. Inquire in Futtehpoor, in Jounpoor, and in many others parts of the country what salt the common villagers and lower classes usually eat, whether our dear salt is a common article. It will be found to be notorious that it is *not*, that the inferior and illicit local salts are the main staple of consumption, and that our preventive measures, though they may be attended with harshness and demoralization are *not* successful.

I think, then, that I may now assume the fact of consumption to be as I have stated it, that but a part of the salt consumed in these provinces is taxed, and that as regard the remainder the only effect of the tax is to drive the lower classes from good salt to a bad substitute."

"The whole salt consumption of Oude with very little exception is supplied by the native production. The Hills to the north are also supplied from the same source as are a large proportion of the inhabitants of the adjoining districts of the North-Western Provinces to whom it is smuggled across. This exceptional state of things is the more objectionable because the Oude salt principally owes its value ot the high duty imposed by us on the salts which would otherwise compete with it. The

cost of production in Oude is very much greater than that of the salt imported across our Western frontier line. Nature here supplies but diluted salt springs very different from the great supplies of salt, west of the Jumna. The quality of the Oude salt is also very variable. Some good salt is certainly produced, but the great mass is undoubtedly of inferior quality, bitter and believed by the native to be more or less unwholesome."

Upon the whole, then, I think that in our present financial necessities it is justifiable to add to the salt duty of 12 annas per maund now paid in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies an additional eight or twelve annnas per maund thus raising the duty to half or little more than half the Bengal rate and adding to the Revenue 40 or 50 lacs. But I would not raise, the rate beyond 1-4 or at most 1-8 and at the same time the equity and advantage of an early reduction in Nothern India should be borne in mind, and the establishment of an equal and not immoderate salt tax should be our object.

5th. I come to the tax, on which I confess that I am more inclined to rely than on any other. We have examined the conditions of a productive and justifiable tax. We have argued that to be productive it must be derived from a very broad basis; and that to be in the highest degree justifiable, and at the same time easy of collection it should be, if we may judge from the experience of all other countries, an indirect tax on the consumption of a luxury, and especially of a luxury which is in itself in no degree beneficial, morally or physically, and which in excess becomes an intemperance. Tea and Coffee are harmless, and in many respects beneficial beverages, and they are little used in India. Spirits and Opium are both in this country articles of limited consumption. But what is emphatically of all things the luxury of he natives? what is that on which the whole of the classes which are in any degree raised above that which can barely procure the necessaries of life, spend each according to its means, a large proportion of its surplus income? The answer must at once, be tobacco. Tobacco is to the natives what spirits and beer and tobacco all combined are to an Englishman. The weed is doubtless not in so high a degree deleterious as opium or spirits, but it certainly does no good and a good deal of harm. The character of the natives is sufficiently dilatory, and apathetic as it is, and they in

no way require the continual hookah to waste their time, and render the confirmed smoker more careless and lazy than his race. If one's servant is out of the way, and neglecting his duty, he is pretty certain to be smoking his hookah, and careless and indifferent undividuals of the upper classes male and female smoke every day and all day. Surely, then, there can be no fairer subject for taxation.

I believe that with the exception of India there is scarcely any country in the world in which tobaaco is not taxed, and heavily taxed. It is a source of large revenue in every country of Europe great and small without I believe any exception. I have lost library, and I cannot get together detailed statistics. I had in mymind a strong impression that the tobacco revenue in France yields between 7 and 8 millions sterling per annum, but I could not turn up the figures I have, however, found in McCulloch's geographical dictionary a French budget for 1848 accompanied bya lament for the ruin caused by the revolution as exhibited in this financial statement. Even in this exceptionally bad year, I find among the receipts, "sale of tobacco, francs 120,000,000" that is nearly 5,000,000 sterling; so that the proceeds in prosperous years may be not much less thanI supposed. In Italy, Hollan d, German and other countries a large revenue is raised from the asme source by all the states; and we must not forget that in those countries as in India tobacco is largely grown, and yet tht circumstance is not found to interfere with its taxation. Ihaink, then, we may assume that such a tax is practicable in Idia also,

It has been suggested that the tax on tobaacco would fall with disproportionate force on the lowest of the people an that its incidence is identical with that of the salt tax. I believe these two positions to be entirely erroneous. Salt is of all things a necessary, and -the Salt Tax is as nearly as possible a poll-tax falling on the whole population universally and alike. Tobacco on the contrary is no degree a necessity, and I think that far from its consumption being equally spread over all classes it is most unequally used according to the means of each class.. I believe that Tobacco is not used at all by people in the extreme of poverty or by those who by their labor can only give to their families the lowest grains

and the indispensable Salt. Doubtless as soon as a man has a few Annas to spare he will have his hookah on a small scale. The man who has a few Rupees to spare has it on a much larger scale. And the rich man spends much money on a large consumption of superior Tobacco. It is the extraordinary largeness of the consumption and the circumstance that. it is a luxury paid from the surplus income of each individual (in excess the price of necessaries and in a great degree proportioned to that excess) that makes Tobacco so advantageous and proper an object of taxation. It is apprehended by some that the tax would be unpopular and lead to resistance. Every Tax must be at first unpopular and to some extent cæteris paribus a large and productive tax may be more unpopular than a petty and unproductive one. But if we may trust all the standards of political experience, an indirect tax of this kind will certainly provoke much less opposition than a much smaller direct tax. I thoroughly believe that we could in no way (inland Customs excepted) raise one half so much money with so little opposition. The great advantage of the tax is this that once established it would very soon cease to be felt as a grievance. There will not be the continual knocking of the tax gatherer at the door. Tobacco will simply be an article sold in the market at a higher price than at present. No one will be constrained to buy it and no one will really suffer from the more moderate use of it. Every one will please himself and once the tax is establisheed among the customs of the country it will be a sure revenue collected without difficulty and paid without injury. Every thing is comparative. We must have money. Let us take it, then, in the fairest and easiestway. We are strong now to hold the country with all the strength derived from a great rebellion suppressed. Let us impose now this fairest of taxes, and we shall have a great means of improvement which once imposed will require no Soldiers to support it whereas every direct tax will in all time more or less require the support of a Military Force.

I am told that the Tobacco Tax is opposed by some men for whose opinions we must always entertain the greatest respect. But I have unfortunately been quite unable to ascertain the special grounds of that opposition. Nor can I imagine them. I have already noticed all the objections which have occurred

to me. If the tax is said to affect too many it is for that very reason that it will pay. If it is said to go too low in the scale of society, I say that it does not go nearly so low as the salt tax, that it does not touch the very lowest class, and that it is compulsory upon no one. To the allegation of unpopularity I say that all taxes must be at first unpopular, but that we can devise no tax of which it can be less said that it must be unpopular, while none would be so productive, and that in this case the unpopularity will be but temporary.

I am, then, for a Tax on Tobacco and in the same category with Tobacco I would class betel and any other such luxuries generally used in any part of India.

I am not confidently prepared with the details of a system of Tobacco taxation; that must be matter of experiment and probably different methods might be tried with advantage in different Provinces. The French and other systems might be studied. When they succeed so well in tobacco-growing countries doubtless we need not fail; and if so large a Revenue is derived from the Weed in France, surely from a population 4 times larger we may hope to derive one half or one third of the Revenue levied in France.

The French system appears to be a Government monopoly and probably we may in the first instance commence with some monopoly system; but I would avoid a direct monopoly in the hands of Government and would for the present simply let out to the highest bidder the monopoly of retail sale in each district in exactly the same way as the sale of spirits is now leased.

I do not think that a special tax on the cultivation could be imposed without a revision of settlement arrangements, and our inability to tax the cultivation in native states would (in the absence of internal customs lines) be fatal to any such system.

A great advantage of the sale of monopolies would be this, that most of the detailed rules of the Abkaree system would come into play and the same machinery might be used It is not always so in all countries but in India the natives seem to prefer to deal with a monopolist of their own race to direct dealing with Government, and the monopolist appears to be a good natural

Political econemist It is so in regard to spirits. He sells cheap and gives sub-leases on easy terms. The complaint is not that he raises the price too high but that he promotes drunkenness by selling cheap. It would be the same in respect to tobacco, would probably sell an inferior article cheap to the lower classes He and would heavily tax the better article used by those who can afford to pay high for it. Hereafter we might well improve, but for the present I think that we might obtain a large Revenue much exceeding the Abkaree receipts by simply adding tobacco to the drugs which are already included with spirits in the Abkaree management.

Tobacco is almost as much a manufactured article as spirits and much more so than some of the other drugs. We need not interfere with the cultivation or try to check the petty consumption of unmanufactured tobacco by the agriculturalists in their own fields. It is the consumption of non-agriculturalists who buy from the retail shops in towns and bazars, that we would chiefly touch. The tobacco leaf is first dried: it is then carried into the towns, where it is regularly manufactured, pounded up, mixed with goor and made into the great black masses which form so conspicuous an object in so many of the shops of every bazar. We have only to see its predominance in the shops to be satisfied how large an income its taxation must bring in.

Under the rough monopoly system suggested I have not attempted to propose any rates of tax. But I will say this that as our system is worked out by experiment I should think that we might with advantage carry the taxation of tobacco to that point that the present price of the article should be doubled. Considering that the tax is exclusively upon a pure luxury, that in England France and other countries t is much more eavily taxed, and that in this country the necessary of salt is taxed 800 per cent, I do not think that ther ate which I have suggested is excessive. And looking to the enor mous consumption of the weed throughout every part of India, I am convinced that if we obtain e tax equal to the value of the present annual consumption we shall gain several Millions sterling. Supposing that but one sixth of the population uses tobacco to the extent of from one to two Rupees per head per annum that alone would give about 3 Millions sterling.

It may be an argument in favor of a Tobacco tax that the weed is specially forbidden to and not used by the Seikhs who now form so large a proportion of the best soldiers in our army

If a high taxation and monopoly system be considered too venturesome at first, we might begin by charging an annual fee on every shop in which Tobacco is sold, Rupees 20 for instance.

6th. I venture to suggest an income or rather a saving of which I speak with diffidence as it involves a subject with which my practical acqnaintantance is very small. It is on all hands agreed that some convenient currency for laLge sums is very much required, silver being so bulky and inconvenient. To the introduction of gold there are great practical objections and the mutiny has taught us that of all things it is desirable to avoid the accumulation of bullion in numerous treasuries all over the country guarded by native soldiers. Some sort of paper money seems therefore most desirable and neither are there in the country sufficiently large and secure banking Establishments nor does it seem desirable to sacrifice a profit which might fairly belong to Government. The plan, therefore, at which I hint is this. Issue Government Bank notes; do not make them payable on demand, nor even a legal tender, under all circumstances. Not only however, make them a legal tender in payment of Government revenue but adsolutely require that the revenue shall be paid in Government notes and nothing else. I would issue the notes only from the largest and most central Treasuries. The necessity of paying them in for Revenue would at once put them in circulation all over the conntry and would give them as certain a standard value as if they were payable in cash and a general legal tender. Their value being thus ensured convenience alone wonld lead to their large use in private transactions. People do not take Bank Notes as a permanent investment. If they would invest on the faith of Government they would buy notes bearing interest. Therefore in taking a note payable as Revenue a man would not consider the chances of the destruction of the Government 50 years hence. On the other hand in the event of a panic the notes could not suddenly come in, they would only be paid in as revenue, at the same rate as usual, and as long as Revenue is paid a certain amount of notes must always be kept in circulation. The expense and risk of the

whole of the minor Treasuries would be at once got rid of. Any native Banker would then do all the Government bankiug required in each rural district. Supposing that but one years revenue was thus kept in circulation, say thirty millions that, would at once save to the Treasury interest exceeding one and a half million sterling per annum ; while at the same time by throwing into the market 30 million worth of silver displaced from the currency we should probably render money cheap, raise the value of Government stocks and recover the Government credit. I may be wholly wrong but that is my plan.

The following is a very rough estimate of the financial gain on which I calculate.

Reduction of the Army, ...	£.	4,000,000
Special Taxes on the wealthy, ...	£,	400,000
Succession duty, ...		400,000
Tax on trades and professions,...		400,000
Equalisation of Stamps, and fines, ...		200,000
Local taxes to pay Local Police, ...		200,000
Equalisation of the Opium Tax, ...		500,000
Madras and Bombay Salt increase, ...		400,000
Tax on Tobacco Betel etc., ...		2,000,000
Saving of interest on Government Bank Notes		1,000,000
Sea customs increase, ...		800,000
Total	£.	10,300,000
And if necessary add Land customs.		1,500,000
Grand total	£.	11800,000

This would give a good margin on the deficiency which I have estimated and enable us to make important improvements.

POSTCRIPT. Since writing the above I have received the army organisation Blue Book. In the appendix I find every conceivable information except that which I want viz. the sum total of the military force. The fact seems to be that no one knew the number of the Native troops in the Bengal Presidency. But from the details I clearly make out this that the whole force in India is very much larger than any thing yet stated. We

have heard it put as high as 320,000. But it is certain that in fact it exceeds 400,000.

The following gives, as nearly as I can find it, the Native army.

The Madras Native force is clearly enough stated at page 123.

We have of the regular army, ...	66,042
Local and irregular corps including the Hyderabad, and Nagpore forces, ...	16929
Total, ...	82971

The Bombay return at page 161 is somewhat embarrassing inasmuch as Lord Elphinstone seems to have given us rather too much including (as possessed of some military organisation) a very large body of police the whole of whom I cannot suppose to be regularly equipped as soldiers. I will deduct the 1093, policemen of the island of Bombay and part of the 16000 "Main body of the police." But in comparing the list at page 161 with the list of corps at pages 25,26 I find in the latter several as "1st Kandeish Bheel corps" "2nd Kandeish Bheel corps" "Rutnaghury Rangers" "Ghaut Police corps" and several other police corps which must in the former be included in the "main Body of the police." I will therefore assume half of that body to be musket bearing soldiers. Making then deduction of 9093 men from the 80,959 returned from Bombay we have for that presidency 71,866 soldiers, Of the Bengal Native army there is no general return but Lord Canning (page 258) states it at about 80,000 exclusive of disarmed corps and military Police, and Colonel Mayhew (page 181) gives us the castes and countries of 80,053 men, so there are not less than that, and as several disarmed corps have since been armed, I think we may take 85,000 as a minimum, although when all the returns are received the number may probably be considerably increased. Included in the Bengal return is the Punjab army. I have a paper giving the numbers of that force. There are in the regular Punjab army 32,307 men, exclusive of 10722 "levies." Adding to 24 recognised Regiments of Irregular Cavalry several bodies of these not named,

there must be in the Bengal army exclusive of that of the Punjab fully 15,000 Irregular Cavalry. Then there are now the faithful and rearmed Sepoy Regiments the Seikhs and Goorkha corps the Irregular Regiments in Mhairwarah, Arracan, Assam, Pegu, Maneepore, Sylhet and other places, Malwa Bheels, Meywar do. Kookey corps, and many others; and lastly the levies " or new Sepoy Regiments raised under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief at every principal station in the Bengal presidency. The whole of these added to the Punjab army may reach a highery number than that stated. *

Then we come to the military Police Regiments of the various provinces of the Bengal Presidency and Supreme Government, and which are purely military in every way, and which now certainly much exceed the 50,000 men roughly stated by the Governor General.

The military police of the North-Western Provinces are, ...	27,016	men
Of Oude, ...	15,000	„
Of Punjab exclusive of Levies, ...	16,533	„
		„
Total from Benares upwards, ...	58,549	„

Of which a very large proportion are Irregular Cavalry all paid at the much enhanced rate now given in the army corps.

I have no return of the Police corps in Bengal proper but I believe there are about 8 Battalions besides Cavalry. say at least 8000 men.

At page 171 of Appendix to report I find mention of 2185 Hill rangers and police corps in the Nizams assigned District not included in the military Madras returns. Also at page 172 Pegu police Regiments 1600 men, besides which it is stated that 4 police corps for Pegu were then being raised in Madras. Altogether it is certain that the Regiments called police exclusive of the Bombay and Madras returns must exceed 70,000 men. The Commission has drawn attention to the fact that these Regiments

* Note, In the garrison of Cawnpore there are at this moment no less than six Native Regiments besides Military Police.

"differ in no essential respect from the regular Sepoy. Army." And there is no doubt of the fact. In the North-Western Provinces, as I have already said the military police do no police duties, they are a clear addition to previous establishments. In Oude the organisation is purely military and in appearance arms &c. the Regiments are perfectly military corps. In the Punjab, they are the same and they do no police duties. In Bengal I believe that it is the same.

The Native army then exclusive of any unreturned levies stands according to the official statements thus.

Madras, ...	82,971
Bombay, ...	71,866
Bengal Army, ...	85,000
Bengal Military Police,...	70,000
Total	309837 Men.

Of Europeans we haveat the date of the Commission's return, of Her Majestys regular Forces including the Depots, ... 103,389

Local European Corps in India, ...	18,085
Total Europeans	122,474

Which makes the total Army for which we pay—432,311 Men.

The Army of the Commission is Europeans	80,000
Natives.	190,000
Total	270,000

which the Prime Minister officially stated to cost 15 Millions sterling per annum. It will then I think be conceded that there is much room for reduction in the first instance to bring us down to the 15 Millions standard. In all my calculations I assume the gradual reduction of all the Regiments to peace establishments under the late orders of Government to be carried out. But so much will certainly still leave the army higher than the Commission scale. And it is from the peace army after the first reductions that I insist on the necessity of saving 4 Millions by abolishing Regiments and turning soldiers into real Police so as to recur to the army expenditure of 11 Millions per annum.

A

GUIDE

TO THE

SILK CULTURE

IN THE

DECCAN.

BY

SIGNOR G. MUTTI.

&c &c &c.

KOTROOR BAGH, NEAR POONAH.

Printed at the Government Press, in the English Guzerattee and Mahratta Languages.

BOMBAY.

1838.

To

THE CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,

BOMBAY.

GENTLEMEN,

Your late Chairman, is the person to whom is due much of the merit of having introduced the Silk Culture in the Deccan; as he not only suggested to me my present undertaking at Poonah, but also furnished me with Funds to prosecute it, without having any personal interest to serve, or other object in view, than the improvement of the Country.

Nor has less interest been shown by all the other Members of the Chamber, for the prosperity of this Presidency.

To the Chairman, therefore, and Members of the Chamber of Commerce of Bombay, I beg to have the honor of inscribing these few pages, and remain.

Gentlemen,
Your most obedient Servant,

G. MUTTI.

Kotroor Bagh, near Poonah,
December 1837.

PREFACE.

To any one at all acquainted with the great advantages derived from the cultivation of Standard Mulberry Trees, for rearing the Silk Worm, it must long have been matter of surprise and regret, that the inhabitants of a country, such as this, so favored by its climate, and in every respect so well adapted for the production of Silk, should have, up to the present time, so little attended to its culture.

Considering also the large consumption of Silk on this side of India, it becomes still more a matter of astonishment, that attempts should not long since have been made, to supply it by Home production, and thus also retain to enrich its own population, much of that wealth which is at present expended on the Raw Silk of a foreign country.

That there is an extensive field for the employment of capital in this country must be universally admitted, and I know of none so likely to yield a profitable return to the capitalist, or to prove so beneficial to the country itself, as the cultivation of Silk.

Moreover, there is no occupation, I can imagine, so likely to interest, and so well suited to the Natives themselves, as the Silk culture, involving as it does, so little comparative labor and fatigue.

The Mulberry requires only careful attention (the degree of which gradually decreases every year) for the space of about five years, when the expense attending its cultivation ceases, and no other labor is required then that of pruning and thinning, which is amply repaid by the wood obtained. I do not doubt, therefore,

that the Natives would be easily induced to devote their attention entirely to the cultivation of the Mulberry Tree in preference to the Fruit Trees they at present cultivate, with so little profit to themselves, or advantage to the country.

In most other countries where Silk is cultivated, the climate will only allow of the leaves of the Mulberry Tree being gathered once a year. Here the climate is so favorable, as to permit this being done three times in the year, without injury to the Tree.

In short, the advantages attending the Silk culture must be obvious to all who consider the subject, and I observe, with pleasure, that they are now being generally admitted.

With the view therefore, of promoting, to the best of my ability, the success of the efforts now making to introduce the cultivation of Silk extensively in the Deccan, I have endeavoured, in the following pages, to give a practical detail of the process, with the expences attending it, and an estimate of the probable returns. And if my labors should in any way, conduce to increase the resources of the Deccan, or assist the views of the Right Hon'ble Sir Robert Grant, in his benevolent exertions for the improvement and prosperity of the Territories under his rule, I shall consider myself amply rewarded.

THE NECESSARY PREPARATION OF THE LAND FOR THE CULTIVATION OF THE STANDARD MULBERRY TREE.

If the ground be not level, it should be made so, to prevent an unequal distribution of water during the monsoon.

All Trees or Shrubs on the ground, should be cut down, or else planting within their shades must be avoided, as they not only impede the growth of the Mulberry Tree, but also greatly diminish the quantity of the leaves, and materially injure their quality.

In order to check the growth of grass, which abstracts no small portion of the nourishment intended for the plant, the land should be well ploughed and harrowed twice before planting. The month of April is the best time to do this.

The holes for receiving the Trees should be made some time previously to their being planted, for there is a very great advantage in having the ground well softened. These holes should not be less than two and a half feet square. The depth need not exceed 2 to 2½ feet, but less will do if the soil be not deep, as the root of the Mulberry grows horizontally and not downwards.

The advantages resulting from having the holes made sufficiently broad, are indeed very considerable, for the tender roots when not meeting with the resistance of a close, hard earth, quickly extend and multiply, and thus a fine healthy Tree is speedily produced, whereas when the earth around is hard, vegetation is greatly retarded, for the roots, by the resistance opposed to their extention, become cramped, and weakened, for want of sufficient earth to nourish them.

When a plant is observed to remain weak, and its growth appears injured, it is advisable to root it up, and substitute another, as great success cannot be expected in such cases, but if the plant has not been a long time in the ground, cutting down near the roots may be tried, taking care, however, to dig and water the ground a few days previous to this operation.

MANURING.

The manure is an object of great importance, and should be taken into immediate consideration in the Deccan, as that which is usually obtained in the Villages and City, is not good. It is therefore advisable to prepare the manure on the premises, in the following manner.

Dig a hole in the ground, and fill it with leaves, bones, the cuttings of leather, old chunam, and animal dung, and fill this hole with water two or three times, unless it is made during the monsoon, which is the best season for favoring decomposition. The mass should be occasionally stirred with a stick.

The leaves and litter taken from the Worms is an excellent manure.

HEDGES.

Should the land be without good hedges, they must be made, otherwise the cattle will destroy the young plants, as it is the custom of this country to suffer them to wander at large without any person in charge of them. In the hot season especially there is always a great number of these wandering cattle, which travel many miles from the City and Villages, and commit devastation during the night.

THE STANDARD MULBERRY TREE.

This very valuable plant, if well cultivated, thrives amazingly in the Deccan, as may be seen by the several plantations I have made at Poona, and from my statement in the appendix.

It requires indeed, that care be bestowed upon it, principally in the proper preparation of nurseries, and close attention to it at the very commencement of its growth.

For, our object is not only to produce a large Tree, but to make it a rich one, and by rearing it on the best system to obtain a plentiful supply of substantial leaves.

There are several species of the Mulberry Tree, the leaves of which are more or less adapted for feeding the Silk Worm, some of these kinds are incapable of attaining the size and height of a large Tree, others become too bushy &c.

I shall notice some of those to which the preference is due.

The St. Helena species bears a fine united leaf, and in great quantity, of which the Worms are very fond. It is of much quicker growth than any other species, and agrees with every soil, though the black seems to be the one best adapted for it. It requires less water and digging than any other; but a peculiar management is required for its cultivation; for if improperly reared, the plant becomes bushy, throwing out numerous twigs and small leaves, and also bearing abundantly of fruit, which is small, black, and very sweet. The plant is naturally bushy, and requires (besides being pruned regularly like the other species) an additional pruning once or twice a year, but only to extent of a few branches and twigs, and that after the 3rd year of the plantation.

The white Mulberry, has a rather thick, but an excellent light and glossy green leaf, which can be kept for 2 days without becoming dry or shrivelled—This species agrees best with either a red or whitish soil. It requires more irrigation and digging of the soil than the St. Helena, but still does not attain quick growth. It bears a white small fruit.

The Red has a large thick and glossy leaf, and a black long fruit resembling a cock's comb. It grows tolerably well in any soil, but requires much water and dig-

ging. It does not require so much pruning and thinning as the others. Its leaf is very good for the Worms, but is not so fine as the others, and contains more moisture.

The *Kotroor Dopia Folia*—This species is a transmigration from the St. Helena. *(I have two Trees of this interesting species in my establishment here. One of which changed the first year after planting, and the other in the second year.) It bears a long fruit, and has a very good leaf resembling the red, but about half its size, and is still more glossy and thick, with a finer leaf. It grows tolerably well.

The common country "Shah" Toot has a long white fruit. With plenty of water and digging, it grows tolerably. This species becomes a very large Tree in any soil, and supplies a very great quantity of leaves. It is the only species that although unpruned and unattended to, grows large and continues to furnish leaves in abundance, but of course requires a longer time. Its leaves are larger than those of any other species, and resemble the Fig leaf. They may be given for food the second day after being gathered, but the Worms must be very well reared and healthy to be able to eat them, as they are very coarse and hard. This is the principal objection to them. When the Tree is old, the leaves become much smaller and better.

Dapooree Dopia Folia.—This thrives better in a red and whitish soil, but grows very slowly. I cannot recommend its cultivation, as it is in many respects inconvenient and unprofitable.

There are several other kinds possessing large leaves, but most of them are ill adapted for the Worms. Some never become large Trees; the leaf of others is found to contain a great quantity of moisture; some as soon as they ripen become immediately dry and black; while others again become so as soon as they are gathered.

---

* I have remarked another instance of a similar change in a Tree of the China divided leaf, which after 5 years instead of its usual small black fruit, produced a long white one. The leaves are always the same.

I possess 14 species of Mulberries.)

The Mulberry becomes a very large Tree and lasts for a great many years. It may be propagated by Seed, by Slips and also from Layers. The first is the best mode, for then, the Tree lasts a longer time, becomes larger, and yields more leaves. The length of time (about 2, years) indeed, which it takes to come to maturity when planted from Seed, has been objected to. But in this, as in all similar cases, we should look to the great returns that will ultimately be obtained as a compensation for the delay.

One great object I have in view is to induce the Natives to look to the future, to create in them an interest in the land, and to show of how much more value ground may become to them by being made a lasting and valuable plantation, descending to their families, than by being merely employed in a succession of crops of comparatively trifling value.

The Mulberry Standard Tree does not require so much water as is generally supposed, but may be successfully planted in land where there are no wells, and which are merely watered by a puckhal. In this case, the plantation should be made a little before the commencement of the monsoon.

The growth of the Tree will not be so rapid from this mode of watering, but the difference will not be very great. I may adduce an instance in the Trees that have been planted in the Bazar and City of Poonah, and in the Lines of the Bombay European Regiment.

With regard to the period of watering, the following directions must be attended to.

For the first two months after a Mulberry has been transplanted (in a black soil) it will be quite sufficient to water it once in 8 or 10 days. For the other months of its first year, once in 10 or 12 days, afterwards 12 to 14, and so on.

A little practice soon teaches us by the appearance of the leaves when the plant requires irrigation.

The nature of the soil will make some difference.

Watering by the puckhal, should not be sparingly performed, as is usually done, but copiously at every time.

It must here be remarked, that the growth of the Tree does not depend entirely on the quantity of water and manure which may be given to it, but also on the care which may be taken in digging the soil and keeping the earth around the plant loose and in good order.

Should the monsoon, even, (as is some times the case in the Deccan) disappoint our hopes, the progress of a well cultivated Mulberry Tree, will not be retarded by this circumstance, nor the supply of leaves be materially diminished.

The Mulberry bears fruit twice a year, in March and November. That of the St. Helena Tree I have sold in the bazar at 5 and 6 pice the seer. For that of the red 8 pice can be obtained.

The fruit of the Tree may always be turned to some advantage. Good vinegar can be made from it, and sold at a profit; or during the hot weather very refreshing syrups and sherbets may be procured from it.

When the leaves are ripe, the best plan would be to gather them with scissors. To gather them by the hand requires extreme care, so as to avoid injuring the buds and bark. With the scissors the operation can be always safely performed, and a little practice soon renders the method easy.

In gathering, three or four leaves should always be left on the top of each branch.

Plants are subject to much injury during the digging of the soil, if this is carelessly done: particular attention, therefore, ought to be paid at these times not to wound or otherwise injure the plant.

I come now to the very interesting subject of pruning,

The treatment of the Tree in its progress to maturity is not always the same, but depends much on the growth and condition of each individual plant. If a plant be prosperous from the commencement, it will not give much trouble in pruning. Some of the lowest branches in such cases only require to be cut. Vegetation in general proceeds upwards, but it some times happens that the strength of the Tree is diverted to one or two of the lower branches, the upper remaining poor. In those instances, cut the former off close to the bud. Generally speaking, the upper leading branches should not be touched until the Tree is one year old, when we begin to form the lateral branches. The first branches are formed by checking the growth in the leading ones, after cutting which the sap is diverted to the lateral branches giving the Tree a round lofty appearance. The side branches however would also grow long and straggling, and are also cut at 18 to 20 inches from the stem, leaving the eyes or buds outside, so that the middle of the Tree may remain clear.

The interior of the Tree should be cleared of all branches so that the sun and air may freely penetrate. In about 8 months time, it will be proper to cut the new shoots, and form the *second branches*. These should be left longer than the first; about two and a half feet will be the proper length. After about 8 months, the new shoots are again cut still longer, say about 3 feet and so, are formed the *third* branches. In this manner we proceed taking care that in cutting, the buds are all left outside, and the interior of the Tree all cleared. A Tree treated in this way soon acquires a strong healthy appearance and produces a quantity of leaves.

From this method of pruning also an additional and great advantage arises: steps are formed in the tree itself, and the labourers are enabled to climb into it, for the purpose of picking the leaves, without the necessity of using a ladder.

When a plant is observed to make no rapid progress, and the stem, tho' long, is deficient in size, it will be necessary to cut the stem itself. This should be done at that height from which it is intended the branches should proceed, and we may thus expect new and strong shoots.

There is no fixed height which the stem should be required to reach, before the division of the principal branches; but the most convenient height for their division will be at the distance of four feet from the ground.

The principal object in the treatment of the Tree, and which must always be kept in view, is to form a large stem or trunk. We must bear in mind, that the vegetation of the Mulberry in this climate, is very rapid, and the nature of the Tree inclines it to attain a great height in proportion to its thickness; consequently, we must rather endeavour to retard its progress in height, than to allow it to proceed with the usual rapidity. In such a rapid progress the stem acquires little strength, and we are subjected, in order to remedy this, to frequent cuttings of the branches, which entails labor and loss of time.

It is necessary even, to be very cautious, in cutting the Mulberry, especially when it is a young plant, as it is liable to be impoverished. Pruning and thinning, are no doubt, essentially necessary operations for improving the leaves, and increasing their quantity, but if these are unskilfully performed, a contrary effect is produced.

PERIOD OF GATHERING THE LEAVES.

If the Tree be of the St. Helena species, this may be done after, but *not before* the fifth year. We may indeed, when the Tree is only four years old, begin to rear the Worms, on the leaves procured by pruning; but those obtained in the preceding three years being so small in quantity should be sold, unless the plantation is so extensive as to afford them in sufficient quantity to render it worth while to commence rearing. The other species of Mulberry require a delay of about two years more, and even then I do not think the same quantity of leaves can be expected as from the St. Helena Tree.

No consideration should induce us to attempt the making of Silk before the Tree has attained a proper age. We only thus incur much inconvenience and loss. (Of the truth of this I have had myself unfortunate experience, but my case, (an extraordinary one) required it.) Every plant requires its own time to come to maturity, and

I cannot possibly understand why the Mulberry should be considered an exception to the rule. On this subject all reasoning about climate is useless. The climate has its limits, and nature every where maintains her own principles, an ignorance, or abuse of which is invariably attended with evil consequences. The cultivation of Silk, like all husbandry, requires steadiness and perseverance in *one* object.

In concluding, therefore, this branch of my subject, I shall only add, that in the cultivation of the Mulberry Tree, it is clearly our interest to devote our whole attention, in the first instance, to the growth of the Tree, and until it be fully grown, little more should be attempted.

NURSERY BY SLIPS.

The ground is to be properly prepared, manured, and watered.

Select the cuttings from a good and thriving Tree, and while vegetating. Let the slips be neither too large nor too thin. The length of each cutting should be 7 inches. They should be cut at the top and the bottom horizontally, and not obliquely. Cut close to a bud and remove all the buds, with the exception of one above.

If the cuttings are not planted during the monsoon, they must be put in water for one night previous to being planted.

The slip is to be stuck into the ground two thirds of its length, in a perpendicular, and not an oblique direction. The cuttings must be planted separately, and not two or three together. Their distance from each other must not be less than 1½ feet. They are arranged in a straight line, leaving between the lines another 1½ feet of space for the convenience of weeding. Care must be taken to keep them clear of grass.

If the slips are put down in the hot weather, (which cannot be recommended) it will be necessary to cover

them during the day with a grass chuppar, but at this period their growth will always be slow, even with frequent watering.

At other seasons, provided the above directions are well attended to, a prosperous and quick growth of the plants may confidently be expected.

Of the St. Helena species of Mulberry (except when planted in the hot weather) every one of the cuttings will spread and come forward. Of the other kinds, but few cuttings are generally found to succeed, and they require more frequent irrigation. For the propagation of these, therefore, recourse must be had to Seed or grafting or Layers. In bending down to the ground branches for the purpose of layers, care must be taken that they be not broken, and the bark all round is to be removed.

NURSERY BY SEED.

As soon as the fruit is ripe, it is to be collected and placed in water mixed with sand. In this it must be well rubbed by the hands in order to separate the Seeds. The ripe and good Seeds will soon fall to the bottom of the water. The Seeds must be treated thus two or three times till they are freely divided. They are then exposed to dry and preserved in a bottle, if not wanted for immediate use, but the sooner they are used the better.

If the Seeds are sown in the hot weather, they should be covered during the day, so as to protect them from the sun, or thy may be sown in a shady place in baskets. The night before sowing they should be soaked in water.

The ground having been well ploughed and harrowed and the earth perfectly pulverized, manure is to be laid on, and the Seeds being sown, the earth is to be slightly turned over them. Water should now be poured over the ground from a tin watering pot, or earthen vessel, but this must be done gently, otherwise the earth is liable to be washed away, and the Seeds disarranged. In 8 or 10 days the plants generally appear.

In about three months a *second* nursery should be formed, and the first plants transplanted at a distance of 16 inches from each other. After 3 or 4 months, a third nursery should be made, and another transplanting at a distance of 24 inches effected.

The Mulberry from Seed, differs in the organization of the root, from that produced by cuttings. The first has only one long root, which requires to be cut off; very little of it being left the 2nd time after it is transplanted, so that hereafter regular roots may spread around it.

TRANSPLANTING.

There are two methods of transplanting, one when the plant is taken up with the earth around it; the other when it is removed with its roots bare. The last is the plan followed in Europe, where the young Mulberry is removed in this way, when about three years old, from the "vivajo" or second nursery, to the fields.

I tried this method at the commencement of my proceedings in this country, but without success, owing to the bad management of the natives.—For tho' I contrived a small implement for burying the roots without injury, yet these were always found to be cut, and materially injured. I have since therefore generally adhered to the mode of removing with a quantity of earth.—This I do when the plant is from three to four months old, and I have found it answers perfectly well.

The other system however is deserving of careful trial, as it is one well adapted for this country. It is in the first instance, more economical, because the plants could be left for two years planted close in a second nursery, and as less ground would thus be occupied, the irrigation would not be so expensive, the proprietor also could for these two years, use for other purposes, the land destined to receive the Trees.

Hereafter too I trust, when the Natives begin to devote themselves to the cultivation of the Mulberry, they

will soon acquire sufficient practice for performing the operation of removal, without injury to the roots.

My own experiments, I must add, were in the first instance infortunate, principally on account of my being very hurried, and having to transplant a great number of Trees at once, and to employ people who where quite unacquainted with the process.—I have again in this year tried with a small quantity of Trees, and have succeeded well. The Trees so transplanted are thriving exceedingly well.

The operation of transplanting would be better effected in the afternoon, so that the young plants would not be injured by the strong heat of the sun. If it is done in the monsoon, care must be taken that the holes made for receiving the young Trees, do not contain water, and are not too damp. If this is the case, the plant suffers; as the earth with which the holes are filled up, instead of being loose and soft, becomes hard and impenetra ble.

The manure should be examined before it is applied to the young Mulberry after transplanting, and it should be properly matured.

Transplanting is an operation requiring all the attention that can possibly be given to it, as on its being properly performed, the prosperous growth of the Tree very much depends.

The best seasons for transplanting are the beginning of September and May.

TRANSPLANTING WITH EARTH.

In transplanting, the Mulberry proceeding from Slips should not be removed till it is three or four months old. It should be taken from the ground with soil not less than 12 inches in depth. While placing it carefully in the hole prepared for it, the earth must be so far removed as to discover the roots. Of these all at the bottom are to be left, and their extremities only cut horizontally, and not obliquely, all the others above are to be taken away, being cut close to the stem.

After three months the ground will have to be dug, and a similar cutting again performed upon such roots as shall be found to have spread.

By cutting the roots in this way, several advantages are obtained. The Tree becomes stronger, and has a finer and more regular appearance. The roots being all below are not liable to be injured by the plough, or by the heat of the sun, during the hot season.

The holes made for receiving the young plants, must be filled up with earth taken from the surface of the ground, and not with that taken from the holes themselves.

In irrigating, after transplanting, care must be taken, that the earth around the plant is not pressed with the feet. It should, on the contrary, be left loose, and there is no disadvantage in a considerable absorption of water.

The young Trees should be planted at the distance of not less than 20 feet from each other. An opportunity is thus afforded of sowing grain, or planting vegetables in the intervals between the Trees, but this should never be done till the Trees themselves have reached the age of three years.

TRANSPLANTING WITHOUT EARTH.

In this operation, the holes made for the reception of the Trees, should have additional channels leading from the main body of the roots to receive the long arms, as it is very important to place them properly so as to avoid cramping.—The extremities of the roots are to be cut as before described, and only one circle of them left below.

1. As some hours are required for transplanting one Tree, care should be taken to protect in some way these roots which lie already exposed to the heat of the sun, either by covering with earth or cloth.

2. If any root has been injured, it should be removed, or it becomes rotten. The roots should be carefully di-

vided and put straight according to the direction of each, and in filling in the earth, care must be taken not to disarrange them.

3. Except in the hot season, the Trees dug up with the roots, can be conveyed 5 and 6 days journey, but they require to be packed up properly with grass, and refreshed on the way with sprinklings of water.

HEDGES OF MULBERRIES.

If these are properly cultivated, a great quantity of leaves for the young Worms may be obtained from them. From one hedge of the St. Helena species, 306 feet long, and only a year planted, I obtained at one gathering, one hundred and fifty Pucca Seers of leaves, and next year I expect a great deal more from it.

For the purpose of making hedges, a trench should be dug two feet broad, and as many deep. In this, manure and water should be first put, and then the slips are to be planted in it, at one foot distance from each other. When these arrive at about twelve feet high, they are to be cut at two feet distance from the ground. After six months they must be cut again at the same height.

Leaves from these hedges are to be gathered in the same way as those from the Tree, and they should be pruned twice a year, in March and August.

THE REARING OF SILK WORMS.

This wonderful Insect, thrives remarkably well in the Deccan. The Eggs from which it proceeds, are here hatched all the year round by the heat of the climate alone, without, (as in other countries) the necessity of artificial means. The regular time required for hatching is 9 days, except in the cold and hot weather, when it generally takes 12 or 15 days.

The only proper food of the Silk Worm is the leaf of the Mulberry.

From the middle of June to about the middle of October, the Worms may be kept in rooms with all the windows and doors open, and during that period they thrive capitally.

From the middle of October until the beginning of November, the weather is generally too hot for them, and from 11 to 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the place in which they are then kept should be closed, and in some mornings at the end of the same month likewise, when it is cold. In the greater part of November the weather generally agrees with them ; but from about the end of November or commencement of December, to about the middle of February, the prevailing cold affects them. At this time therefore it will be necessary to light fires from 10 o'clock at night till 9 next morning, when the rooms may be opened. At this period, as well as in a part of October and November, the progress of the Worms is but slow ; they take a longer time to spin, and they do not form very good Cocoons. It might be easy to obviate this, by keeping up large and regular fires, which I have never here tried, as is done in Europe ; but as we have abundant time during the other seasons of the year, it is not necessary to rear Worms in the hot and cold season, nor would it be proper to gather the leaves frequently in the hot, and worse still during the cold weather, as it might be fatal to the Tree.

From the middle of February to the end of March, the Worms can be reared with tolerable success. From April to about the middle of June, unless great precautions are taken, the great heat kills the Worms. They are all of them most liable to perish during the period of hatching. If they survive over that, we may hope to save most of them. The greatest care is necessary, especially at the first and last stage of their growth.

The following is the method I have generally followed in managing them during the hot season.

I keep the baskets containing the Worms in the lowest divisions of the frames. I place beneath, earthen pots filled with water, and once a day, at 12 o'clock, I also throw water all round the frames.—During the heat of the day,

I keep all the windows and doors shut, and open the whole of them as soon as the heat declines. By these means I am able to keep the temperature at from 85 to 92 degrees. This very extraordinary year (1837) on account of the heat, cold & rain, I have been unable to equalize the temperature so much. For some days the Thermometer in the rooms rose to 98, and this was attended with a loss of about 15 per cent of the Worms. The survivors made but small Cocoons.

I should think, that the system followed in Bengal, of keeping the Worms in double baskets, in the hot season, the outside basket being always kept wet with water, would answer better than mine, and I regret not having made the experiment. The temperature most suitable for the Worms is that of 75 degrees of Fahrenheit, but less, or an addition of a few degrees, makes very little alteration in their health, and this is generally the temperature in the monsoon.

When the Worms are young, they should be kept warmer than when they grow older.

Persons intending to rear Worms, should commence by calculating the quantity of leaves they can obtain, in order to ascertain the number of eggs that may be required. They must bear in mind that it is far better to be deficient in Worms than in their supply of leaves, for it is not only the quantity of these, but likewise their quality that must be attended to. If the insects are not provided regularly with the necessary quantity of proper food, the Cocoons produced by them will be very poor; consequently, double the quantity of them would be required to furnish the usual proportion of Silk. Moreover, a greater number of people is required to attend the Worms; and finally, we may be compelled, for want of leaves, to destroy many, or even the whole, of the insects.

METHOD OF REARING THE WORMS.

The paper or cloth containing the Eggs, is put into baskets, and these are placed in a frame-work fitted up in the room designed for the rearing (vide Appendix).

As soon as the Eggs are hatched, tender leaves are placed over the young Worms, upon which they are immediately seen to climb. Particular attention is requisite in doing this. The leaves should not be applied until it is perceived that all the Eggs are hatched, (or the greater part of them,) as they generally are on the same day.

The Worms are next removed with the leaves into a second small basket, which is to be lined with paper.

Too many Worms must not be suffered to climb upon the leaves, and very great care should be taken to removing them in time, as this is a most important object to prevent their being crowded.

The Worms removed in the afternoon are not to be mixed with those of the morning, for though, there be only an interval of a few hours, much difference is observed in the growth of different sets.

The meals for the Worms are to be regulated as follows:

For the hot season.	*to be fed.*
1st stage.....	6 times in 24 hours.
Remaining stages.....	5 ditto.... ditto.

During other seasons.	*To be fed.*
1st stage.....	6 times in 24 hours.
2nd do.....	5 ditto....ditto.
3rd and 4th do.....	4 ditto....ditto.

To be fed day and night, every 4, 5, and 6 hours, regularly.

In the first stage, tender leaves finely chopped, should be selected; as the Worms advance, the chopping may be dispensed with, and the leaves cut with a knife; and at the last stage, they may be given entire.

If any of the Worms are observed to have a greater appetite than others, their supply of food should be proportionally increased.

The Worms are liable to sickness or change of skin. Some are sick 3, and others 4 times during their life, and remain so for about 1½ to 3 days. At this period they should not be fed. The commencement of their sickness is easily known by the following symptoms. They turn yellow, many of them remain under the leaves, others continue motionless, with their heads elevated, and some crawl from the centre of the basket to its edges. When they are recovering, it is observable by their becoming whitish and in motion.

As the Worms never eat all the leaves provided for them, a portion of these remain with their litter, and as it would be injurious to the Worm to allow it to continue in an uncleanly state, it becomes necessary to remove the insects every 4 days into clean baskets. This is always done by putting leaves upon them.

It is a matter of the greatest consequence to give the Worms extensive room for their growth. As they increase in size, therefore, the number in each basket must be reduced. The contents of two baskets must after a time be distributed into three, then four, and so on, especially after the 4th stage, when they very rapidly attain their largest size, and it is also at this time that they require the greatest quantity of leaves. They ought never to be removed when sick.

The care of feeding the Worms should always be intrusted to one and the same person, the duty being a most important one. Practice soon teaches the proper method of distributing the leaves, on which a great deal depends. The unpractised are apt to distribute the leaves unequally; giving to some, too many, and too little or nothing to others. If too much be given, there is a waste of leaves; and by giving less than the necessary quantity, the Worm suffers; hence the Worms advance unequally in their growth and one of our great objects is thereby defeated, which is to have all the Worms pass through the various stages of their existence together.

The leaves, except in the hot season, should not be given during the day, immediately after being gathered, but kept for a few hours. They ought then to be separat-

ed and the tender, given to the young Worms; the hard to the more advanced; and the hardest and from the older Trees, to those in the last stage of their growth.

Great care ought also to be taken of the leaves that are gathered, especially those in the afternoon, for use during the night. They should be so kept as to prevent any fermentation occurring by their being heaped together, and which would materially injure the insects. They should also be kept from exposure to the wind, lest they become too dry.

They may be placed in baskets, but not subject to pressure; or they may be kept in clean ground, all damp being avoided. Wet leaves ought never to be given to the Worms. During the rains they must be dried before being used, by partial exposure to the wind. Even if they should not become dry before the time for distributing arrives, it is better to wait some hours for their proper drying; for to give them in a wet state would infallibly injure the health of the Worm. Except in extraordinary monsoons, little delay is likely to occur in the Deccan from this cause, as there are always intervals of fine weather, when the leaves can be gathered dry. At this time if requisite, they can even be collected a day before they are wanted.

There is a variety in the color of the Cocoons spun by the Worms. Some spin a white Cocoon, others a yellow, and others a sulphur or green one.

The time they occupy in coming to maturity for spinning, also varies. Some commence spinning in 21 days, others in 29, others again in 35. According as these discrepancies are ascertained, the Worms should be separated, and kept in different baskets.

The Silk Worm takes a few more days to spin during the cold and hot seasons, than it does in the temperate; nor is it then so strong either in constitution or appetite.

There is a difference observable in the constitution of the Worms, according as the color of their Cocoons varies.

It is only about a year and a half since I commenced rearing those that spin the white and yellow throughout their four stages. They eat more than the one making the sulphur Cocoon, but there is a saving on the other hand in the quantity of food they consume, from the circumstance of their continuing about three days sick, whereas the latter is only about one and a half.

The white is very delicate and requires much attention. At the commencement of my operations I could only procure small and poor Cocoons from them, and their Eggs required a long time for hatching, and then not altogether, but they have since gradually improved, I attribute this improvement to the great care that has been bestowed upon them, as well as to the Worms becoming better acclimated. I confidently expect a still further improvement.

The Worm from which a yellow Cocoon is spun, is also delicate, but not to such a degree as the above species. I had similar trouble with this Worm at the begining, but the improvement in the size and quality of its Cocoons has been latterly very considerable.

The Worm spinning a Cocoon of a greenish color is more hardy than the others. It is better able to withstand changes of heat and cold. Its Eggs are also more regularly hatched.

Throughout the year they come to maturity in 9, 12, & 15 days, and unless there is neglect, we may be certain of having good Cocoons from them.

The three species of Worms here noticed are, as to external appearance, little distinguishable from each other; but close observation will detect a difference.

When the Worm is ready for spinning, it is seen to change its color and become yellow and transparent. It refuses all food, elevates its head, and keeps continually moving its body, as if uneasy.

This change takes place at night, and generally continues from 12 o'clock till 10 the next morning. This is

not always the case, however, for in the cold and hot season they may be seen to begin to turn yellow and increase in color throughout the day.

Before they begin to spin, it will be necessary to make some preparation for their conducting the process with ease to themselves.—The assistance to be given to them is this. Cut small flexible slips from the bushes or Trees, and tie them up into small bundles not too thick or broad, and hollow. These, as soon as the Worms are ready for spinning, are placed within the circumference, and in the middle of the baskets, so that the Worm may easily creep into them and commence its labors; the majority will do this of their own accord, others require to be lifted and placed within the bundles.

In India the practice is to lift *etch worm* separately, and place it in a basket, having its divisions, wherein the spinning is to proceed. This practice has several very great objections. It is very tedious and expensive, requiring the assistance of many persons in lifting so many Worms, besides the cost of the requisite number of baskets, and the space they necessarily occupy.

The operation also takes so much time, that before all the Worms can be collected and arranged, part of them lose their strength, and form small Cocoons, and some form none at all, and this may be attributed also to want of care and skill in selecting Worms that are not yet ready for spinning. Therefore, the best, and indeed only plan, that should be followed, is the European method of bundles, which is both very economical and convenient; but to do that, it is absolutely necessary that the Worms should be properly reared, in order that they may be all equally prepared for spinning. This process indeed ought to be in progress among the whole in 2 days or early on the third, and not be going on for 6, 8 and 10 days (and more) as is not unfrequently observed in India.

It is also requisite to guard the Worms against external injuries by giving them in charge of a person early every morning, whose duty should be to fill up the stones or coondies of the frames with water, for if this is neglected

the Worms will be destroyed by the ants, as they are found in great quantity. For their greater preservation, ashes should be spread around the coondies. The Worms are also liable to be destroyed by rats. Every strong narcotic odor, particularly the smell of Tobacco, is very likely to prove injurious to them. No smoking therefore should ever be allowed among the Native Assistants in the rooms where they are kept.

They are very sensitive to the changes in the weather. It might hence be advisable to endeavour to keep them, as much as possible in a regulated temperature, which should be preserved always the same. It will be necessary however to take such care on this point, as always to open or shut the doors and windows, according as they become exposed to the sun, or a cold breeze, or may require, on the other hand, *more* air. This, when it is not too cold or hot, must be allowed, and when the insect has begun to spin and cover itself up, a greater supply of fresh air is beneficial.

During the 6 years that I have reared Worms in Poonah, they never once had a disease.)

I conclude this subject by strongly recommending great cleanliness to be observed in the treatment of the Worms, as also, in the place where they are kept, which ought to be freely ventilated in order to remove all bad smells which cannot fail to be hurtful to so delicate an insect.

COCOONS.

The Cocoon is a species of kernel or nut, formed by the Worm.

Upon every basket in which Worms are spinning, a piece of paper should be placed with a memorandum of the day when the process of forming the Cocoons commenced. We thus know when to remove the Cocoons, as this should be done on the fifth day. On the 3rd day generally, some times on the 4th, the insect has accomplished its labor and passess into the state of chrysalis.

The Cocoons of different colours must, under every circumstance, whether intended for breeding or winding, be separated and kept apart, from each other.

When selecting Cocoons, to obtain Worms for producing Eggs, the largest and hardest should be chosen.

The Cocoons contain either male or famale moths. The former are distinguished by being smaller than the others, more pointed at one or both ends, and depressed in the centre, and the latter, are generally more round and full, and without ring or depression in the middle.

It is necessary to have an equal proportion of male and female moths.

On the 9th, 12th and 15th day, according to the season, and as I have already mentioned when treating of the hatching of the Eggs, after the Worm has begun to spin, the Cocoon is pierced, and the moth issues.

The male moth is easily distinguished from the female. The first is smaller, and it is continually in motion, the last is larger than the male, and moves very little and slowly. The two sexes must be put apart for a few hours and afterwards one of each sex should be placed together for 6 hours, when they are to be separated, and the female placed upon paper or cloth. Although they have wings, these butterflies do not fly. In the afternoon of the same day and during the night, all the Eggs will be laid.

From July to October we can calculate on 180 to 280 Eggs from each moth. In the hot and cold weather, if proper precautions be not taken, about half of this quantity only will be produced.

This quantity, I have no doubt, of being by and by able further to increase. At the commencement of my labors I was unable to produce one half of the above quantity. In Europe they get from 230 to 400.

The moth requires no food.

After copulation, the males may be thrown away, except when the number of females happens to be in excess, as this is the case some times. When this takes place, the best males should be selected to make up the necessary quantity, and separated one hour earlier, than the others, from the first set of females to which they have been attached, and then applied to the second set.

Every endeavour must be made to keep the Eggs in as temperate a place as possible.

It requires at present about 22,000 to 24,000 Eggs to form one tola weight, or 12 Poona massah, of the above-mentioned species. As we improve, ofcourse the Eggs will become a little larger and will require less to form the tola, but the difference will not be great.

The insect contained in those Cocoons, from which we intend to wind Silk, must be destroyed before it makes its exit. If this be not done, the aperture left by it as it issues forth, spoils the Cocoon for our purpose, for as soon as these are placed in water, they sink to the bottom of the pan, from fluid being admitted, and the texture of the Cocoon is injured.

There are three plans of destroying the insect, while in the Cocoon. The first is by exposure to the heat of the sun, the second by baking them, and the third by steaming them.

In the first method the Cocoons are to be exposed to the sun for one or three days, according to the season. This system cannot be always followed during the monsoon on account of the rain, and from the days being cloudy. It is also liable to the objection, that the yellow and sulphur or green Cocoon from such exposure loses its color, becomes pale, and the Silk wound from it, is not so glossy.

The second is a more speedy one, and to which I give the preference, but it has also two objections, the first, from the Cocoon becoming too much baked, the fibres of the Silk are burnt, and in winding, the threads break, there is great waste and the Silk comes off imperfect. And secondly if it is insufficiently baked, the moth is not destroyed and still makes its exit.

This operation can be done in an oven, or by a trench in the ground two feet deep, and of an extent depending upon the scale of operations. The trench should be built up with pucka bricks and chunam.

A fire should then be made in it, which must be carefully attended to and kept burning gently. Over the trench should be streched a kumblee, in which the Cocoons are deposited in close and regular order, care being taken not to huddle them together in a mass.

The heat must be well regulated and the Cocoons turned from time to time. In about an hour and a half the insect is suffocated. Two pucka seers of coal are sufficient to bake 8,000 Cocoons.

The process of destroying the insect by steam, is a certain one and effected in about one hour, but in employing it, we should take great care before doing it, that the Cocoons have no leaves or dirt attached to them. One Cocoon in a dirty or unclean state will always injure any others in contact with it. Great attention is also required in placing them upon the frames that the baskets or whatever may be used, be perfectly clean, to prevent their contracting dirt, which they are the more liable to do from being taken wet from the steam.

The colour however and gloss of the Silk from such process, is rather inferior to that produced from the Cocoons that are baked.

Whatever method may be adopted with the Cocoons, it is requisite to pay attention that the damaged ones be prevented from mixing with the others in the process, and for the first few days, that too many be not placed together, but filled up not higher than 2 or 3 inches, and be in a place to have free ventilation. They should be turned 3 times a day. As they become gradually more dry, the pile may be raised, and the process of turning limited to twice a day in the first instance, then once, and finally omitted.

The weight of my best sulphur and yellow Cocoons 5 days after the Worm has begun to spin, and before being baked, has been, for 5000 Cocoons, pucka seers (of 80 Ru-

pees each) 5 to 5½. From one maund there should be produced more than three seers and a half of fine Silk, with such Cocoons.

WINDING RAW SILK.

Experience has already shown that the Natives of this country are, from their habits and dispositions, particularly qualified for the work of winding Silk, altho' so trifling a quantity has as yet been produced in the Deccan that they have not had sufficient practice, which is the principal requisite for performing this operation.

The first thing to be attended to previous to beginning to work, should be, to get good and dry fire-wood, so as to facilitate your having the water in the copper boiler always at the same degree of heat, which is a very great object, as contributing to produce good Silk and preventing an extraordinary waste of Cocoons.

The quality of the water to be used in winding from the Cocoons is also an important matter. The lighter the water the better. It should be kept in an earthen jar with some small round *river* stones and a few cuttings of vines, and exposed to the sun for two days before being used.

In about 5 to 8 days after the moth has been destroyed you may commence winding the Silk. It should not be done earlier, as the Cocoons being too fresh, the winding would not proceed well, neither should it be delayed too long, for then the fibres are liable to become too brittle.

In the first place the Cocoons are divided into different assortments, according to their qualities.

1st. Those of the best quality, and hardest texture.

2nd. of a middling quality.

3rd. of a bad.

4th. of very bad and damaged.

5th. Of the double, that is to say, such as have been spun by two Worms and which contain two moths. These are very easily distinguished.

Before commencing reeling, a preliminary operation also has to be performed in regard to the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd qualities, which is, to take off the floss or the first skin covering the outside of the Cocoons.

In winding the Cocoons, those of the worst qualities may be used first, as the best can remain longer without injury, even more than 40 days, except those of a *white colour*, which if kept too long, causes the Silk to lose its whiteness; they should therefore be wound early.

Altho' the thread of wound Silk appears so fine, it is not a *single*, but in reality consists of *several* fibres, as the single fibre would never be strong enough for any purpose.

The smallest number of Cocoons that can be used together in winding, in order that their united fibres may form one thread, is three. The greater the number of fibres joined together, the more coarse will the Silk become.

It must be observed, that the fibre of the Cocoon, as it approaches to an end, becomes finer, when two of them can be considered only as equal to one fresh, therefore the person winding must be particularly attentive to adding a greater number of new or old Cocoons, and calculate according as he finds it necessary. Practice in this, (which is a point of great importance) as indeed throughout the whole process, can alone point out the proper way.

The requisites for producing perfect Silk and the attention required towards it, are the following.

1st. To have good Cocoons.

2nd. To brush them properly.

3rd. To preserve the water always at the same temperature, about 15 degrees below boiling heat, a greater or less degree to depend on the quality of the Cocoons; for the harder the Cocoons are, the hotter must the water be to dissolve the glutinous matter that exists in them.

4th. To have clean, pure and light water.

5th. To keep the reel performing its revolutions regularly, and not at one time with a quick, and another with a slow motion.

6th. The Silk to be cleared properly from nibs and uneven threads; and finally and most essentially, to have an attentive person to wind.

The characteristics of perfect Silk are evenness of thread, cleanliness or freeness from nibs &c, purity of colour, glossiness, softness, and being well twisted.

About 250 Cocoons may be put in the pan when the water is at the proper heat; according to the quantity of fibres the Silk is to be wound of, whether fine or coarse, and the ability of the reeler to do it quickly or slowly, as the Cocoons must not be kept long under the process.

After the Cocoons have been brushed, to loosen the fibres, they should be kept always close to the reeler, on his own side of the copper boiler, and those that are at work should be kept separately, so that he may be able exactly to distinguish the number going on.

When the thread breaks, the reel should be stopped and the extremities of the thread joined, not with a knot, but by twisting them a little with the fresh ones, as I do. If a person is at first unsuccessful (altho' it is not a difficult thing) let him place it under the skein to which it belongs.

The reeler must refrain from contracting the habit to which many are liable, of twisting in his hands the fibres when fresh Cocoons are required to be added, as it would be wasting Silk.

He must not neglect to make as many crosses as he can, the number of which, more or less, depends on the quality of the Cocoons, and to see it going on, as some times it slips, and in that case he must stop the reel and put them again in order.

Every time that the Cocoons placed in the pan have been reeled, the Silk should be cleaned of its nibs &c. and the boy should take out all the grubs remaining in it and see the fire properly lighted.

At 12 o'clock the water remaining in the pan is thrown away, and replaced with fresh water for the afternoon.

The reeler should from time to time sprinkle cold water over the iron holes through which the thread passes, from a basin that he should have close to him.

During the days of heavy rain it will be best to discontinue the winding of Silk, which is then liable to suffer in its glossiness and colour. The rains in the Deccan are however rarely so heavy throughout the whole day, or the atmosphere so close as to cause much interruption.

The Italian machine (which I use) requires two persons. One at the pan, and the other (a boy or woman) to turn the handle of the reel. It requires two reels, one of which may thus be removed at 12 o'clock along with the Silk reeled in the forenoon, while the other is placed for the afternoon. In this manner the Silk dries better, and we have also the opportunity of examining the first more at leisure and of removing all impurities.

The white Silk is the finest and best, next the yellow, and then the sulphur.

As regards the quantity of Silk that can be reeled in a day, I have had a native man wind one pucka seer of Silk of $\frac{10}{17}$ Cocoons in 3 days, and a woman in two. I prefer the women and would recommend them, for altho' there can be no doubt that a man could do as much as the other, yet the women require less wages and are otherwise less expensive.

The length of the skein adapted for Europe is 36 inches, for this country it varies.

The quantity of fire-wood consumed in a day, in a furnace, is about 15 seers. The quantity however depends, in a great measure, on the furnace being properly built.

The best result I have as yet obtained from the Cocoons, has been a consumption of 9,240, 10,080, 10,500 to 11,000 for one pucka seer of fine Silk.

MEMORANDUM.

Of the size and quantity of Leaves of a Plantation of Mulberry Standard Trees, of the age of 28 months, of the St. Helena species; proceeding from cuttings planted in black soil at the distance of 16 feet apart, at Clare Bagh, as per certificate to the Principal Collector of Poona, according to which it will also appear, that the Leaves were gathered when some had fallen off the Trees, and many of those remaining had become dry.

Date.	Trees.	Circumference of the Stem. The branches where divided.	Circumference of the Stem. At the bottom.	Height.	Quantity of leaves in one gathering	Witnessed by.
1837.						
September.... 23	1	Inches..... 15 ..	Inches.... 18 ..	Feet.... 18 ..	Pucka Seers 17 ..	Messrs. H. Coldsmid, H. Rudd, M. Browne, and McIntyre.
,, ...	1	,, ... 17 ..	,, ... 19 ½	,, .. 17 ½	,, 18 ..	
October..... 9	1	,, ... 11 ½	,, ... 13 ½	,, .. 16 ½	,, 9 ..	Rigoo, Seedashew, & Bageewa Gazanah Bramins,
,, ... 14	1	,, ... 16 ½	,, ... 17 ..	,, .. 18 ..	,, 18 ½	Superintendent Mr. Browne.
,, ... 15	1	,, ... 10 ½	,, ... 12 ..	,, .. 16 ..	,, 7 ½	Kasseenath Soonhar, and Bageewa Gazanah Bramins.
,, ...	1	,, ... 14 ½	,, ... 16 ½	,, .. 17 ..	,, 15 ½	
,, ...	1	,, ... 13 ½	,, ... 16 ½	,, .. 18 ..	,, 16 ..	
,, ... 16	1	,, ... 14 ..	,, ... 16 ..	,, .. 18 ..	,, 16 ..	Cheemagee Ballahar Bramin.
,, ... 17	1	,, ... 16 ..	,, ... 17 ..	,, .. 17 ½	,, 15 ½	
,, ...	1	,, ... 14 ½	,, ... 18 ..	,, .. 17 ..	,, 16 ½	
,, ...	1	,, ... 14 ½	,, ... 17 ..	,, .. 18 ½	,, 18 ..	
,, ...	1	,, ... 13 ..	,, ... 14 ..	,, .. 16 ½	,, 11 ½	
,, ...	1	,, ... 14 ..	,, ... 16 ½	,, .. 18 ..	,, 18 ..	
,, ...	1	,, ... 14 ½	,, ... 17 ..	,, .. 17 ½	,, 16 ½	
,, ... 18	1	,, ... 13 ..	,, ... 16 ½	,, .. 17 ½	,, 13 ..	
,, ...	1	,, ... 14 ..	,, ... 16 ½	,, .. 17 ½	,, 14 ½	
,, ...	1	,, ... 13 ..	,, ... 15 ½	,, .. 18 ½	,, 15 ½	
,, ...	1	,, ... 13 ½	,, ... 15 ½	,, .. 18 ½	,, 15 ½	
,, ...	1	,, ... 15 ..	,, ... 18 ..	,, .. 18 ½	,, 17 ..	
,, ...	1	,, ... 15 ½	,, ... 18 ..	,, .. 19 ..	,, 18 ..	Shamrow Gowna, clerk, sent by the Principal Collector.
,, ... 19	1	,, ... 15 ..	,, ... 17 ..	,, .. 17 ½	,, 18 ½	
,, ...	1	,, ... 15 ½	,, ... 18 ½	,, .. 17 ½	,, 16 ½	
,, ...	1	,, ... 17 ½	,, ... 17 ½	,, .. 18 ½	,, 17 ½	
,, ...	1	,, ... 14 ½	,, ... 16 ½	,, .. 17 ½	,, 14 ½	
,, ... 20	1	,, ... 15 ..	,, ... 18 ..	,, .. 18 ½	,, 15 ½	
,, ...	1	,, ... 16 ..	,, ... 17 ½	,, .. 17 ½	,, 15 ½	
,, ...	1	,, ... 15 ..	,, ... 18 ..	,, .. 18 ½	,, 16 ..	
,, ...	1	,, ... 16 ..	,, ... 19 ..	,, .. 18 ½	,, 15 ..	
,, ... 21	1	,, ... 14 ..	,, ... 16 ..	,, .. 15 ½	,, 14 ..	
,, ...	1	,, ... 15 ..	,, ... 19 ..	,, .. 17 ½	,, 14 ..	
,, ...	1	,, ... 14 ..	,, ... 16 ½	,, .. 17 ½	,, 13 ..	
,, ...	1	,, ... 13 ..	,, ... 16 ..	,, .. 17 ½	,, 12 ..	
,, ... 20	1	,, ... 15 ..	,, ... 17 ½	,, .. 18 ..	,, 13 ½	
,, ...	1	,, ... 16 ..	,, ... 18 ..	,, .. 18 8	,, 14 ½	Kasseenath Soonhar, and Bageewa Gazanah Bramins.
,, ... 21	1	,, ... 14 ..	,, ... 16 ..	,, .. 15 ½	,, 14 ..	
,, ...	1	,, ... 16 ..	,, ... 19 ..	,, .. 17 ..	,, 13 ½	
Trees.....	36		Total, Pucka Seers....	543 ½	Or an average of 15½ pucca seers for each Tree.	

* The two Trees that on the 23rd of September, were plucked and pruned, had on the 25th October, again fresh Leaves and Branches. They had not been watered, neither did rain fall after the 4th October.

(Signed) H. RUDD, *Supt. Police Corps.*
,, M. BROWNE, *Supt. Bazar.*

In Poonah there are some Trees of the "Shah" species, for the Leaves of which three times a year I should be happy to pay 7, 10, 12, and 15 Rupees each per annum.

Note—"At the end of the sixth spring 1000 Mulberry Trees will in an average yield each 12 pounds of Leaves".

Count Dandolo, Page 353.

"It is considered that a well cultivated Mulberry Tree should yield in each season about thirty pounds of good leaves. It is not uncommon "in the South of France to see large Trees which will furnish five times this quantity".

Lardners Cyclopedia, Treatise on Silk manufacture, Page 103.

STATEMENT OF TWO EXPERIMENTS OF COCOONS MADE AT KOTROOR BAGH, AS PER CERTIFICATES SENT TO THE PRINCIPAL COLLECTOR OF POONAH.

One of sulphur or greenish Cocoon-wound Silk, the consumption of Cocoons having been 10,080 for one pucka seer of Silk. (*a*)

Poonah, 23*rd September* 1837.

Witnessed by Messrs.
H. RUDD, Lieut.
Supt. Police Corps.
M. BROWNE,
Supt. Bazar.
H. GOLDSMID,
Assist. Collector.
L. M. McINTYRE,
Lieut. and Adjut. E. R.

Another experiment of yellow Cocoons, consumption being from 10,500 to 10,850.

Witnessed by SHARROW GOWNAH,
Clerk to the Principal Collector.

RATES OF WAGES FOR PEOPLE, BULLOCKS, &c.

1	Man.....	*Per diem, Pice	8 to 10
1	Boy.....	Ditto.	3 ,, 6
1	Woman.....	Ditto.	4 ,, 5
1	Plough with 4 Bullocks....	*Per diem, Annas	10 to 12
1	Ditto, ,, 2 do.....	Ditto.	6 ,, 8
1	Harrow ,, 2 do.....	Ditto.	5 ,, 6
1	Mot, viz, 4 do, with leather bucket, ropes and one man for drawing water..	Ditto.	8 ,, 12
1	Cart with 4 Bullocks....	Ditto.	8 ,, 12
1	Man.....	Per mensem, Rs	3 to 4
1	Boy.....	Ditto.	1½ ,, 2
1	Woman.....	Ditto.	1½ ,, 2
1	Mason.....	Ditto.	8 ,, 12
1	Carpenter.....	Ditto.	9 ,, 15
1	Mot.....	Ditto.	13 ,, 15
1	Bullock with puckal (leather bucket) and a man to irrigate..	Ditto.	6 ,, 7

(*a*) One maund of Cocoons, before being baked, will produce very near 4 seers of silk.

*16 annas, or 80 pice for a rupee.

Remarks.

A Man in one day will dig four to seven holes of 2½ feet square and 2 deep, according to the nature of the soil.

With one Mot, one Beegah of Land containing 140 Trees, planted close to a Well, can be irrigated in 3 to 6 hours, with 2 Mots (eight Bullocks) according to the depth of the water in the Well, (a) and the season of the year; as in the hot weather a longer time is ofcourse required on account of the dryness of the earth absorbing a greater quantity of water, along the water courses

---

ESTIMATED EXPENSE OF A BEEGAH (204 ENGLISH FEET SQUARE) OF LAND PLANTED WITH 140 MULBERRY STANDARD TREES OF THE ST: HELENA SPECIES FIVE YEARS AFTER PLANTATION IN THE FIELD.

Expenses for the Nursery.

For preparing the ground and manuring..... Rs.	2	0	0
Cutting the slips and planting.....	0	1	0
Irrigation, for 4 months.....	3	0	0
Weeding.....	1	3	0

Expenses in the 1st year.

Ploughing and harrowing.....	4	0	0
Digging 140 holes and making water courses.....	3	0	0
Transplanting.....	1	0	0
Manure.....	2	0	0
Hire of Bullocks for irrigating, from June to September, 4 months, required only when the monsoon is scarce.....	3	0	0
Ditto from October to the end of February.....	7	0	0
Ditto „ March „ May.....	4	0	0
Digging 4 times a year.....	2	2	0
A person to irrigate occasionally.....	3	0	0
Ditto to prune and thin*.....	0	0	0
Carried over Rs..	36	2	0

(a) In the Ahmednuggur District the generality of the Wells have water close to the surface.

* The wood obtained by this operation will pay for the labour and leave some surplus.

Brought forward Rs.	36	2	

The 2nd year.

Irrigation from June to September, as above	3	0	0
Ditto from October to February	7	0	0
Ditto ,, March to May	4	0	0
Ploughing and harrowing	4	0	0
Digging 4 times	2	2	0
Manure	2	0	0
A person to irrigate	3	0	0
Ditto to prune and thin	0	0	0

The 3rd year.

Irrigation from June to September	2	0	0
Ditto ,, October to February	6	0	0
Ditto ,, March to May	3	0	0
Ploughing and harrowing	3	0	0
Digging 3 times	2	0	0
A person to irrigate	3	0	0
Manure	2	2	0
A person to prune	0	0	0

The 4th year.

Irrigation	9	0	0
Ploughing and harrowing	3	0	0
Digging twice	1	2	0
Manure	2	2	0
A person to irrigate	3	0	0
Ditto to prune	0	0	0

The 5th year.

Ploughing and harrowing	3	0	0
A person to prune	0	0	0
Incidental expences	6	0	0
Rent of the land for 5 years	25	0	0
Contingencies	23	2	0
Rs.	160	0	0

Remarks.

The utmost cost of one Tree would be 1 Rupee and 11 pice; but even this would be only for certain places, because:

1st. Trees planted in Gardens where water generally runs for irrigating the vegetables that the ryots are in the habit of sowing, will require no additional expense.

2nd. There are a great many Gardens in the Deccan that after the monsoon is over, are supplied with water from streams or Rivers for several months, and some of them for the whole year. In such situations there is very little expense incurred for irrigation.

3rd. Should the plantation belong to a ryot, the greater part of the expense of cultivation would be saved by the employment of his own family, who are generally the greater part of the year, totally unoccupied.

PROBABLE COST OF ARTICLES REQUIRED TO REAR SILK WORMS.

Teak wood frame, measuring 5½ by 3½ feet, composed of 4 upright posts 7½ to 8 feet high, joined together by 4 cross bars at each end, of strength sufficient to support a man's weight, the first of these, to be placed at a distance of about 1½ feet from the floor, and the others at a similar distance from each other; then 6 bamboos are to be fixed along each side the frame, which will form six shelves, each to contain 12 baskets. The stout bars at either end, it will be seen, afford strength to the frame, and serve moreover, as a kind of ladder to step upon and feed the Worms in the baskets on the upper shelves..... Rs. 2 2 0

12 large baskets measuring 4½ by 2½ feet quite shallow, and each basket capable of holding 700 full grown Worms..... ,, 2 0 0

16 small round baskets for the small Worms ,, 1 0 0

5 Stones (*Coondee*) to put under the legs of the frames, to prevent ants from getting into the Worm baskets..... ,, 1 0 0

1 Basket for leaves, to feed the Worms..... ,, 0 0 3

1 Chopper to chop the leaves..... ,, 1 8 0

1 Knife to cut..... ..ditto..... ,, 0 8 0

1 Light..... ,, 0 8 0

1 Lantern..... ,, 1 0 0

1 Plank to chop and cut the leaves..... ,, 0 2 0

1 Basket to keep leaves..... ,, 0 0 10

Instead of baskets, boxes of thin plank might be made, which would save the expense of constantly renewing the baskets. The expense of providing boxes would in the first instance be great; but in the end, they will prove more economical, as they will last for a longer time.

PROBABLE COST OF MATERIALS REQUIRED TO WIND SILK.

1 Machine with a double reel from.....	Rs.	15	to	18
1 Copper boiler.....	,,	6	,,	8
1 Jar to keep the water used for winding the Silk	,,		,,	1
1 Bason for cold water.....	,,		,,	1

If desired, a very simple wooden wheel could be made which would enable one man to turn at once not only 10, but 40 machines if necessary, which are used in some places in Italy, (named *rottone*). Here however, wages are comparatively so low, that it is not worth while to do it, moreover the Boys can be usefully employed (as I employ them) during the evening in taking off the skin of the Cocoons to be wound the day after, which would be a saving of expense.

ESTIMATED COST OF ONE PUCKA (PERMANENT) BUILDING FOR REARING SILK WORMS.

Three feet of foundation—Nine feet height of wall, built of Stone—Eighteen feet broad—Three hundred and six feet long, 2 feet breadth of wall, and 12 feet height of roof, and plastered outside with chunam—Fourteen windows 4 feet high and three feet broad—Two doors 5 feet high and 3 feet broad—The building to be covered with Tiles and the windows of plank.

Estimated cost, from Rs. 1600 to Rs. 2000.

ESTIMATED COST OF A CUTCHA (TEMPORARY) BUILDING FOR REARING SILK WORMS.

Half work of stone, and the remainder of Cutcha Brick, with a roof of grass chuppar, and the doors and windows of mat—The length, breadth, and height, the same as the pucka building.

Estimated cost, from Rs 1200 to Rs 1400.

ESTIMATED COST OF ARTICLES REQUIRED TO REAR WORMS PRODUCING 40 TOLA WEIGHT OF EGGS.

106	Frames, at 2½ Rs. each	Rs.	265	0 0
424	Stones, 5 or 6 for a rupee		85	0 0
1272	Large Baskets, 6 for a rupee		212	0 0
640	Small Baskets, 16 for a rupee		40	0 0
2	Choppers		3	0 0
4	Knives to cut the leaves		2	0 0
1	Lantern		1	0 0
2	Lights		1	0 0
4	Planks to cut the leaves		2	0 0
4	Baskets for leaves to feed the Worms.		0	1 0
4	Do. to keep the leaves		0	2 0
		Rs.	611	3 0

ESTIMATED COST OF ARTICLES REQUIRED FOR A PLACE CONTAINING 10 FURNACES FOR WINDING SILK.

10	Machines, at 18 rupees each	Rs.	180	0 0
10	Copper boilers, at 8 rupees each		80	0 0
6	Jars to keep water		3	0 0
10	Basons		1	1 0
		Rs.	264	1 0

ESTIMATED COST OF A BUILDING TO WIND SILK CAPABLE OF CONTAINING 10 FURNACES OR MACHINES.

Stone and chunam walls eight feet high—fifty four feet long—fourteen feet broad—with eight plank windows and one or two doors	Rs.	250 to	400
Ten furnaces		60 „	65
Tubes formed of Tiles to take away the smoke		20 „	25
	Rs.	330 to	490

Remarks.

Attention must be paid to the building of the furnace, for if it is not properly done, the waste of fire-wood will be great.

A very great improvement could be effected by introducing the system of reeling Silk from the Cocoons through steam, by means of one large copper bolier which communicates the heat to the other boilers by tubes, by which the saving of fire-wood would be very great and the Silk wound with less inconvenience, and perhaps be more perfect than if wound otherwise.

The expense, in the first instance will certainly be great, but the benefit ultimately to be derived from it would soon repay the outlay. I have got a plan for an establishment of 40 furnaces.

ESTIMATED EXPENSE OF AN ESTABLISHMENT FOR MAKING SILK ON A LIMITED SCALE.

For a plantation of 6 Beegahs of Mulberry Standard Trees of the St. Helena species, 140 Trees in each Beegah, or 840 in all, the cost of 5 years cultivation &c. will amount, as per statement	Rs.	960	0	0
A building for the Worms	Rs.	2,000	0	0
Articles for ditto	,,	611	0	0
A building for winding Silk	,,	490	0	0
Articles for ditto	,,	264	1	0
		4,326	0	0

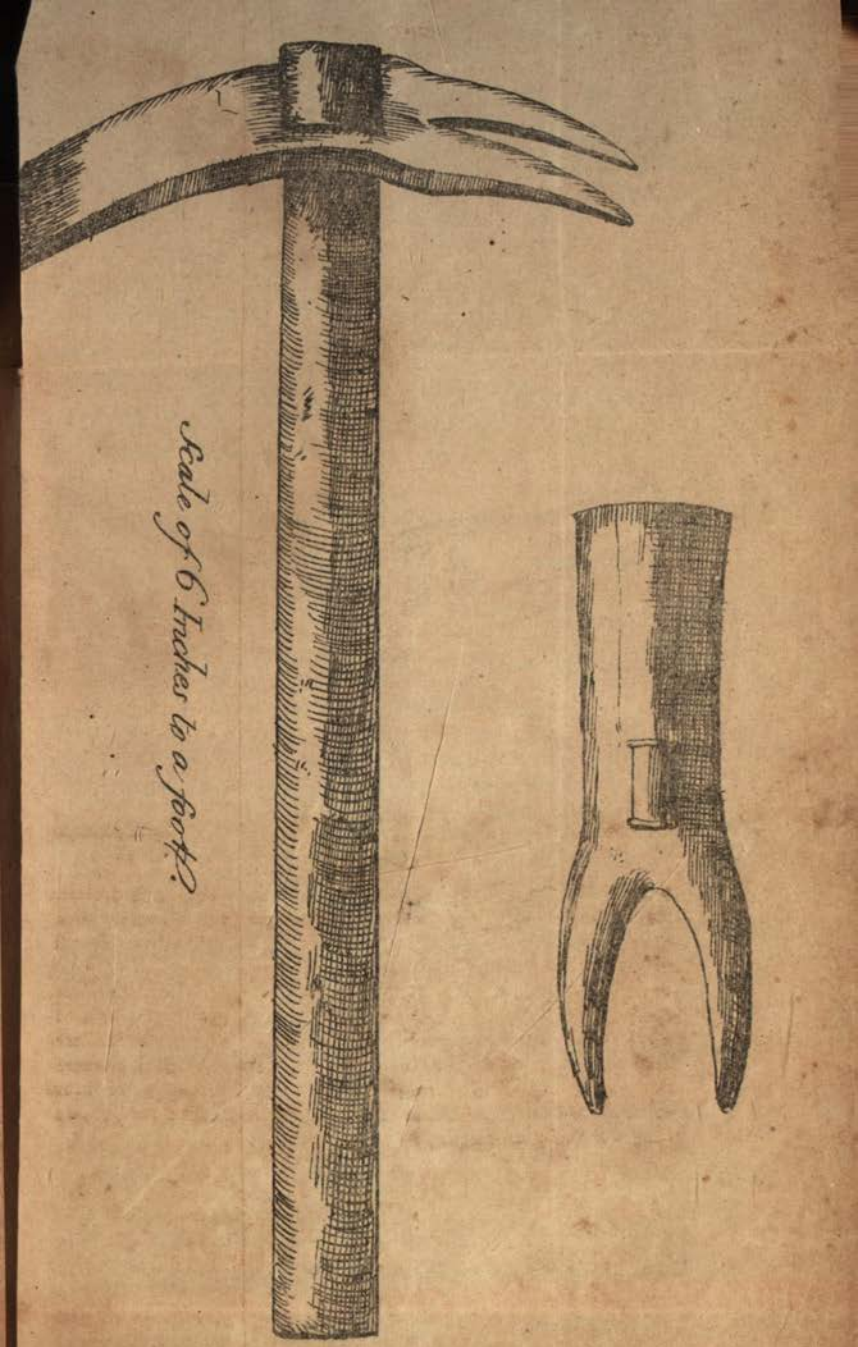
Expense of rearing the Worms proceeding from Eggs of the weight of 40 Tolas, say 900,000 of Worms.

65 days wages of one head man, at 8 Rs. per mensem	17			
90 do. do. of men attending the Worms, at 3 Rs. per month	9			
480 Do. Do. of women do. at 2	32			
340 Do. Do. of boys do. at 1½	15			
Cost of Eggs	20			
Do. of gathering leaves	25			
Paper for the Worms	5			
Oil for the Worm's rearing place	6			
Tack (twine) to tie the bundles in which the				
Carried over Rs. 129		4,326	0	0

Brought forward Rs.	129	4,326	0	0
Worms form their Cocoons.....	5			
Charcoal for baking the Cocoons.....	5			
Extra days wages of people employed in taking off the skin of the Cocoons for reeling.....	20			
10 Persons employed with 10 machines in winding, at 4 Rs. per mensem..	40			
10 Boys to turn the handles of the machines at 2 Rs. per mensem.....	20			
Fire-wood.....	40			
Contingencies.....	25			
Rs.	284			
The same expense twice repeated, (allowing for winding 3 times a year,) deducting Rs. 30, for the cost of Eggs, Paper and Tack, which do not require to be renewed each time.....	508	892	0	0
Total expense in 5 years.. Rs.		5,218	0	0

Remarks.

In Italy the selling of the Silk Worm Eggs is a distinct trade, followed by individuals who do not cultivate Silk. In the above estimate I have therefore, allowed an ample profit for the Eggs, which may be produced at an expense considerably under what I have allowed. For instance, each butterfly will deposit on an average 200 Eggs, and estimating 9 lacks as equal to 40 Tolas weight, 4,550 butterflies would produce the above quantity; but as it is necessary to have an equal number of males and females, we must estimate 9,000 Cocoons as the quantity required for producing 40 Tolas of Eggs.



Implement for transplanting without earth.

Price Six for a Rupee.

ESTIMATED RETURN OF SIX BEEGHAS PLANTED WITH 840 STANDARD MULBERRY TREES OF THE ST. HELENA SPECIES, 5 YEARS AFTER PLANTATION.

For the first four years, as already stated, no attempt to make Silk should be made; but the sale of the leaves will produce as under.

The 1st year at 4 seers per Tree, being				3,360	pucca seers,	
at 50 pice per maund.....					52	
" 2nd year, 8 per Tree,	6,720	at	Do.		105	
" 3rd Do. 10	"	8,400	at	Do.	131	
" 4th Do. 12	"	10,080	at	Do.	156	
						444

On the 5th year, each Tree will yield 20 seers of leaves, which will give 16,800 seers in all, sufficient to rear the produce of 40 Tolas weight of Eggs (about 900,000 Worms.) Estimating, therefore, 13,000 Worms as necessary for the production of one pucca seer of Silk, and 18 seers of leaves for the nourishment of 1,000 Worms;—234, or say 240 pucca seers of leaves will be sufficient for the production of one seer of Silk, making thus 70 pucca seers of Silk as the produce of the 6 Beegahs in one gathering of the leaves. In the monsoon however, they can be gathered twice at least, so that the above quantity may be doubled. Calculating therefore the minimum price of the Silk at Rs. 12,(it varies in the Deccan from Rs, 13½ to 16,) 140 seers will yield..... 1,680

For the rest of the year we may safely estimate the produce at 50 seers more, or..... 600

Total return in 5 years.. Rs. 2,724

Remarks.

In order to prevent the possibility of disappointment, I have, in the above statement, purposely under-estimated the probable return, as will appear from the following facts derived from my own experience in the Deccan.

1st. Trees 26 months old, have yielded 15 seers of leaves on an average; and others of 27 months, planted in stony ground, have yielded at different times 15, 16, 18, 21 and 23 seers, or an average of 18 seers each. Some again of 4 years, also planted in stony ground have yielded 30 and 35 seers. From the above therefore it will be

REPORT

ON THE

SETTLEMENT

OF

DEHRA DOON.

BY

A. ROSS, ESQ.,

SUPERINTENDENT OF THAT DISTRICT.

Published by Authority of Government, N. W. P.

AGRA:

PRINTED AT THE SECUNDRA ORPHAN PRESS.

1852.

REPORT

ON THE

SETTLEMENT OF DEHRA DOON,

By A. ROSS, Esq.

Superintendent of that District.

Letter No. 110 *of* 1850, *dated Dehra Doon,* 12*th June* 1850, *addressed to the Commissioner of the First, or Meerut Division.*

Sir,

Introduction.

I regret that, in spite of every effort on my part, I have been prevented from various causes, from earlier submitting my Report on the revision of Settlement of the Doon; although the Settlement operations were all brought to a close before the end of the year 1848. The principal cause of this delay has been the urgent necessity, which arose towards the close of that year, of immediate attention to the affairs of the Hill pergunnah of Jounsar Bawur, which not only entailed upon me a long tour in that remote district during the early part of the cold weather, but, by obliging me to devote all my leisure time, for many months after my return to the Doon, to the preparation of a Report on the Settlement of that pergunnah, completely distracted my attention from the less pressing, though equally important, matters of the Doon Settlement.

2. My Jounsar Settlement Report, you will recollect, was not despatched until the first May last, since which time, as I have already on another occasion explained, the heavy duties of my Civil Court during the hot weather and rains, and the preparation of my annual Revenue Statements, this year more than usually complicated, have left me but little leisure.

3. I have at length, however, the honor to submit a full Report on the revision of the Settlement of the Doon, which, although originally undertaken in conformity with instructions, contained in letter of Secretary to Government

No. 293,* dated 22nd January 1845, was not effectually commenced, agreeably to the amended instructions contained in His Honor the Lieutenant Governor's note of †9th April 1847, until the 1st May 1847. The measure then entered upon, will I trust, be found to have been conducted throughout strictly in accordance with the various instructions from time to time issued for the guidance, either of my predecessor or myself.

Statements which accompany Report.

4. I have accompanied the present Report with a set of statements, numbered 1 to 13, to which I shall have occasion to refer in the course of my observations, as I treat of the various subjects to which they severally relate. Of these, the first three form a portion of the usual statements directed to be submitted with every Settlement Report; the remaining 10 being statements specially relating to the measures on which I have been engaged, and intended to elucidate points peculiar to the agricultural and fiscal condition of this partially reclaimed district. Of the usual Statements prescribed for submission, on the other hand, I have purposely omitted two, as inapplicable to my operations, viz., the village statements *in English*, and the Police Statement; the reasons for which will be explained hereafter in their proper place.

5. The net jumma of the first year of the revised Settlement, or the year 1848-49, is Rs. 20,770; that of the thirteenth and last year, or 1860-61, will be Rs. 28,116, (*Vide* Statement No. 2, appended to this Report), the former exceeding the net annual jumma, actually realized during the first seven and a half years of the current or twenty years' Settlement, by Rs. 1,506, as will be observed by a comparison of Statements Nos. 2 and 6.

Former system of Assessment reviewed.

6. I shall now proceed to describe in detail the measures which have been in operation for the revision of the Settlement of the Doon since the 1st February 1847, the date on which they were resumed in conformity with the Board's instructions contained in their Secretary's letter No. 316 of the 20th November 1846, after an intermission of nearly two years. But before doing so, it will, I think, be of advantage to take a rapid review of the various systems of assessment, which have prevailed in the Doon since it first came under the British rule, with the view of tracing the causes, which led to the

* *Vide* Appendix A.

† Do. do. B.

radical change in the tenures of land introduced at the ten years' Settlement of 1830, the result of this thorough change, and the steps by which at length the zemindaree tenures, now believed always to have existed in the Doon, have been gradually and completely re-established.

Principle of former Settlements.

7. From the records of my office, it appears that for the first year and a half after the Doon came into the possession of the British Government, the revenue was collected *kham;* then followed the Settlements for short periods of 1816, 1820, and 1825. The principle of all these Settlements was the same, and, I think when strictly examined, will be admitted to have partaken more of the charater of a zemindaree Settlement than any other.

Theory of land tenures in the Doon and their real character.

8. As pointed out by the Hon'ble Mr. Shore in his letter dated the 15th December 1825, the theory of land tenures in the Doon was similar to that still acknowledged in the neighbouring hill territories. The government of the day was, according to this hill theory, the zemindar or proprietor of all land, the persons engaging for the revenue of the village, whether one or several, being called theekadars or contractors, who were not acknowledged to possess any indefeasible rights in the land they cultivated, and the revenue of which they paid. That this theory was carried out in practice under the late Native Governments in the hill States is well known. It was by no means an uncommon practice with the hill Rajahs arbitrarily to eject the old zemindars and confer the land upon perfect strangers, who were again liable in their turn to be ejected at the caprice of the sovereign power.

9. But such practices only proved the unlimited extent and irresponsible nature of the powers possessed by the hill Sovereigns, and the consequent insecurity of property, and by no means established the fact, that there were no subordinate rights connected with the land which possessed value, and on which long prescription would, under a more equitable and beneficent rule, have conferred the character of permanence and inviolability.

10. It was surely therefore very far from sound argument to assert that, because the rude native hill Princes, whom we succeeded, claimed full zemindaree rights in all land even to the extent of practically denying to their subjects, however long they may have been established on the land, any rights

more valuable than those of tenants at will, the British Government were therefore justified in departing from the course followed by them in all other parts of the country, by either resuming themselves, or transferring to an entirely new class, rights and privileges found to have been already appropriated, and long enjoyed by others.

Theekadars, the real zemindars.

11. That, except when arbitrarily disregarded by the Native Princes in the exercise of their irresponsible and unlimited power, subordinate proprietary rights possessing much value existed in the Doon as elsewhere, there appears no good reason to doubt, and it appears to me quite clear that practically the rights possessed by the theekadars of the Doon under the first three Settlements were of this description. Although consistently with a theory which acknowledged no zemindaree or proprietary right to land in any party but the Sovereign, these theekadars could not of course enjoy the *title* of zemindars, they nevertheless unquestionably exercised to their fullest extent all the rights and privileges, and performed all the acts, usually considered the test of zemindaree right in other parts of the country. They exercised unlimited control over their villages, they could sell and mortgage them, they alone provided for their cultivation, and they were alone responsible with their persons and property for the Government revenue.

12. Nor should the use of the term theekadar, which, in the inexact technical language of the hills, is to this day applied to the malgoozars, (as the term theeka is to the relation in which they stand to Government) any more than the well known fact that the hill zemindars or theekadars were liable to be arbitrarily ejected at the caprice of their Rajahs, have been of itself sufficient to create the erroneous impression which afterwards prevailed in regard to their real character. Careful enquiry ought I think to have satisfied any unprejudiced mind, that the theekadars were in fact the zemindars of the Doon, and that the term itself had reference merely to the "engagement to pay a fixed revenue during a limited period," which was the nature of the relation between the malgoozars and the Government, and was not in any way descriptive of the nature or extent of the rights of the former in the land which they cultivated.

13. Accordingly at no period is it alleged that the officer appointed to make a Settlement ever offered the theeka or lease to the highest bidder as in the case of ordinary con-

tracts, or to any other, parties, but those who were in possession of the mehal, and who had on all former occasions engaged for the Government revenue, so long as there was no special cause incapacitating the natural theekadars from undertaking the theeka offered them.

The theekadars had the best title to be considered zemindars.

14. The theekadars were therefore clearly and indisputably the class most entitled to be recognized as zemindars or proprietors by a Government desirous of transferring the right from themselves to one portion of the agricultural community, which was the avowed principle on which the ten years' Settlement was based. The question then very naturally suggests itself: if the theekadars and the other members of their families had so clearly in equity the best title to be regarded as the zemindars of the Doon, what could have given rise to an error of a character so fatal to the rights of these the real zemindars of the Doon, as that on which the ten years' Settlement of 1830 was founded, and which consisted in recognizing as zemindars every individual cultivator? The only answer to this question is, I think, to be found in Colonel Young's letter of the 28th November 1829, recommending the introduction of the measures above referred to.

Erroneous principle of ten years' Settlement accounted for.

15. From the whole tenor of that letter it is apparent, that Colonel Young felt that the great desideratum in all the past Settlements of the Doon was the effectual protection of the cultivators against the oppressions and exactions of the theekadars or dominant class, and he imagined that this object could not be better secured than by conferring on the mere cultivators the full rights of proprietorship, which, according to the acknowledged hill theory, being vested solely in the Government itself, it was within their competency to confer on any portion of the agricultural community they pleased. Besides thus securing the protection he so much desired for the cultivating class, he further expected that the great encouragement afforded by the sudden acquisition of what were naturally supposed to be valuable rights and privileges, would rapidly lead to the extension of cultivation, and therefore to the advancement of the prosperity of the district under his charge. That his object was a most laudable and philanthropic one, will at once be admitted. It is much to be regretted, however, that it should not have occurred to him that the same objects might have been even more effectually secured by

Object of introduction of Ryatwar Settlement.

measures less violently opposed to the habits and prejudices of the people with whom he had to deal, and which, whatever might be their advantages, subsequent events have proved to have been attended by most serious counterbalancing disadvantages.

Disadvantages of principle of ten years' Settlement.

16. These have been found to consist chiefly in the minute sub-division of the zemindaree right, accompanied by equally minute sub-division of responsibility for the revenue, which formed the particular characteristic of the tenures introduced at the ten years' Settlement, as distinguished from any of the tenures known in the neighbouring districts of the plains. It is this independence of each zemindar of every other in a village, as well in regard to rights and interests as to responsibilities, and the independence of the whole body of zemindars of the head zemindar their natural superior, which has made t so difficult to realize balances caused by the desertion, death, or unskilfulness of any of the cultivators, the acknowledged theory of the ten years' Settlement of 1830 enabling the mokuddum or head zemindar of the village, even in those cases in which the proprietary right had never been assumed by those on whom it had been conferred, successfully to resist any attempt to fix the responsibility for the revenue due by the defaulters in such cases, either on him as head man, or on the whole proprietary body.

These might have been avoided.

17. That a much simpler remedy, and one not only entirely free from the objection above described, but possessing immensely superior advantages, might have been devised for the defects of the old revenue system of the Doon, will at once be admitted by those who have had experience of the system of Settlement adopted in the plains, and who are therefore familiar with the village constitutions of the plains in all their varieties.

Defects of the early Settlement.

18. The great defect of the early Settlements of the Doon consisted, not in recognizing the zemindaree rights of the theekadars, or (if it will not be admitted that this was ever done) in treating them in every respect as if they were zemindars, but in permitting them in virtue of their theekas, to exercise unlimited and uncontrolled power in the management of their villages and treatment of their assamees, without providing any of those checks for the protection of the cultivators, which form so prominent and admirable a feature of our later

Settlements throughout the North Western Provinces under Regulation IX. of 1833. The obvious remedy for this great defect was not arbitrarily to ignore the rights of the most influential and most enterprizing class of the agricultural population as was actually done, but, while formally recognizing the zemindaree right as vested in the theekadars and their brethren, to have secured the assamees or subordinate cultivators in the enjoyment of whatever rights they might have been found after careful enquiry to possess, by the preparation of a careful record of all the subordinate rights and interests ascertained to exist in each individual village.

Probable effects of a sounder system.

19. With all its other obvious advantages, such a system of Settlement would have been free from the charge of injustice so universally brought against Colonel Young's Ryatwaree Settlement of 1830. The zemindaree right would have been conferred on the class generally recognized as holding the best title to it. The assamees, especially those who would have been recorded as *mouroosee* assamees, would have enjoyed ample protection, while the knowledge that the joint responsibility for the whole revenue of each village rested in the whole proprietary body of each mehal, would not only have secured in the village proprietary body a greater degree of unity and energy, and thus in all probability saved many a village from the ruin which has since overtaken it, but the existence of such joint responsibility would have rendered the collection of the Government revenue a task of much less difficulty, annoyance, and uncertainty.

Disadvantages of ten years' Settlement not immediately felt and why.

20. Such were the causes and consequences of the great social revolution introduced with the ten years' Settlement of 1830. That the disadvantages which have been ascribed to the introduction of the tenures of 1830 were not felt immediately, or indeed during the currency of the ten years' Settlement, is attributable to various causes of a counteracting nature. 1st. The measure, sweeping as it was in its character, was to a very great extent practically inoperative. The rights conferred by it were little valued or understood, and were therefore in a large number of the villages of the Doon never assumed by the cultivators. I subjoin, in Statement No. 4, a list of those villages in which the zemindaree right thus conferred has hitherto lain in abeyance, the cultivators having continued up to this time to pay their rent in

kind, the proportion of the gross produce payable as rent varying from year to year according to the agreement made with the acknowledged proprietor. 2ndly. No *ruqbas* were assigned to the villages under the ten years' Settlement of 1830; the assessment was low, and good land was plentiful, so that as a general rule the revenue was paid without difficulty.

Question of proprietary rights how raised.

21. It was not until the older and stronger villages of the Doon, capable of extending themselves, had been circumscribed in their power of extension by the assignment of almost all the waste land in their neighbourhood to the European grantees of 1838, and available culturable land thus became scarce where it was most wanted, that the question of the proprietorship of land became one of importance and interest. It was of course only in those villages in which the zemindaree rights conferred in 1830 had been assumed, and this only in regard to the culturable and unappropriated portion contained within the *ruqba* assigned to each village under the Settlement of 1840, that the question of proprietary right could be raised, and there is, I think, good reason to believe that the question might never have been extended beyond the Settlement of this comparatively unimportant doubt, had not the peculiar system of assessment followed at the twenty years' Settlement of 1840, which has been fully described in letter of Secretary to Government* No. 293 dated 22nd January 1845, created other grievances felt to be more immediately pressing, the consideration of which ultimately raised the more extended and important question of the tenures of land generally throughout the district.

Question of tenures how raised.

22. It will not be uninteresting to trace shortly the circumstances which raised the question of the tenures of land in the Doon, and led ultimately to the resolution on the part of Government, as the most effectual way of putting an end to existing discontents, to re-consider the whole subject of those tenures, and to revise generally the terms of the Settlement of 1840, many of which were found on enquiry to be defective and erroneous. This resolution was of course founded on the conviction, which the Revenue Authorities were naturally slow to admit, that the land tenures of the Doon had hitherto been altogether misunderstood, and Government were further encouraged in their resolution to correct past mistakes by the

* *Vide* Appendix A.

knowledge that the measures which had been founded on an erroneous view of these tenures had fortunately been, to a great extent, inoperative, and therefore that it was not too late to rectify the error which had been committed by a careful enquiry into the real character of these tenures.

Principle of the twenty years' Settlement of 1840.

23. In order to understand fully the steps which led ultimately to the orders for a total revision of the Settlement of 1840, it will be necessary to recapitulate briefly the principal features of the twenty years' Settlement of 1840, proposed and carried into effect by Colonel Young, as distinguished from those of the immediately preceding ten years' Settlement.

Its peculiar features.

24. These consisted, 1st, in the assignment to each village of a defined ruqba, containing certain quantities of cultivated, culturable, and waste land. 2nd. The calculation of the assessment at a uniform rate of three annas per local beegah, or fourteen annas and six gundas per acre, on all cultivated land without regard to its quality. 3rd. The assumption of the returns of the English Professional Survey as the standard of the assessable area of each village, instead of those of the khusreh measurement, which alone gave the area of each field. 4th. The assignment to each village, free of assessment, of a portion of its culturable land, equal in amount to one-fourth of the cultivated land. And 5th. The offer of the remainder of the culturable land of the village on "grant terms," first to the old cultivators of the village, and, if refused by them, to any other applicant on the same terms. In other respects the terms of this Settlement were similar to those of the previous one; each cultivator was recorded as zemindar or proprietor of his holding for the revenue of which he was permanently responsible in person and property. The mookuddum, as a malgoozar, differed in no respect from the other cultivators, but in respect of his mookuddumee office was regarded as a Police and Revenue servant of Government, and was remunerated for his duties as such by a salary of 20 per cent. on the gross revenue he collected. He was responsible in general terms for his good behaviour, without, however, incurring any distinctly defined responsibility for the revenue of any portion of his village, but that cultivated by himself.

Its defects.

25. In these peculiarities consisted the chief defects of this Settlement. These, as was to have been expected, manifested themselves very speedily, especially in those mehals in which there was the greatest

variety in the soil, and in which the culturable land bore but a small proportion to the cultivated land, and in which also the greatest difference was found to exist between the returns of the English and khusreh measurement. To make this clear, it is only necessary to enumerate these defects which may be classed under the five following heads. 1st. The assessment of a uniform rate on soils widely varying in quality. 2ndly. The assessment of the juma on the cultivated area as given by the Professional Survey, which, for the reasons given in the 11th para. of letter of Secretary to Government* No. 293 of the 22nd January 1845, in many cases greatly exceeded the khusreh measurement. 3rdly. The neglect to prescribe and record a rule for the disposal and appropriation of the culturable land, especially that portion constituting the one-fourth given free of assessment under the name of "grazing land," an omission of course which gave rise to disputes where such land was scarce, and at the same time from any cause was much in demand. 4thly. The omission to define exactly the nature of the terms commonly known as "grant terms," on which all the culturable land in excess of the one-fourth given free of assessment was offered. 5thly. The omission to define in precise terms the exact nature and extent of the mookuddum's responsibility. These were assuredly serious omissions and defects, and it is not to be wondered at, that they should speedily have given rise to grave disputes and discontents.

Their consequences.

26. Each of these defects was followed by distinct consequences. The effect of the 1st or uniform rate of assessment was felt chiefly in those mehals in which, as in the Daeens, for instance, great variety in the quality of soils prevailed. Its effect was to render a juma, which with reference to the capabilities of the entire mehal was fair, difficult of payment, and therefore to give it the character of an over assessment. This is easily explained. Any profit derived from the good or favorably situated lands, was enjoyed entirely by the actual cultivator, or, in the case of building leases, the lessor of those lands, while the losses on the inferior soils had to be made good by the mookuddum if he wished to keep those lands in cultivation. The mookuddum, however, much as it may have been his interest, had frequently not the means of keeping these inferior lands in cultivation. The mehal fell rapidly into balance, which, from the absence of joint responsibility among the proprietors of

* *Vide* Appendix A.

the mehal, could not be realized, and hence arose the necessity of frequent remissions. Such a mehal, settled in proprietary right with one proprietor or one family of proprietors, would have presented no such difficulties. The profits derived from good soils or building leases would have compensated for any moderate loss in those soils on which the three anna rate might justly be regarded as an over-assessment. Under the operation of any but the ryatwaree or minutely divided and independent zemindaree tenures, the uniform rate of assessment would thus not have been felt to have been the grievance it has been.

Further consequences of principle of twenty years' Settlement.

27. The second defect exhibited itself in the grievances generally and technically known as the "shamilat" and "beshee" assessments, which have been so fully described in the letter of Secretary to Government containing instructions for the Settlement already so often referred to. The former was the result of the return by the Professional Survey as cultivated, and therefore assessable, land, of considerable quantities of land, which having been thrown permanently out of cultivation was in reality only culturable land. The latter expressed the difference (found in the semi-mountainous tracts of the Daeens to exceed the ordinary average difference) between the returns of the professional and khusreh measurements, the latter being almost invariably from obvious causes most in favor of the zemindar. Like that of the uniform rate of assessment, the "shamilat" and "beshee" grievances were more felt in the large scattered mehals of the Daeens and a few other semi-mountainous villages in which fluctuations in the cultivation and inaccuracies in the measurements were most likely to occur.

Other defects.

28. The other three defects more or less affected every village of the Doon, although the neglect to prescribe a rule for the appropriation of the culturable land was of course most felt in those mehals, in which the scarcity of culturable land was most conspicuous, while the consequences of the omission to define the extent and nature of the mokuddum's responsibility was immediately felt in all those villages, in which from any cause, any difficulty arose in the realization of the revenue.

Grant terms not defined.

29. The remaining or fourth defect of the twenty years' Settlement mentioned by me, was perhaps the most serious of all, as it directly related to a question of revenue. What was intended

to be the exact construction of the term "grant terms" as applied to the culturable land of the old settled villages in excess of the 1-4th given free of assessment, it is not easy to say, but that it meant something different from the terms offered to applicants for jungle grants on clearing leases, is, I think, evident from the single fact that the period of the Settlement of the old established villages was to extend to twenty years, while that of the jungle grants was guaranteed for fifty years. However this may be, no trouble appears to have been taken to clear up this important point. Progressive jumas at the English grant rates were calculated for twenty years, and thus the matter appears to have been left, no attempt having been made during the seven and half years, which have elapsed between the commencement of the Settlement, and the introduction of the revised Settlement to levy these grant or *russuddee* assessments.

These defects first pointed out by Mr. Williams.

30. The first notice which appears to have been taken of any of these "five points," or defects, of the Settlement, was by Mr. Williams in his letters Nos. 27 and 40, dated the 3rd of June and 28th September 1842, respectively, in which the hardships of the "shamilat" and "beshee" assessments, and the evils of the virtual irresponsibility of the mokuddums for the Government Revenue, by which the collection of the Government Revenue was exposed to much risk, were strongly and clearly represented. The nature of these grievances and defects have been so often and so fully explained, that it would be superfluous to enter into any further explanation of them in this place. It was at length perceived that although, for some of the causes of dissatisfaction, a reduction of the revenue would provide a simple and immediate remedy, for the others, nothing short of an entire change in the principle of assessment, and a revision of the tenures would suffice.

Remedy how suggested.

31. It would thus appear that it was the simultaneous discussion of all these various points, which led gradually to the consideration of the most important question of all, viz., whether in fact, as urged by the Local Officers, the Settlement of 1830 had not been founded on a misconception of the tenures of the Doon, and whether it would not still be very possible to rectify the mischief which had been done, by restoring to their proprietary rights, the old zemindars of the Doon without at the same time being guilty of injustice to those culti-

vators, on whom proprietary rights had already been unequivocally conferred.

Practicability of proposed remedy favored by accident.

32. However erroneous and impolitic the principle of the ten years' Settlement may have been proved to be, it is not to be supposed that the Government would have for a moment entertained the idea of rescinding a measure, which had been for fifteen years in operation, had they not been repeatedly and positively assured, that the measure in question had been almost wholly inoperative, and had not the Lieutenant Governor convinced himself, by personal enquiry on the occasion of his visit to the Doon in 1845, that the facts however improbable were actually as stated by Mr. Vansittart, viz., that not only had the rights conferred in 1830 not been generally assumed, but that where assumed they would be readily and voluntarily resigned.

Strongly urged by Mr. Vansittart.

33. My predecessor, Mr. Vansittart, deserves the greatest credit for the untiring perseverance with which he urged on the attention of the Board and Government, both the justice and expediency of a measure, from which he expected, perhaps in too sanguine a spirit, the most beneficial results. Frequent and continued communication with both the zemindars and assamees, or mere cultivators, of the district had convinced him that the proposed change in the constitution of every village in the district was eagerly desired by every class of the agricultural community. He found that, by a large portion of the cultivators of the Doon, the proprietary right conferred by the Settlement of 1830 had never been assumed, which was a clear proof that by them at least it was not valued; that, with few exceptions, it was as little valued by those who had actually assumed and enjoyed such rights for several years, most of whom expressed themselves quite ready and willing to exchange their undesired rights, for the position and privileges of a *mouroosee* assamee, on its being explained to them that by such exchange they would at once be relieved of the permanent responsibility for the cultivation and revenue of all land, of which they were the recorded proprietors, a responsibility which in many instances pressed on them most heavily.

Evil effects of insufficient title.

34. On the other hand Mr. Vansittart found that in all his attempts to establish new villages, and thus extend cultivation, the denial of full proprietary right to the person by whose

skill and capital any new village might be established, and the prospect, or even probability, of the gradual transfer of any proprietary right, which might in the outset be possessed by the founder of a village to the cultivators settled at his expense, as had already happened once, had the effect of deterring many, who would have been otherwise willing to embark their capital in agricultural enterprizes from doing so.

Proposed remedy adopted and sanctioned.

35. Once convinced of the soundness of Mr. Vansittart's arguments and the truth of his representations, Government no longer hesitated in their resolution to carry out the proposed change in the village constitutions, which appeared at once agreeable to the feelings and prejudices of the agricultural community, and at the same time highly desirable on the ground of public expediency. A revision of the twenty years' Settlement of 1840, (which had never been confirmed), was accordingly resolved on, having for its object the restoration, as far as possible, to their ancient proprietary rights, of the old zemindars of the Doon, as well as the correction of the numerous errors and omissions above pointed out as constituting the defects of the 20 years' Settlement.

Entire revision of Settlement determined on.

Instructions for revision of Settlement issued.

36. In pursuance of this resolution, ample instructions were issued by Government in their Secretary's letter* No. 293, dated 22nd January 1845, above so often referred to, for the conduct of the revision of the Settlement. Proceeding on these instructions, Mr. Vansittart lost no time in carrying into effect the measures sanctioned by Government, and in his letter No. 172 of the 7th July 1845, he reported his operations. As far as they went Mr. Vansittart's measures may certainly be considered beneficial and satisfactory. The assessments were lowered in conformity with the instructions communicated to him. Tenures were carefully enquired into, and where deemed by him equitable and possible, the zemindaree tenures were re-established. The "shamilat" and "beshee" grievances were redressed, and much pains were taken to adjust the juma equitably over the Daeens. His measures were, however, unfortunately hurried, and consequently incomplete. His *purtal* or re-survey was confined to the eight Daeens, which had never been surveyed either Daeenwar or mouzawar by the Professional Survey. He therefore failed to discover the defects

Mr. Vansittarts's operations hurried and incomplete.

* *Vide* Appendix A.

and inaccuracies of the Professional Survey in regard to the present condition of the bulk of the other villages of the Doon, which the subsequent complete re-survey has disclosed. His operations, moreover, did not include the rectification of *all* the errors and defects of the original twenty years' Settlement, and above all he failed to prepare the ample and formal record prescribed by existing Government Orders, without which a Settlement is incomplete and becomes deprived of half its value. His proceedings were in most cases confined to a final rooboocaree containing the grounds for the alteration or assessment of the juma, and a description of the future constitution of the village which comprised a declaration of rights, but they contained no "administration" papers, and above all they furnished no authentic evidence that the important changes in the tenures recorded, had been effected with the consent of all the parties interested, especially those who, in appearance at least, were losers by the new arrangement.

Led to further correspondence and further instructions.

37. It is useless to refer more particularly to the correspondence with your predecessor, which followed the submission of Mr. Vansittart's report, referring as it does to minute details connected with Mr. Vansittart's measures, which have since lost their interest. A reference from the Board on Mr. Vansittart's Report early in the year 1846, called forth my letter No. 136, dated the 22nd June 1846, in which the deficiencies of Mr. Vansittart's revision were pointed out, and several important points, not touched upon in Mr. Vansittart's Report, brought to the Board's notice. The Board's instructions founded on this representation, and contained in their Secretary's letter No. 316, of the 20th November 1846, contemplated merely the testing and supplementing of the existing measurement papers, and at the same time the preparation of complete Settlement Records containing the full information on all points relating to the constitution and capabilities of each village which had hitherto been omitted.

Failure of the partial measures at first sanctioned, and its cause.

38. The failure of the attempt to carry out the Board's instructions in regard to supplying the defects of the former khusreh measurements, and the causes of such failure, have been fully described in my intermediate Reports No. 88 of the 10th June, and No. 144 of the 7th August 1847. As pointed out by me in those letters the vernacular measurement papers furnished by the Revenue Surveyor had many of them been originally incorrect and defective, while even those

which were free from this fault had been rendered wholly valueless by the operations of the two following causes. 1st, the neglect, previous to the Professional Survey, to put up boundary pillars, and 2nd, the utter inefficiency of the putwaree establishment, by whom no trustworthy record of mutations in the cultivation had been kept up during the eight preceding years.

An entire remeasurement sanctioned.

39. Under these circumstances, it was evident that an entire remeasurement, according to the native method, of every mouzah in the district was unavoidable, a measure which with the sanction of the Government was without loss of time commenced upon. A second visit from the Lieutenant Governor also gave me an opportunity, which I most anxiously desired, of bringing to His Honor's notice several points connected with the Settlements not hitherto considered, for the disposal of which the revision of Settlement appeared to me to offer a most favorable opportunity. I allude to the improved mode recommended by me of stating the Government demand, and remunerating the putwarees, and to the proposition of placing both the putwaree and village Police Establishment on a more efficient footing. This verbal reference led to the further instructions contained in the Lieutenant Governor's "Minute" or "Note," dated 9th April 1847, which contained ample directions on the difficult points, which still remained in doubt.

Further instructions issued.

Work how conducted.

40. I have already, in my letter No. 73 of the 16th May 1848, fully explained how the time of my establishment was employed up to that time. The re-survey of the district, commenced in the hot weather of 1847, was necessarily in a great measure suspended during the rains of that year, which period was devoted to the definition of the ruqbas of all the mouzahs about to come under survey, the erection of boundary pillars, the decision of boundary disputes, and, most important of all, to the preparation, mainly with the agency of the Settlement Establishment, of a full "kyfeeut-i-dufter," or memorandum from the records of the office, of the past history of each village. During the cold and hot weather, (those of 1847-48), the resurvey of the whole district was completed, and by the end of the year 1848, the work of the revision of Settlement was brought to a close, the little office work remaining to be done having since been completed by my ordinary establishment.

Time employed in Settlement how occupied.

41. Having thus recapitulated briefly the orders on which the measures for the revision of the Doon Settlement are founded, and mentioned how the time of my establishment was employed during the year and a half occupied in the work, I shall now proceed to offer such remarks as suggest themselves to me on the various parts of which that work consisted.

Settlement operations divided into five heads.

42. These naturally arrange themselves under the following heads. 1st. The Survey, including the demarcation of boundaries, and the preparation of the various records connected with the Survey. 2nd. The ascertainment of the tenure of every village, and the preparation of an accurate record of the rights, privileges, and liabilities which by common consent belong to each description of tenure. 3rd. The revision of the jumas of 1840, in conformity with the various instructions issued on the subject. 4th. The introduction of various improvements in the details connected with the collection of the revenue, and the correct preparation of the putwarees' annual papers as well as various other points for the due regulation of which the entire revision of Settlement has afforded a favorable opportunity. And 5th. The expences of the Settlement and their distribution.

43. The principal points which cannot fail to strike observation on an examination of the vernacular papers of the first survey, and a comparison of them with the returns of the late re-survey are, 1st. The absence of communication between the Revenue and Survey Officers, both previous to the commencement, and after the completion, of the Survey. 2nd. The great inaccuracy of the vernacular Survey returns furnished by the Revenue Surveyor. As already mentioned in my letter No. 88 of the 10th June 1847, no attempt appears to have been made previous to the Survey, at least by the revenue authorities, to define the boundaries of each village, although this was the first occasion on which ruqbas were to be assigned to each village. The zemindars appear to have pointed out to the Surveyor, as he took each village in its turn, the boundaries they wished to be assigned to their villages, which were, in the absence of disputes, surveyed and mapped accordingly. No care however was taken to ensure the erection of boundary pillars, by which alone was there any chance of the ruqbas thus arbitrarily and loosely assigned, especially in a country abounding with waste land, being accurately preserved. The consequence has been, as might have been

Consequences of defects of first Survey.

expected, that, except in the comparatively populous and highly cultivated tracts of the neighbourhood of Dehra, almost all the villages of the district have, during the eight years which have elapsed since the first Survey, entirely altered both the shape and size of their ruqbas; some villages have become gradually enlarged to nearly double their original size, while weaker villages have suffered in proportion by the encroachment of the stronger.

Difference between Survey and local Beegah.

44. There cannot be a better proof of the want of communication between the Revenue and Survey Officers, than the fact brought to the Board's notice in my letter No. 234 of the 27th December 1847, that the local beegah, or measure of area, in which the returns of the Revenue Surveyor's Establishment were expressed, was not that which had been in use previously, or which has been in use ever since, in the district, and that this discrepancy was not discovered until eight years after the completion of the first Survey. The *pucka* beegah used by the Revenue Survey contained 3025 square yards, while that of the Doon is the same as that in use in most parts of the neighbouring district of Saharunpore, and contains only 2756¼ square yards. Fortunately, as the assessment had been regulated entirely by the amount of cultivated land expressed in acres, no mischief has resulted from this inaccuracy; the only thing required being to remove the erroneous impression prevailing, in consequence of the Surveyor's returns, in regard to the proportion between the English acre and local pucka beegah, which, in conformity to the Board's Orders, has accordingly been done, and it is now well understood, that the ratio of the English acre to the local pucka beegah is as 7 : 4.

Survey Papers of first Survey.

45. The very great discrepancy, found to prevail in many cases, between the area as exhibited by the khusrah measurement, and that given by the Professional Survey, would of itself have given good grounds for suspecting inaccuracies in the former, even if their appearance were not sufficient to deprive them of any claim to accuracy or trustworthiness. They are got up in a most slovenly manner, and the general correspondence of the results of the late re-survey with the English returns, and not with the khusrah measurements, proves that the original khusrah returns must in most cases have been very inaccurate. Of the fact that they could not have been even roughly *purtalled* or tested by the Collector's establish-

ment, the circumstance above pointed out, of the great discrepancy between the beegahs of the Survey and Revenue Departments, and its remaining undiscovered for eight years, afford conclusive proof. As already mentioned, the inefficiency of the putwarry establishment, and the consequent neglect to keep up the annual mutations, has aggravated the mischief caused by the original inaccuracies of the Vernacular Survey papers, and thus, under the operation of these causes, while the admirably executed scientific Village Maps have lost half their value, the Vernacular Survey papers possess no value whatever.

Inaccuracies of former Survey papers.

46. Under these circumstances, I thought it best to discard the scientific Village Maps as the *undeviating* standard of the limits of each village; and rather to assign ruqbas, and mark off the boundaries of each village, according to existing possession, using the English Maps however as a check, and testing by them the returns of the Ameens, whenever I found the latter differ materially from those of the former. There was no doubt, in the outset, some danger that the zemindars, elated at the prospect of acquiring land under a zemindaree or proprietary tenure, would designedly enclose more culturable land in their ruqbas, than had ever belonged to their villages, but the timely warning, that all culturable land in excess of ¼th originally assigned free of assessment, would, under the revised Settlement, be subject to a *bonâ fide* assessment at grant rates, had the effect of checking this tendency, and, with few exceptions, the ruqbas of the revised Settlement are not larger than those originally assigned. Those that are have become so in consequence of extension of cultivation, for which of course the proprietors have had to pay an encreased juma according to the prescribed rates. In very few cases, however, except in those of unobserved and undisputed encroachments by neighbouring villages, have the present ruqbas been found to fall short in extent of those originally assigned, so tenaciously, as a general rule, have the zemindars, even without the immediate prospect of being able to bring the whole of the land of their villages into cultivation, and in the face of the threatened extra assessment, stood out for the amount of land originally assigned as the ruqbas of their villages. In the few cases in which it was found that the proprietors of villages had wantonly enclosed, within the ruqbas of their village, quantities of culturable land in excess of that

Course followed in assigning ruqbas.

Chances of abuse how obviated.

assigned to them at the first Survey, and for which they were unable or unwilling to pay a proportionately enhanced juma, the measurement was cancelled, the ruqba reduced to its proper size, and the proprietors compelled to pay for both the first and second measurements. A few such examples effectually checked this inclination unduly to enlarge their ruqbas.

47. The only other point in connection with the re-survey requiring remark, is, the plan adopted for the measurement, and preparation of the Survey papers, of the Daeens, as pointed out in the 19th paragraph of the Lieutenant Governor's Note of the 9th April 1847. These curious talookas had in reality never been surveyed at all either professionally or by khusrah. Their great peculiarity, which consisted in their intricate intermixture with each other, escaped the notice of the Revenue Surveyor, who instead of surveying each Daeen, surveyed, both professionally and by khusrah, long strips of land lying between mountain streams (called puttras) to which he arbitrarily and erroneously assigned the names of certain Daeens. The aggregate of these eight puttras included, not only the whole of the lands of the eight Daeens, but the lands of several small mouzahs besides which belonged to none of the Daeens. I shall not fail, when I come to the subject of assessments, to point out the confusion and errors caused by this erroneous proceeding.

Survey of the Daeens.

48. Under the circumstances of the very peculiar disposition of the lands of the Daeens, (described in the Lieutenant Governor's Note) which in this respect differ altogether from the other Hill talookas of the district, the only proper course would have been that pointed out in the 18th paragraph of His Honor's Note. This course has accordingly been followed, and with great advantage, on the occasion of the late re-survey. Each Daeen contains the whole or a portion of several mouzahs, and conversely many of the mouzahs of the Daeens contain land belonging to two or more Daeens. Each mouzah, however, has its known boundaries, and the portion of land, whether, cultivated or waste, belonging to each Daeen included in each mouzah is also well known. The plan followed, therefore, has been to mark off in the first place, accurately, the boundaries of each mouzah of the Daeens, and then to survey it, preparing a shujra and khusrah of each, exactly as in the case of the other mouzahs of the district forming independent mehals. The khatounee or moontukub, on the other hand, has been prepared Daeenwar, in the order of the several villages composing,

in whole or in part, each Daeen. The papers of each Daeen thus form one complete Settlement Misl, the field map and corresponding khusrah of each mouzah being bound up with the Misl of that Daeen to which it principally belongs, while the portions of land contained within the ruqba of each mouzah, belonging to other Daeens, are extracted and exhibited in the khuteounees of these Daeens. The course adopted will be best understood by an examination of the Settlement Misl of one of the Daeens, which shall be forwarded with this Report.

Survey Papers of the Daeens how prepared.

49. Before leaving the subject of the Survey, I may state it as my opinion that the general accuracy of the measurement papers may be depended on. The work of the Ameens, which followed closely on the demarcation of the boundaries, was in every case rapidly tested by the peshkar or one of the mohurrirs of the Settlement establishment, who again, in many cases, especially at the commencement of the Survey operations, was followed either by myself or the tehseeldar. The discovery of slovenly or inaccurate work entailed on the Ameen a repetition of his labor of course without remuneration. A few such instances in the commencement had the most salutary effect in securing correct work.

Declaration and record of rights.

50. The next portion of the work on which I propose to remark, is the ascertainment, declaration and record of every description of rights found to exist in each village. I am well aware that it has been laid down as a general rule, that the definition and record of rights should follow the assessment; but there appeared to me good reasons, why, in this particular instance of the revision in which I have been engaged, a contrary course should be followed. 1st, I foresaw, from my knowledge of the various classes of the people, that the ascertainment of the various rights connected with the land would be effected almost without dispute, and would be beset therefore with much fewer difficulties than the re-adjustment of the jumas; and 2dly, because I thought that, in the few cases in which disputes were likely to arise, the assessments might possibly be affected by the extent of the rights and privileges, which the cultivators might be willing to concede to the proprietary body. I knew from constant communication with the people that in 99 cases out of 100, (almost literally so) there would be no opposition on the part of

Record of rights preceded assessment and why.

the cultivators to the full recognition of the proprietary rights of those who had always among themselves been regarded as the proprietors. Where the proprietary rights, conferred on the cultivators by the Settlement of 1830, had never been assumed, as was the case in a larger number of the villages of the Doon, there could be no such dispute, and I was perfectly aware that, even where they had been assumed, they would almost universally be readily resigned.

51. On these grounds I resolved that the ascertainment, declaration, and record of rights should precede the revision of jumas. The effect of the ten years' Settlement of 1830 having been to create new rights not previously in existence, it is clear that two distinct descriptions of proprietary right were to be looked for in every village in the Doon. The first, the superior proprietary right, to be restored after being in abeyance for eighteen years, of which the entire mehal would be the subject, and the claims to which would be founded on possession and enjoyment (in practice at least) immediately anterior to the ten years' Settlement, would be of universal prevalence, while the second, or subordinate proprietary right created by that Settlement, which each cultivator, who had been regarded as proprietor, (or his heirs or assignees), and who had exercised such right, might claim, would be found only in those villages in which such cultivators existed.

1st Proprietary rights.

52. The rule prescribed by the instructions for the revision of Settlement, (*vide* letter of Secretary to Government No. 293, dated 22nd January 1845, paragraphs 17 to 23) for the recognition of the latter description of proprietary right being clear and explicit, their determination could present no difficulties whatever. My enquiries therefore were in every case directed first to them. It had only to be ascertained, that the cultivators claiming proprietary right had been recorded as proprietors at the ten years' Settlement, and had since exercised their proprietary rights, to secure their claims to immediate recognition. This simple rule was accordingly explained to the mohurrirs employed in the preparation of the khatounees, who were instructed to record all cultivators, settled since 1830, as assamees, (either mouroosee or ghyr mouroosee), and all settled previous to 1830, who had exercised proprietary rights, as subordinate proprietors or assamees, *according to the wish expressed by them.* I had perfect confidence in the accurate performance of this portion of the

Claim of cultivators claiming subordinate proprietary rights first considered.

work, and it was superintended personally by the tehseeldar, whom I particularly directed to refer all doubtful points connected with the record of these subordinate right and interests to me for decision.

53. By the line thus drawn, the number of cultivators qualified to claim proprietary right was necessarily very much restricted. All cultivators belonging to villages established since 1830, all those settled in the older villages since that time, and all those previously settled, who, in conformity with the test prescribed in the 23rd paragraph of the letter of instructions, were considered to have voluntarily allowed their rights to lapse, were at once recorded as assamees, mouroosee or ghyr mouroosee as the case might be. Of the remainder who were at first represented as having expressed their desire to be recorded as proprietors, the generality I found on closer examination, did not understand the nature of the choice presented to them, and were very often actuated by the hope of being admitted as hissadars of the entire mehal, and did not in reality value the subordinate proprietary position, to which alone they were entitled, and which they at once rejected, on its being explained to them that this claim to be admitted as hissadars could not be recognized.

Process of ascertaining and recording subordinate proprietary rights.

54. The process of ascertaining the wishes of such cultivators as were qualified to claim proprietary right, was at once simple and satisfactory, and it had this further recommendation, that it was simultaneous with the preparation of the ordinary record, and combined with it the process of obtaining and recording the evidence of the voluntary resignation by the cultivators of such subordinate rights. It was as follows. When, on the submission of the papers connected with the Survey, the *goshwara khatounee* was about to be prepared in the Settlement Office from the detailed khatounee, the preparation of which, in consequence of the paucity of hands at my disposal, was included in the contract work performed by the Ameens, the whole of the cultivators recorded in the khatounee were in the first place summoned to the Tehseeldar's cutcherry. There, the comparative advantages and liabilities, attaching to the position of subordinate proprietor and mouroosee assamee, were fully discussed, and explained to them, and the wishes of each individual cultivator having been clearly ascertained, they were brought before me. The process of explanation and questioning was repeated, and their assent to the particulars about to be recorded in the

goshwara khatounee having been duly acknowledged by the cultivators individually, the preparation of the goshwara khatounee was completed, and the record itself formally signed by the whole body of cultivators in the presence of the zemindars. The formal signature of the goshwara khatounee may thus safely be taken as the unequivocal test of the voluntary resignation of the subordinate proprietary right, by all the assamees not recorded as subordinate proprietors in the khatounee, while the khatounee itself will for ever furnish the proof, so much desired by the Board, of such voluntary resignation having actually been made.

These rights generally voluntarily resigned.

55. It has on various occasions been asserted both by my predecessor Mr. Vansittart and myself, that the proprietary right, conferred on every individual proprietor by the Settlement of 1830, was little valued, and, in the generality of cases, would, in consequence of the liabilities it entailed, be not only willingly, but eagerly, surrendered. Of the truth of the former statement, there can be no better proof than that, in a very large number of the villages of the Doon, the proprietary right conferred in 1830 had never been assumed, the cultivators continuing to pay their rents in kind, and regarding the mokuddum and his family as their zemindar or superior; I subjoin, in Statement No. 4, a list of those villages in which, although each assamee was recorded as proprietor, and as paying the 3-anna revenue rate, the rents have nevertheless been paid in kind. The truth of the second Statement may, I think, be considered completely established by the result of the revision of Settlement just concluded. Incredible as it may appear to the Board, it is nevertheless a fact, that the whole of the villages in the Doon, 170 in number, present only six instances, in which the cultivators, after having been duly instructed in the comparative advantages and disadvantages of the position of subordinate proprietors and mouroosee assamees, have expressed their desire to be recorded as subordinate proprietors. In these few instances the parties, desirous of retaining their proprietary rights, had special inducements for doing so which did not affect the generality of this description of cultivators.

Instances in which subordinate proprietary rights have been retained.

56. Of the instances to which I allude, three are cases in which the land of cultivating assamees had been purchased from them outright for building purposes, the purchaser of the land in question having succeeded to all the rights of the

venders of the land, and paying instead of them the 3-anna juma rates to the lumberdar. The proprietors of such land have been recorded as subordinate proprietors. A fourth case is that of a cultivating proprietor, whose land has been entirely included in the Government tea plantation, where it yields him a rent of 3 Rs. per acre, more than three times the juma assessed on the land, and the remaining two are cases in which land has been purchased for agricultural purposes by Europeans from the old assamees. In these cases, the present proprietor having succeeded to all the rights and liabilities of the former cultivating proprietors, and paying in their stead the 3-anna juma rates for their land, have been recorded as subordinate proprietors. I have not regarded, as instances of the retention of the rights and liabilities created by the ten years' Settlement, those hill talookas in which two distinct species of proprietary right have always existed, and which, under the late revision of Settlement, have been simultaneously restored. In most of these cases, the talookdar has been recorded as superior proprietor, and the whole body of zemindars as subordinate proprietors.

Rarity of such instances accounted for.

57. It may be a matter of surprise, considering the numerous instances in which land in the vicinity of Dehra, belonging to the cultivators, has been sublet for building purposes, at rents yielding the owners a large profit, that recorded proprietors should not more generally have insisted on retaining their proprietary rights. I admit that this fact is calculated to create surprise and requires explanation. The explanation is easy. The only mehals in which this description of land exists are the Daeens. In these mehals, as was to be expected, the persons who were the recorded proprietors of land yielding them high rents, did in the outset express a desire to retain their proprietary rights, not only to land sublet on building leases, but to all good land in their possession. But their desire was limited to such good and profitable lands, and they had no such wish in regard to inferior lands cultivated by them, of which they were also the recorded and responsible proprietors, but of which they desired to be now recorded as only assamees. To this advantageous arrangement, however, the superior proprietary body very naturally at once strongly objected, and gave such cultivators distinctly to understand, that if they insisted on their rights in regard to the profitable lands, they, on their part, would decline to relieve them of the responsibility of their inferior lands,

of which, in that case, they, the cultivators, should be recorded as subordinate proprietors. This resolution was perfectly fair and unanswerable. The cultivators accordingly thought the matter over, and, after a little consideration and discussion, the difficulty was disposed of by an arrangement at once satisfactory to both parties, and, it appears to me, perfectly equitable.

Arrangement for subletting land mutually agreed upon.

58. It was accordingly mutually agreed, that the cultivators in question should be recorded as *mouroosee* assamees in respect of all land, without exception, hitherto held by them; that, like all other *mouroosee* assamees, they should not be liable to be dispossessed of any of their land, so long as they paid their rents; that, on the other hand, they should have the power of resigning as much of the land at present in their possession, as they did not wish to retain; that the zemindars, in return for their concession, should alone have the power in future of subletting lands for building or any other purposes, it being incumbent on them, in such cases, to make it worth the while of the cultivators in possession to vacate the land desired to be sublet; and finally, that, in consideration of the privilege conceded by the zemindars to the cultivators of relinquishing their unprofitable lands, the former should be entitled to receive one-third of the rents of all lands, which had been leased out by the cultivators, previous to the conclusion of this engagement. A matter, in the adjustment of which I anticipated no small difficulty, was thus most satisfactorily arranged. The conditions of this somewhat important settlement will be found duly recorded on the face of the khatounee, and in the body of the administration paper of each Daeen, or other mouzah, containing land of this description.

Willingness of cultivators to resign proprietary right accounted for.

59. The Board have on more than one occasion expressed surprise at the willingness, represented to be almost universal, on the part of the cultivators who had acquired a proprietary right to their lands, to resign such rights unconditionally, and have sought to be informed what advantage would result to the village mokuddums and their brethren from the transfer to them of the proprietary right formerly assigned to the cultivators, the latter continuing to pay the juma rate of three annas per beegah on the lands cultivated by them as before. A full consideration of the advantages secured to either party by the transfer, will, I think,

remove any such feeling of surprise, and explain why, except in the particular instances above detailed, the cultivators, as a general rule, should be not only willing, but eager, to resign such proprietary rights as the ten years' Settlement conferred, while at the same time the superior proprietary body should be equally anxious to acquire them.

Advantage to the cultivator of transfer of proprietary right.

60. The explanation of this, at first sight, anomalous fact, will be found to lie in the totally distinct character of the proprietary rights of which each party is the subject. To the subordinate proprietor, his position as such, conferred no right, and offered no advantage, which would not equally be enjoyed by him as a *mouroosee* assamee, except the power of transferring his rights by sale, mortgage, or lease. He did not possess the power of breaking up, and thus acquiring proprietary right, in new land. He had no share or interest in the more valuable and extended proprietary right of which the whole mehal was the subject, and his right in no way included any portion of the profits derivable from the waste land, whether culturable or unculturable, of the village. To counterbalance the single advantage of being able to transfer his land by sale, mortgage, or lease, his position as proprietor was charged with one very serious liability, from which that of a *mouroosee* assamee is wholly exempt, viz., the *permanent* responsibility in person and property for the revenue assessed on his holding, always admitted to have formed part of his liabilities, and his inability to resign it at pleasure.

Advantage to zemindars of acquisition of proprietary right.

61. The superior zemindar, on the other hand, as a set-off for the encreased responsibility undertaken by him, acquired, by the transfer, a position which, from hereditary association, he valued more for the consideration and influence it gained for him, than for any immediate pecuniary advantages it offered. He, however, did acquire some tangible advantages, which in his eyes were sufficient to counterbalance, to a certain extent, the additional liabilities and responsibilities imposed upon him. His sole and undivided right to break up the culturable land of his village, before always a matter of doubt and uncertainty, was now unquestioned, as was his right to any sewaee collections, the usual perquisite of a zemindar. His proprietary right in his village was now, moreover, a tangible property possessing a marketable value, which it never did before. Of this the comparatively large number of private sales of entire villages, (twelve in number), which have

taken place since the introduction of the revised tenures, and which were before unknown in the district, afford convincing proof. A consideration of all these points will, it is hoped, remove the surprise hitherto felt by the Board at the facility with which so complete a change in the tenures of the district has been effected, and convince them that the change has been, as represented, to the advantage of all the parties concerned.

Advantage to Government of change of tenure.

62. Of the great advantages to the interests of Government, secured by the change in the tenures effected by the revision of Settlement, there can be no question. Instead of having to deal with an infinite number of small proprietors, bound together by no community of interests or responsibility, the Collector has now to look for his revenue to one or, at the most a few, individuals, all jointly and severally responsible for the punctual payment of the revenue assessed on their village. Under the former state of things, although, in theory, the cultivating proprietors, in the event of default, were responsible to Government both in their persons and their property, yet, in practice, such responsibility, in regard to the land at least, could not be enforced. The cultivating proprietors were not responsible one for the other, nor was the mokuddum responsible for the default of the cultivator, otherwise than that he was liable to be removed from his post of mokuddum for inefficiency, if unable to make good the revenue of his village. The detached and separate holdings on which balances had accrued, and which were in that case generally abandoned, although, in theory, responsible for such balances, could not in practice be made so, for they possessed no value in the market, and therefore could not be sold. They were therefore either taken up by some other cultivator, or allowed to remain uncultivated. The fear of degradation on the part of the mokuddum was thus in fact the only security for the Government revenue, and this only was effective within certain limits: hence balances were always arising, and, when of any considerable amount, were as a matter of course irrecoverable, and therefore required to be remitted.

Disadvantages of Ryotwaree tenures obviated under revised Settlement.

63. Under the altered village constitutions of the revised Settlement, these disadvantages and difficulties have entirely disappeared. The principle of joint responsibility having been carried fully into effect, the whole mehal is responsible for any portion of balance

accruing on it. The proprietor, or proprietary body, as the case may be, are alone responsible to Government, whilst against their defaulting assamees, they have the usual remedies provided by the Regulations, the power to sue by summary suit, and to recover arrears of rent by distraint, sale, or ouster. Hence the collection of the revenue is comparatively simple and speedy, while, except under peculiar and unforeseen circumstances, balances are not to be apprehended, and, if they should arise, the recovery of them will offer no difficulties.

Superior proprietary rights considered.

64. The subordinate proprietary rights having thus, after full enquiry, been satisfactorily disposed of, my proceedings were next directed to the ascertainment and record of the superior proprietary rights existing in each mouzah. Ordinarily this subject presented no difficulties. It was easy at once to ascertain the individual or family to whom the proprietary right over the whole mehal was universally admitted to have always belonged in practice, notwithstanding the arbitrary change in the tenures effected by the ten years' Settlement. As a general rule, that proceeding, being foreign to the experience and prejudices of the people, was voluntarily allowed by them to remain inoperative. In a great number of the villages (72 in number) the three anna rates had not been introduced, or only partially introduced, (*vide* Statement No. 4), while in a number, also considerable with reference to the number of villages belonging to single proprietors, even where the cultivators had assumed their newly acquired proprietary rights, the superior proprietary shares continued, by a private arrangement among the proprietary brotherhood, to be recognized, and the profits of the village, whether consisting of the 20 per cent. mokuddumee allowance only, (where these were the only assets), or including the ordinary profits of cultivation, to be divided according to such recognized shares. In Statement No. 5, will be found a list of those villages in which the village profits of every description have always, to this day, been shared by the mokuddum with his brethren. In numerous other cases, although, since the commencement of the ten years' Settlement of 1830, the mokuddum had appropriated entirely to himself the mokuddumee allowance, regarding it in the light of a salary for the performance of the duties of his office, and the shareholders had thus for eighteen years been excluded from their shares, the mokuddums voluntarily and readily admitted their brethren to their long suspended ancestral rights.

No difficulty in ascertaining them.

65. In the great majority of cases there was thus no difficulty in ascertaining the shares or puttees into which the villages were divided, and framing the record of rights in accordance with the wishes of the proprietary body themselves. No pains have been spared to make the khewut and administration papers, not only accurate, but full, clear, and distinct, on all points affecting the rights and interests of the shareholders, and the mutual rights and duties of the proprietors and their assamees. No matter in fact in any way relating to the constitution and administration of each village or mehal has been left unrecorded.

Disputes regarding proprietary right rare.

66. That so difficult and delicate a task as that of restoring and accurately recording rights, which had for eighteen years been over-borne by an erroneous and fictitious system, should be accomplished without dispute, especially in those instances in which all trace of them had been in the interval entirely obliterated, was not to be expected. The only wonder, considering the value attached to the rights involved, is, that disputes regarding admission to proprietary rights should have been so few in number. The number of such claims, which required to be made the subject of judicial investigation, did not, I think, exceed thirty, or thereabouts. Where such disputes could not be adjusted by compromises or by reference to a punchayet, it was not difficult to obtain an equitable and uniform rule for their decision, though it was not always easy to establish the facts necessary for its application.

Principle laid down for decision of such disputes.

67. I have already, in my letter No. 142 of the 10th, August 1848, reporting on an appeal from one of my decisions in a case of this description, fully explained the principle by which I have always been guided in the decision of all disputed claims to a share in the proprietary right in a village; but it may be advisable to recapitulate, briefly, the grounds on which the position there taken up rested.

68. It is clear that during the eighteen years which followed the ten years' Settlement of 1830, no rights of the nature of those about to be restored, and which, in all disputed cases, formed the subject of dispute, had existed; for the mokuddum, holding a Government office from which he was removeable, at the pleasure of the Revenue Authorities, and paid by a salary from the Government Treasury, was not, by virtue of such

office, in any respect more a proprietor than any of his brethren, or indeed than any of the other cultivators on whom the proprietary character had been conferred by the ten years' Settlement of 1830. The zemindaree right sought to be restored had in fact been in abeyance during that period. It was necessary therefore, in each case of disputed claim, to overlook the intervening period altogether, and to enquire most carefully what had been the state of property in the village immediately previous to the ten years' Settlement of 1830. In all such enquiries, and in my decisions founded on them, I have, to the best of my ability, strictly observed the principles of decision laid down in the Directions to Settlement Officers. *Present* enjoyment of the rights in dispute by any of the contending parties was, from the nature of things, out of the question; for the individual possession of the office of mokuddum, with its attendant emoluments, during the eighteen years subsequent to 1830, could confer no right of proprietorship to the exclusion of others, the mokuddumee having been expressly declared to be an office, of which therefore the mokuddum might at any time be deprived, either by his own removal, or by abolition of the office itself.

69. The possession and enjoyment, therefore, to which I necessarily looked as the key stone of my decisions, related to the period immediately antecedent to the ten years' Settlement of 1830. Hence, in all cases in which I have found it distinctly established, either by the records of my office, or by evidence, or by both, that up to the year 1830, the whole brotherhood of proprietors shared in the village profits, I have restored them to their rights as hissahdars, while in all cases in which claims were founded on mere ancestral right, without reference to comparatively recent enjoyment and possession, I have invariably set them aside, referring the claimants to the Civil Court.

70. These principles of decision have been considered equally applicable to those cases, in which the mokuddum entirely refused to admit any of his brethren to a share in the superior proprietary right about to be restored, on the plea that they had been dispossessed for eighteen years, and therefore that their claim could not be recognized in a Revenue Court, and those in which one or more individuals advanced claims, which were disputed by the rest of the brotherhood. The latter class of cases was the most numerous, and arose usually from misapprehension, on the part of the claimants, concerning the nature of the measures in operation, the

These principles applicable to every description of case.

object of which they frequently imagined to be, to admit to a share in the proprietary right, all who could make out a case of even the remotest relationship to the parties in possession. This class of claims was seldom satisfactorily made out, for, I must say to the credit of the zemindars in the district, they rarely disputed claims which by the common voice of their neighbours were pronounced to be well founded. The former class of cases afford, if I remember right, only two instances, one of which, that of Shibboo Nagee the late mokuddum of the Daeen of Maunsingwalla, who obstinately resisted the palpably just claim of his brethren, was a glaring one. It speaks well for the sense of justice and good feeling, which actuates the agricultural community in such matters, that the unprincipled and unscrupulous efforts to exclude his brethren, by appeal after appeal against my decision in their favor, have acquired for him a very bad repute in the district. That my decisions in such cases have given general satisfaction may be inferred by the fact, that the appeals against them have been few in number, not exceeding half a dozen in all to the Commissioner, and two to the Board, although nearly two years have elapsed since they were pronounced.

Claim of Rowleeas to share in superior proprietary rights.

71. In saying, in a former part of this report, that the instances, in which the cultivating proprietors, not belonging to the mokuddum's family, had expressed their determination to retain their proprietary rights, were very few in number, I did not mean it to be inferred that there were no instances in which cultivating proprietors had advanced claims to shares in the superior proprietary right, and which claims were on enquiry rejected. There were several such instances. The famous claim of the Rowleeas to share in the proprietary right in the Daeens, which was the subject of such keen controversy during the Lieutenant Governor's last visit to the Doon, was an instance of such claim. Being aware of my predecessor's strongly expressed opinion in favor of the claim of the Rowleeas, and duly adverting to the caution contained in the 24th paragraph of the Lieutenant Governor's Note of the 9th April 1847, I approached the consideration of these claims with some degree of diffidence, and in expectation of finding the whole question involved in difficulty, and perhaps turning on some very nice point. The result most agreeably surprised me; I never knew a stronger case of "montes parturiunt." The claim I found was advanced by only five

individuals in the whole of the eight Daeens, and these, I could not help thinking, were actuated in their proceedings purely by the delusive hope raised by Mr. Vansittart's known opinion in their favor. When brought to the test of recent possession and enjoyment according to the rule above explained, their claims were found wholly without foundation, and rejected accordingly.

Claims of Rowleeas examined and rejected.

72. Admitting, which there seems no reason to doubt, that the Daeens, like the other neighbouring hill talookas which have preserved all or most of the features of their original hill constitutions, were originally instances of the pure hill bhyachara tenure, the present mokuddum and his family representing the superior syana, while the Rowleeas are the descendants of the members of the original proprietary community; still the proof of these facts alone would not be sufficient to establish the right of the Rowleeas to be restored to their proprietary character and position, if it could be shewn that they had long lost such character, and that they had never, within the memory of man, enjoyed proprietary rights, and that the Daeens, whatever their original constitution may have been, had for many years assumed a constitution totally at variance with the claim of the Rowleeas. And such, on enquiry, proved to be actually the case. By their own admission and by the evidence of numerous witnesses, it was proved beyond doubt, that, until the year 1830, the Rowleeas had never, since the British occupation of the country, enjoyed any proprietary rights whatever, and that the division of the Daeens into thirty-six jhoolas, and the enjoyment in full proprietary right by the Rowleeas of twenty four of these jhoolas, rested on no better foundation than the most vague tradition. It was admitted by all parties that, before the ten years' Settlement, the Rowleeas paid their rent generally in kind, the proportion of their crops which they paid as rent being determined from time to time by special agreement entered into with the mokuddum, or theekadar as he was then called. It appeared also that, although sometimes they held a khutkhuna for a short period of a whole village, during which time they enjoyed temporarily the power of disposing of the waste lands, and otherwise exercised the rights usually appertaining to proprietorship, still their rights were confessedly limited to the period of their khutkhuna, which was itself renewable, and the terms of it alterable, on expiry at the pleasure of the mokuddum. They, moreover had never, on the

occasion of any of the previous Settlements, advanced the claims they now did; and they had never, except by special permission from their superior, performed any of those acts, or enjoyed any of the privileges, usually regarded as the test of zemindaree right. Their claims to be recorded as hissadars were therefore rejected. They were of course offered the option of being recorded as subordinate proprietors, on the terms of the ten years' Settlement; but this limited proprietary right they without exception rejected, and were accordingly entered in the khatounee as mouroosee assamees. I may mention that, notwithstanding all the commotion which these claims created, a great deal of which I have reason to believe was instigated by parties discontented on other grounds with the Settlement proceedings, no appeal was made by any of the Rowleeas against my decisions.

73. I take this occasion to remark that the constitution of the Daeens is the only point connected with the revision of Settlement, on which I have found reason to differ with my predecessor Mr. Vansittart. In regard to the ryotwaree or rather bhyachara character of the tenures of the other hill talookas, I entirely agree with the opinion expressed in the 16th paragraph of his Report of the 7th July 1845.

Land tenures of the Doon.

74. Having fully described the plan followed for ascertaining and recording every description of right found to exist in each village, and explained the principle observed for the decision of all disputes in regard to such rights, I shall proceed to offer a few remarks on the tenures of the district, giving instances of those which present any peculiarity.

75. The tenures of the Doon present but few peculiarities. They do not differ materially from those prevailing in other parts of the country; while they are marked by the ordinary diversities apparent in the tenures of the neighbouring hills and plains. They resemble in character the former or the latter, according as the present village communities derive their origin from the inhabitants of the hills or the plains. The ancestors of the present rajpoots, kullals, rangurs, goojurs, &c. inhabiting the villages of the southern or lower parts of the Doon, brought with them and naturalized the village constitutions with which they were familiar; while the emigrants from the hills transplanted and established, in the semi-mountainous tracts of the district, the village constitutions under which they had lived in their own country. Hence, in the former class of villages, the prevailing tenures are found to be pure

zemindaree, hissadaree, putteedaree, and imperfect putteedaree, tenures of the ordinary type; none of them present any instances of the pure bhyachara tenure properly so called. In the villages of hill origin, on the other hand, the tenures of the more recently established villages are found to be pure zemindaree, while those of the older villages, although many of them now of a broken character, present all the peculiarities which mark the constitutions of those curious talookas, or clusters of several villages, so general in the neighbouring hills, which are cultivated by a numerous community of zemindars, all enjoying separate and independent proprietary right, but at the same time all bound together by joint responsibility for the revenue assessed on the whole mehal. These tenures, except that they are found in mehals in which two distinct species of proprietary right exist, would be instances of the pure bhyachara tenures of the plains, and may be so regarded with reference to each of the component villages separately.

Examples of hill talookas.

76. It will be unnecessary in me to particularize any instances of the ordinary putteedaree or pure zemindaree tenures of the Doon, as they present no peculiarities, but resemble exactly similar tenures in the plains. It will be sufficient to describe a few mehals as instances of the curious hill tenures above referred to. These mehals resemble in their more prominent features the *khuts* of Jounsar and Bawar, the hill pergunnah of this district; they are talookas or clusters of several villages, forming one mehal, and situated at the base and the sides and summits of the first range of hills north of the Doon. The aggregate of the ruqbas of the component mouzahs, which vary in number from four to thirty, forms the ruqba of the entire mehal. Each of those mouzahs is the property of a community of cultivating proprietors, and is managed by a head man called in the language of the hills the syana, who, as the representative of the community, holds his village in subordination to the syana or head man of the whole mehal or talooka, who is himself generally the syana also of one or more of the component villages. The cultivated and culturable land contained within the ruqba of each village is the property of the proprietary community of the village, while the waste or forest land is common to the whole mehal. Every cultivator, except those of low caste recently introduced, is proprietor of his own holding, which he has the power to sell or otherwise transfer at pleasure. Each subordinate syana, thus representing the village community, holds a khutkhuna of his village from the syana of the talooka, and is responsible to him

for the revenue payable on his village. It is his duty to provide for the cultivation of the waste land, and he has otherwise the entire control over all the land included within the ruqba of his village.

77. The superior syana of the whole talooka, on the other hand, whether as theekadar under the mostajaree, or mokuddum under the ryotwaree Settlement, is the party who has hitherto engaged with Government for the revenue of the whole talooka, deriving, in return for the responsibilities and duties of his office, a percentage which has varied at the late Settlements from 10 to 20 per cent. on the aggregate jummabundee of the mouzahs composing the mehal, but not possessing the power of interference in the internal management of such component mouzahs. Formerly, the direct profits of the superior syana would appear to have been on a much smaller scale, not exceeding 5 per cent., as in the Jounsar pergunnah; but he then had other syanacharee fees, which he no longer enjoys. The high scale of emoluments he has long enjoyed as mokuddum, are probably the result of the generalizing effects of the ten years' Settlement, which assigned 20 per cent. as the allowance of all mokuddums alike.

The records of such mehals how formed.

78. The preparation of the record of rights of those mehals of this class, in which the constitution above described has been preserved in its original integrity, presented no difficulties. The mokuddum and his brethren have been recorded as superior proprietors, while each member of the independent village communities has been entered in the khatounee as a subordinate proprietor. The gross revenue assessed on the whole mehal was distributed, at the time of fixing the juma, by the subordinate syanas, acting in concert with each other, over the several villages by a phant, according to the hill custom, it being the duty of the mokuddum or superior syana to collect the whole revenue, and pay it after deducting his own allowance and the putwaree's fees into the tehseel.

Gudool, Bhogpoor, Dwarah and Malkote.

79. Bhogpoor, Gudool and Dwarah, containing respectively six, seventeen and six villages, furnish the only perfect instances of this description of tenure. Malkote, which contains thirty-one villages, is similar to them in every respect, except that the subordinate syanas and their brethren have, owing to particular causes, lost the power which they doubtless originally possessed of transferring their lands by sale or mortgage. These causes are to be found in the past history

of the mehal, into which I have already, in my letter No. 197 of the 11th December last, had occasion fully to enter. It may be as well however briefly to recapitulate them. On the death, without heirs, of the hereditary superior syana in 1828, the theeka of the whole mehal, probably from deficiency in intelligence and influence in the inferior syanas, was transferred to Soorjun Negee, an entire stranger, but a man of capital and influence. The poverty and dependence of the rest of the proprietary community on their head syana probably gave the latter the opportunity of curtailing some portion of the rights of the former, and thus they gradually lost the power of transferring their land by sale or mortgage, retaining however in all other respects their proprietary rights. Some difficulty was accordingly experienced, at the revision of the tenures, in determining whether the cultivators of this mehal should be recorded as subordinate proprietors or mouroosee assamees. The extent of right, admitted by all parties to be actually enjoyed by them, favored both views of their character. The difficulty was ultimately solved by the amicable adjustment, among the parties themselves, of their conflicting claims. It was mutually agreed that the members of the cultivating community should all be recorded only as mouroosee assamees, care being taken however to secure to them, by an attested memorandum on the khatounee, the full rights hitherto enjoyed by them.

Bhutber.

80. Bhutber, another hill talooka, has also deviated slightly from its original constitution. In this mehal, which contains six villages, the only change consists in the subordinate syanas having usurped a portion of the superior syana's rights or rather emoluments. The latter only enjoys half of the usual mokuddum's allowance, the remaining half being the perquisite of the village syanas in proportion to the revenue assessed on their several villages, or in other words, the superior and inferior syanas each possess a ten-biswah share of the superior proprietary right.

Kyar Koolie.

81. Kyar Koolie, with its three dhakilee villages, is an instance of a hill tenure altogether of a broken character. The villages composing the talooka are the property of three distinct families, each of which has always enjoyed, even during the ten years' Settlement, its share of the mokuddumee allowance in proportion to the revenue assessed upon each village. For any reason there exists to the contrary, these villages might very well have been regarded as separate mehals, and separately assessed. By

their own desire, however, the integrity of their talooka was preserved, one of the syanas only being recorded as lumberdar and having assigned to him as such by common consent a quarter of the entire mokuddummee allowance.

The Daeens.

82. I have already mentioned that the Daeens were regarded by Mr. Vansittart as instances of hill tenures of the above description, and there seems no reason to doubt that, being actually talookas of admitted hill origin, they originally possessed constitutions similar to the other hill talookas. But the opinion rests on no better foundation than a somewhat vague analogy. The division of the Daeens into thirty-six jhoolas, and the enjoyment by the Rowleeas of proprietary right in twenty-four of these obsolete divisions, are matters of the vaguest tradition: at no time since the British occupation have the Daeens presented any features of the hill bhyachara tenure, the limited proprietary rights enjoyed by the Rowleeas, in common with the other assamees of the Doon, being clearly the creation of the ten years' Settlement of 1830.

Example of pure bhyachara tenure.

83. Of the pure bhyachara tenure the Doon affords but one single example. The village of Nagul Hutnala, situated at the foot of the hills near Rajpoor, is a mundee or mart for hill produce which is brought down by the paharees for export from the Doon. It is inhabited principally by buneeahs and brahmin dealers, who have gradually acquired a small quantity of land in the immediate neighbourhood. This land is the property of the punch or corporation, the members of which are jointly and severally responsible for the whole revenue. The quantity of land which happens to be in the possession of each cultivator is the measure of his interest in the whole estate, and the proportion of the revenue payable by him; one member of the fraternity is lumberdar, and receives, as remuneration for the duties of his office, 5 per cent. on the gross juma, the rest of the mokuddumee allowance being enjoyed by the other shareholders in proportion to the shares of the juma payable by each.

Revision of juma.

84. I now proceed to offer a few remarks on the third portion of my Settlement operations, the revision of the jumas of the district. When it is taken into consideration that the whole of the land of the Doon was assessed at one uniform and arbitrary rate of 14 annas 6 gundas per acre, without regard to the varying qualities of the soil, and the comparative advantages of climate

and situation, which marked different villages, and without any attempt to arrive at a correct knowledge of the capabilities of each mouzah, it is not to be wondered at that, in many instances, the assessment, fair as it may have been generally, should be found to be excessive and incapable of realization, and therefore to require readjustment; but as I have before pointed out in the 25th paragraph of this Report, the Settlement of 1840 was marked by numerous other defects and omissions, the rectification of which, as well as the preparation of a full and accurate record of rights, have formed the principal objects of the revision of Settlement.

Defects of Settlement of 1840 recapitulated.

85. Of the five defects of the Settlement of 1840 above enumerated by me, two have reference to village administration; these are, 1st, the neglect to provide a rule for the disposal and appropriation of the culturable land of each village; and 2nd, the omission to define the exact extent and nature of the mokuddum's responsibility. For supplying these omissions, the preparation of the Settlement records according to the system enjoined by the Board and Government, afford a favorable opportunity. The declaration of rights defines exactly the parties, whether one or many, on whom rests the responsibility for the Government revenue, while the wajib-ool-urz or administration paper filed in the misl of each mehal, contains all the terms connected with the settlement entered into among themselves by the members of the proprietary body, and among other matters of common interest, declares the rule according to which the waste land of each mehal, where it has not already been broken up and appropriated, shall be appropriated.

86. The other three defects of the Settlement of 1840 relate to the principle of assessment. To recapitulate briefly, they are, 1st, the inequality of the assessment caused by unvarying adherence to the principle of one uniform rate of assessment, which has been a source of general dissatisfaction; 2nd, the assumption of the returns of the professional Survey as the correct measure of the quantity of cultivated land in each mouzah, instead of those of the khusrah measurement, thereby creating the "shamilat" and "beshee" assessments, which have been a source of discontent and complaint; and 3rd, the omission to define exactly the nature of the terms known as "grant terms," according to which all the culturable land of a village, in excess of the one-fourth given free of assessment, was liable to be assessed, and also the neglect to enforce such assessment.

87. In revising my jumas, I kept all these defects constantly in view. The enforcement of the "grant" assessments, whatever they might be, would of course at once get rid of the last defect, while the reduction of excessive jumas, and the exercise of the discretion allowed me of graduating the grant assessments, according to the capabilities of the several villages, was calculated in a great measure to meet the first objection. It being declared necessary to adhere to the general principle of the Settlement of 1840, sanctioned by the Board's Orders of 2nd June 1840, the second objection could only be met, as I hope to be able to show, by striking off the shamilat and beshee assessments altogether.

General principle of assessment.

88. The collection of the assessments at "grant" rates on all the assessable culturable land within the ruqba of a village, although they had been duly sanctioned and calculated previous to the commencement of the Settlement, having been, for some cause, hitherto wholly omitted, it became necessary to revise the juma of every mehal in the district. In doing so, I adopted as a general rule, admitting however of numerous exceptions and modifications, the rule of assessment prescribed by the Board's Orders above quoted, as the standard by which I tested all the jumas of the district. It was the maximum to which the jumas could possibly be raised, and, except for special reasons to the contrary, was the amount of juma assessable on each village of the district. I thus threw the *onus* of urging objections, and shewing cause why the jumas so calculated should not be assessed, on the malgoozars. The terms of assessment were; 1st, the assessment of 14 annas 6 gundas on the cultivated land, *as exhibited by the returns of the Professional Survey of* 1838, which were assumed correctly to indicate the amount of cultivated land in each mouzah immediately previous to the Settlement of 1840; 2nd, the assignment of culturable land, equal to one-fourth the assumed quantity of cultivated land, free of assessment, and 3rd, the assessment of the remainder of the culturable land, *as shewn by the returns of the resurvey just concluded,* on "grant terms," according to the construction put upon these terms in the 9th paragraph of the Lieutenant Governor's Note of the 9th April 1847,* that is, at the rate of one rupee per annum additional for every 15 acres after the first three years, or, as more than that time had already elapsed since the commencement of the Settlement, after the last year before the introduction of the revised jumas; or, in other words, one rupee

* *Vide* Appendix B.

per 15 acres for the first year of the revised Settlement, 2 Rs. for the second, and so on to 13 Rs. for the 13th or last year.

89. The strict application of this principle of assessment would have been perfectly fair in all cases. It would have been merely enforcing the terms, to which the zemindars had agreed at the commencement of the Settlement, especially as the amount of culturable land, included in the ruqba of each village, depended very much on the act of the zemindar himself, and the only good grounds which could be recognized as sanctioning a deviation from these terms in any case, would be the impossibility of collecting the juma, in consequence of its being excessive. In those cases, on the other hand, in which, owing to the exertions and enterprize of the zemindars, the cultivation had, during the seven and a half years of the Settlement which had elapsed, been much extended, they would derive the full benefit of such improvement during the currency of the Settlement; for all such cultivated land, in excess of the assumed amount of cultivated land in 1840, was entitled to be treated and assessed as culturable land.

Modified form of grant rates.

90. The first mouzahs taken up by me for revision of juma were some of the best and most prosperous in the district. The first point, which attracted my attention in calculating and applying the revised jumas in strict accordance with the rules prescribed, was the fact that the grant rates, assumed to be applicable to the excess culturable land, would prove, except in the case of a few very highly cultivated villages, *very heavy*, and therefore in a few years incapable of realization. It was evident that, the greater the disproportion between the cultivated and culturable land of any village, or, in other words, the less flourishing and prosperous the village was, the smaller would be the actual amount of culturable land assignable free of assessment, and the heavier therefore the russuddee or grant assessment would fall. I also found that, from want of habit, even the most intelligent of the zemindars were incapable of forming an accurate estimate of the effect of this assessment so long as it preserved its russuddee or progressive form, so much so that they all petitioned me in a body, including even those who were perfectly able to pay the juma in question, to substitute for the authorized russuddee rates, a scale of assessment, to be still termed "grant rates," which should be calculated on an average of those rates over the remaining term of the Settlement. Thus the grant assessment, instead of being one rupee per annum the first year, and 2 Rs. the second, and so

on to 13 Rs. the 13th or last year, would be 7 Rs. per 15 acres for each year of the remaining period of the Settlement. Considering the absolute insignificance of the amount of the jumas affected by these rates, and the fact that there really would be no loss to Government by the adoption of this modification;—on the contrary, that it would very much facilitate the calculation of the jumas, and still more the preparation of the annual Touzees hereafter;—I at once acceded to the proposition of the zemindars, and agreed that "grant rates" in such cases should be taken to mean 7 Rs. per annum per 15 acres. Stated in this form, I found that the zemindars could at once estimate the effect of the assessment, and calculate their ability or otherwise to pay it.

91. I at one time thought of making this modification the subject of special report, as I did the variation of the jurreeb employed in the former and late Surveys; but the matter did not, on consideration, appear to me to be one of sufficient importance, as in my opinion no object was to be gained in calculating to a nicety these jumas on the excess culturable land of the old villages. I trust the Board will not consider that I erred in the course adopted.

Rules for assessment of "grant rates."

92. "Grant rates" in this sense were very much more heavy than the "English grant" rates. While the former are equivalent to nearly 8 annas per acre, the latter would amount, if calculated, for the purpose of comparison, on an average of the juma for the first twenty years, to only 5½ annas per acre. It was evident that a rate of assessment equal to half the juma rates of the district, could rarely be applied to the whole of the assessable culturable land of a village without much hardship and discouragement to the zemindar, who, I knew from experience, would very soon get into irretrievable difficulties under the pressure of an over assessment. Unless he had already brought under cultivation more than half of the land of his village assessable at these grant rates, or had good prospects of shortly cultivating the whole, he would be unable long to pay the extra assessment, and the revised juma would in a few years inevitably break down. In applying these rates, therefore, I had due regard to the past and present condition in respect of cultivation and general prosperity of every village. Very few villages, I found, would bear the assessment of these rates on the whole of their excess culturable land; some would upon a smaller or larger portion. A large class of villages, to which I shall hereafter allude, would not bear

the grant rates at all, the ordinary 3-anna assessment of past years on the cultivated area of 1840 being found to be a fair assessment. Many others again, which had deteriorated in a greater or less degree, could only be saved from impending destruction by the grant of actual reductions of juma of greater or less amount, some of them requiring to be resettled entirely anew on jumas suited to their present capability.

93. Between the extremes of the assessments, thus briefly described, there were many gradations, thus enabling me to adapt my jumas, with any amount of nicety required, to the capabilities of every village. The objection, therefore, of inequality of assessment caused by the uniformity of the juma rates of 1840, I believe to be no longer applicable to the assessments of the Doon. In fixing the jumas, there may have been no very nice estimate of the assets of each village; nor was this requisite. The great object of the adaptation of the jumas to the capabilities of each village was, nevertheless, it is hoped, gained by the observance of a consistent rule of assessment; and even if the jumas in general should be considered rather below than above the capacities of most of the villages of the district, the leniency shewn will not be considered misplaced when the very precarious tenure, on which most of the villages of the Doon hold their existence, is considered. In applying the grant rates, or in determining whether they should be applied to any particular village, I have found it a good rule of guidance to observe the extent to which cultivation had increased during the previous seven and a half years of the twenty years' Settlement, and to assume the prospective increase during the remaining thirteen years, under ordinary circumstances, at nearly double the amount, always supposing that the quantity of culturable land belonging to the village will admit of such increase. Thus if a village, during the first seven years of the Settlement, had added 15 acres to its cultivated area, I inferred that, during the remaining thirteen years, 30 more acres would probably be brought into cultivation, and assumed 45 acres as the quantity assessable with grant rates.

94. Having explained, to the best of my ability, the general principle adopted by me for the adjustment of the jumas to the capabilities of each village of the district, I will now enumerate the several classes into which the villages naturally arrange themselves, with respect to the scale of assessment applied to each.

Mehals divided into 6 classes with reference to scale of assessment.

95. I place in the first class all those villages in which the maximum juma has been assessed, that is, in which, in addition to the juma of 1840, *all* the culturable area, in excess of one-fourth given free of assessment, has been assessed at the prescribed grant rates. These villages are of course the best and strongest villages in the district; they are only nine in number, and are situated to the south of Dehra, and extend to a considerable distance east and west of it.

2nd Class.

96. The 2nd class contains those villages in which, in addition to the juma of 1840, a portion, greater or less, according to their capabilities, of the excess culturable land has been assessed at the prescribed grant rates. These villages are thirty-two in number; they present of course a great variety in condition and quality, and are not confined to any particular locality.

3rd Class.

97. The 3rd class contains those villages in which the jumas of 1840 have been maintained, but in which the whole of the culturable land contained within their ruqba has been given up to the zemindars free of assessment, during the remainder of the Settlement. These villages are sixty-one in number, and comprise the Daeens, the villages situated at the base and on the side of the first range of hills, and many of the villages of the eastern Doon. In none of these villages has the cultivation materially increased during the previous seven years, nor, with reference to the quantity of culturable land available, and their general resources, is much increase of cultivation to be expected. In general their soil is poor or the climate bad, and the inhabitants impoverished. I have included the Daeens in this class, because the remission of the shamilat and beshee assessments, to which I shall hereafter refer, is not *virtually* at variance with the rule by which the villages of this class are classified, viz. the assessment of the juma on the actual cultivated area of 1840.

4th Class.

98. The 4th class comprises those villages in which, on account of great deterioration, the jumas of 1840, being considered excessive, have been set aside as the basis of assessment, the jumas being fixed at a 3-anna rate either on the whole or a portion of the existing cultivation, with or without the assessment of grant rates on a portion of the culturable area. These villages are of every variety, and are forty-four in number. They comprise all those villages which have materially deteriorated from the effects of climate and other causes, as well as those whose

ruqbas have been greatly reduced by the unobserved or undisputed encroachments of neighbouring villages.

5th Class.

99. The 5th class consists of those villages of which the whole or a portion of the cultivated and culturable area has been assessed on the modified "grant terms." These villages are twenty-three in number, and are either old deserted villages restored, or are new ones of recent establishment. They consist of those villages, enumerated by Mr. Vansittart in the 36th paragraph of his Settlement Report of the 7th July 1845, which, having been entirely ruined, were re-established by him, and recommended to be held on English grant terms, as well as the villages restored and established by me. These villages should all have been regular grants held on the terms of clearing leases; but, like the zemindars of the old villages, the proprietors had a strong objection to progressively increasing jumas, although the terms of assessment offered the advantages of a known and fixed juma for fifty years. They therefore applied to hold their villages in zemindaree tenure at a juma calculated on the average either of the English grant jumas for sixteeen years, that is, from 1845-46 when most of them were established to the end of the present Settlement, of the modified grant rates from the commencement or of the revised Settlement. I saw no objection to this proposal, as the terms applied for were in reality considerably less favorable to the grantees, who moreover had in every case, at the time the engagements were taken, already cleared and cultivated the proportion of the assessable area required to be cultivated during the first ten years, while, the juma being a fixed annual sum, the preparation of the annual Touzees will be very much simplified. All these villages will of course be open to re-assessment at the close of the current Settlement. I append a list of them in Statement No. 9.

6th Class.

100. The 6th and last class consists of the grants on clearing leases, both those already confirmed and those remaining unconfirmed, fourteen in number. Of the former, those of 1840, only four now remain, the rest having been resigned, and it is probable that, before the close of another year, one or more of them will have become liable to resumption if not previously resigned. The remaining ten were, with the exception of one, provisionally granted in the years 1845 and 1846, previous to the issue of the orders of Government No. 3067 dated 29th July 1847 prohibiting the further granting of waste lands in the Doon until after the completion of the Kuttaputher canal. That

one grant, Budreepoor, is a very small grant situated at the foot of the Budraj hill, and was provisionally granted to Major Swetenham early in 1848, as a special instance, the prohibition of Government not being considered applicable to land in that locality. The Kuttaputher canal having since been nearly completed, further applications for waste land on clearing leases, may shortly be expected. The agreements for these grants have already been signed, (the correctness of the jumas having been first tested in your office), and the warrants English and Persian will be forwarded for the signature of the Secretary to Government along with this Report. I append in Statement No. 11 a list of these grants. The grants contained in this list, as well as those in Statement No. 9, include all those cases referred to in paragraph 13 of the letter of Secretary to Government No. 293 of the 22nd January 1845,* in which new villages had been located by persons in expectation of grants on the faith of Colonel Young's proclamation of the 1st March 1838, and who therefore have been declared entitled to hold their lands on grant terms.

Daeens included in Class 4.

101. Although, as abovementioned, I have included the Daeens among the mehals of class No. 4 of the classification of jumas above enumerated, that class being intended to comprise those villages which have been assessed on the actual cultivation of 1840, all excess culturable land being given up free of assessment during the remaining period of the Settlement; still it may be with some reason objected that, the Daeens having been granted reduction on the jumas of 1840 to the extent of the shamilat and beshee assessments, cannot correctly be entered in class 4, but should rather have been included in class 5. An answer to this objection will I think be found in the nature of those assessments, a consideration of which will shew that, even rejecting those items of assessment, the Daeens have not been assessed on less than the actual amount of cultivation of 1840, *if that had been correctly returned.*

Shamilat and beshee assessments, their nature and effects.

102. The nature and effects of these shamilat and beshee assessments have already been the subject of such frequent representation since the year 1842, that it appears almost a work of unnecessary repetition to enter into a minute description of them again. It may however be as well to do so once for all, in order that the grounds of the reductions, founded on these items of assess-

* *Vide* Appendix A.

ment, may be clearly understood. This end will be best gained by recurring briefly to the principle of assessment applied to the Daeens, and the four other villages similarly circumstanced, at the Settlement of 1840. The principle of assessment, or mode of calculation of the juma, applied to these mehals, was an exception to the general principle of assessment adopted throughout the rest of the district. In this deviation from the ordinary principle, the Collector or assessing Officer was helpless; it was forced upon him by the erroneous method of Survey, adopted in regard to the Daeens, described in the 47th paragraph of this Report. It will be recollected that the Daeens were never surveyed at all mehalwar or mouzahwar, either professionally or by khusrah; instead of this, long strips of land, called puttras were surveyed, each of which contained the land of several Daeens, and, as it happened, of several other independent villages besides, the aggregate of the ruqbas of which puttras was equivalent to the aggregate of the ruqbas of the eight Daeens and the four other villages included in the puttras.

Principle of assessment applied to the Daeens.

103. As the Surveyor's measurements, professional or khusrah, gave no returns of the cultivated land of each of these mehals, the principle of adopting the returns of the Professional Survey as the standard of assessment could not be carried out in regard to the Daeens, and the other independent villages abovementioned. The only mehalwar returns available, from which the cultivated land of each of these mehals could be calculated, were the khatounees, which were extracted mehalwar from the khusrah. Had the latter been quite or nearly correct, a sufficiently correct return of the cultivated land of each mehal would have been obtained by this process, and the assessments might have been calculated on the results as given by the khatounees, without being materially incorrect, and therefore without causing dissatisfaction, as far at least as the beshee assessments were concerned. The khusrahs, however, were on the contrary, as since ascertained, very incorrect, both in assigning incorrect areas to the different fields, and in altogether omitting to exhibit large quantities of cultivated land. The omission of a large quantity of cultivated land amounting to upwards of 300 acres, belonging to several Daeens in the puttra of Dowlas, pointed out in the 25th paragraph of Mr. Vansittart's Report, is an extreme example of the incorrectness of the khusrahs. The discrepancy between the returns of the aggregate amount of cultivated land of the Daeens, including the four other villages, as obtained

from the khusrahs through the khatounees, and the aggregate of the cultivated lands of the puttras, as given by the returns of the professional Survey, was therefore very great, much exceeding in fact the ordinary average difference between the professional and khusrah returns of other villages. For the purpose of maintaining uniformity in the principle of calculating the jumas, by adopting the returns of the professional Survey as the standard of assessment, this difference was distributed, in proportion to the returns of cultivation as given by the khatounees of each mehal, over the eight Daeens and four other villages, and the jumas were then calculated on the khatounee returns *plus* the proportions of this difference, called beshee, assigned to each.

Beshee assessment.

104. This was the true origin of the beshee assessment, and not, as has been represented, merely the difference between the professional and khusrah returns separately in each of the Daeens. Had this latter been the case, and the amount of the difference, as is probable, thus not exceeded the general average, no dissatisfaction would have been expressed. But calculated as the jumas were on a principle wholly unintelligible to the cultivators affected by it, who were ready enough to assume that the khusrah returns were right, and the professional ones wrong, and who thus believed that they were in a manner made the victims of a rough way of squaring the discrepancies caused by the errors of the revenue survey, it is not to be wondered at that much dissatisfaction should have been felt by the individual cultivators, on whom the weight of the extra assessments fell, especially as the mokuddums laid no portion of the beshee assessment on cultivation omitted from the khusrah, which was invariably in their own hands, and which they thus enjoyed free of assessment. Such was the beshee assessment, and one could not have been devised, which from its form alone without reference to its amount which after all was insignificant, was more likely to cause dissatisfaction.

Shamilat assessment.

105. The shamilat assessments were, if possible, a still greater source of discontent and subject of complaint. There was no difficulty in ascertaining the exact amount of shamilat lands belonging to each mehal. The peculiar method of Survey above described was in no way accountable for this grievance. It was an accident that the same mehals, which had cause to complain of one description of over-assessment, were the very mehals most affected by the other. The causes of the shamilat assessment were

two-fold. The return of land assessable at the 3-anna juma rates in each village always includes the "ooftadeh judeid," or fallow land periodically thrown out of cultivation, which in hill villages annually amounts to a large quantity. Such land is called shamilat; it is not confined to the Daeens, but is common to all the hill villages and to almost all villages of the Doon. But the shamilat lands to which the complaints of the zemindars of the Daeens principally referred, were the lands which could in no sense be called cultivated lands, over which the plough had for one year been hurriedly driven under the impulse of Colonel Young's proclamation of the 1st March 1838, and with the object of preventing what the zemindars regarded as their own land from passing into the possession of strangers, as described in the 5th paragraph of the letter of Secretary to Government No. 293* dated the 22nd January 1845. The assessment of such lands at the full juma rates was clearly, if not absolutely inequitable, still somewhat harsh, inasmuch as it caused a disappointment of well founded expectations.

106. On account of the first description of shamilat alone, the zemindars of the Daeens would certainly have expressed no dissatisfaction, as they would have had no greater cause for doing so than those of the other hill mehals, who readily and without complaint regularly paid this species of assessment. To enable them to do the same, the mokuddums of the Daeens would only have had to resort to the hill expedient, with which perhaps they were less familiar, of a phant or distribution of such extra assessment over the whole body of cultivators according to the general condition of each, and not with reference only to the quantity of land held by each; and this they could have done within reasonable limits without causing dissatisfaction. But the other species of shamilat swelled the quantity to an amount which would not admit of such general distribution, without causing discontent; and hence the shamilat assessment, like the beshee, has, ever since the conclusion of the Settlement in 1840, been a standing grievance to which the zemindars have never become reconciled.

107. I have entered fully into the origin and nature of the shamilat and beshee assessments, chiefly with the view of shewing the inequitable character of the assessments, at the time they were made, and of explaining the rule, which, on the occasion of the revision of jumas, I adopted for testing the fairness of the past jumas of the Daeens. Considering the nature of these assessments, which, with good reason or otherwise, were regard-

* *Vide* Appendix A.

ed by the zemindars themselves as inequitable, it appeared to me that it would be unadvisable and impolitic to continue them, or rather to confirm jumas which confessedly included them, (such a course being certain to perpetuate the dissatisfaction which had long prevailed) unless it should appear as the result of the resurvey, and on careful examination, either that the cultivation of the Daeens had considerably increased during the period of seven and a half years, which had elapsed since the commencement of the Settlement, or that the zemindars were otherwise in a highly prosperous condition, and that the old jumas were fair with reference to such other considerations.

108. My enquiries determined me to decide in favor of the zemindars by availing myself of the discretion, allowed me in the 14th paragraph of the Government letter of instructions, and granting reductions to the extent of the shamilat and beshee assessments. There was no difficulty in ascertaining the exact amount of the latter item, as it had always been kept a distinct item in the original jumabundee. For the former or shamilat item, I assumed the result of Mr. Vansittart's purtal measurement of 1845 as the most correct that could now be obtained. The alteration in the disposition of the cultivation precluded the possibility of more accurate returns.

Reasons for striking out beshee and shamilat assessments.

109. The grounds on which I resolved to strike out the shamilat and beshee assessments were as follows: 1st. The amount of the present cultivation of each Daeen, as shewn by the returns of the late resurvey, is very little in excess of that of 1840, even striking out the shamilat and beshee items. If the fallow lands of the present returns be excluded from the computation, it is in most of the Daeens even less. I have drawn up for the purpose of comparison a statement (*vide* No. 7 appended to this Report), shewing the assumed amount of cultivated land on which the jumas of 1840 were calculated, the amount of shamilat and beshee lands, and the present quantity of cultivated and fallow land in each mehal. 2nd. According to the principle now adopted for the distribution of the juma over a mehal, each assamee or cultivator is responsible for the rent only of the land actually held by him, which cannot exceed the juma rates of 14 annas 6 gundas an acre if he pay money rents, and in the Daeens is always less, if he pay in kind, the land in possession of the latter description of cultivators being the poorest and least productive. While, therefore, the zemindars, in virtue of their newly acquired rights, would have to bear the burden of all

the extra assessments, the only funds from which they could pay them would be the profits on their own cultivation, which, as their lands are admitted to be of good quality, are considerable, and the profits on building leases, of which however in many cases they only enjoy one-third, a considerable part of this description of land having been alienated previous to the revision of Settlement by the cultivators by whom it was leased out; the remaining two-thirds of the profits in many instances being the perquisites of the latter class under the arrangement described in the 58th paragraph of this Report. 3rd. The culturable land in the Daeens, though now at the undisputed disposal of the proprietary body, is scarce and poor in quality; their chance therefore of prospective profits from the culturable land of their villages is very limited. 4th. The proprietary body is a numerous and impoverished race, and the difficulty always felt in realizing the revenues has been annually increasing.

110. I have thought it necessary to enter thus minutely into an explanation of the grounds on which I have recommended the remission of the shamilat and beshee assessments, as the total amount of remissions on these accounts, (as will be seen by reference to Statement No. 7,) is considerable, and the course I have adopted is at variance with the opinion expressed in the 26th paragraph of the Lieutenant Governor's Note of the 9th April 1847.* I trust, however, the explanation I have offered will be deemed satisfactory.

Formation of Settlement records.

111. Of equal importance with the determination and declaration of rights and the revision of jumas, was the preparation of an ample and accurate Settlement record. For this, as well as for the introduction of several minor improvements in matters of detail connected with the collection of the revenue, the arrangement of the Revenue records, and the mode of conducting business in the Revenue Office, the revision of Settlement afforded a most favorable opportunity.

112. Nothing could be more meagre, incomplete, and useless, for the purposes of a permanent record, than the Settlement records hitherto existing in the Office. The only apology for such records, besides the well finished scientific English pergunnah and village maps, were the shujra and khusrah of the Revenue Survey, and a book called the "Settlement Register" prepared in the Collector's Office which is mentioned in Colonel Young's letter No. 4 of the 12th

Vide Appendix B.

January 1842, reporting his Settlement of 1840, answering the double purpose of a khatounee and annual juma statement, but without the fullness of the former. Even these documents, few as they were, were incorrect; and as, in consequence of the utter inefficiency of the putwaree establishment, the putwaree's record of annual mutations prescribed by the Board's orders were not kept up, they very soon became utterly valueless.

113. The supplying of the great desideratum of ample and accurate Settlement records was necessarily a work of much labor and expence. The extreme difficulty of procuring Ameens for the Survey, already brought to the Board's notice, was not greater than that of obtaining the services of good and skilful mohurrirs, accustomed to the details of Settlement work. For the success of my efforts to obtain an efficient agency, as well as for the complete, correct, and neat manner in which the Settlement records have been prepared, I am much indebted to the zeal, untiring perseverance, and patience of my tehseeldar, Moonshee Hingun Loll, who had much to contend with in the inexperience and indifference of the permanent Revenue establishment, and the putwarees, and even the zemindars themselves. I have already, in my letter No. 148 of the 25th September last, brought the valuable services rendered by the tehseeldar to the notice of Government and the Board, and founded upon them recommendations in his behalf, which I earnestly hope will meet with the favorable consideration of Government.

Settlement Misls.

114. The Settlement records prepared at the revision of Settlement, I can confidently say, are complete, and leave nothing to be desired. I have every reason to believe that they are remarkably accurate, as they will, I think, be admitted to be full and complete; the Settlement Misls having been compiled strictly after the pattern of the latest approved specimens of Settlement Misls from the Kyfeeut-i-sheristah to the final rooboocarree. Their general correctness I have during the past year had several opportunities of testing, in deciding summary suits and other miscellaneous disputes requiring reference to the Misls. The result, I am happy to say, has in every case which has come to my notice been very satisfactory.

Wajib-ool-urz and khatounee.

To the drawing up of the wajib-ool-urz or administration paper, and the khatounee, or moontukhub, in each Misl, I have paid particular attention, taking care that not a single point affecting the rights of the various classes possessing an interest in each village should be left

undetermined or unrecorded. In the former document have been recorded, the terms of agreement among the proprietors themselves, including the law of succession to the estate, the provisions for the election and remuneration of the lumberdar, the rule for the distribution and disposal of waste land both culturable and barren, the distribution of proprietary profits, the distribution of village expenses, the remuneration of putwarees and other village officers, and many other points which it is unnecessary to enumerate. In the latter document have been carefully specified, the extent of right remaining to those recorded as mouroosee assamees, especially those who have voluntarily resigned the proprietary rights of 1830, but continue to pay as rent the 3-anna juma rate, and all arrangements of a special nature between the assamee and his zemindar, especially the condition agreed to between them regarding the course to be pursued in leasing land for building purposes, as set forth in paragraph 58 of this Report.

Adjustment of rents.

115. The preparation of a full and accurate jumabundee has provided completely for the regulation of all transactions between the cultivators and the lumberdar or putteedar under whom they cultivate. It has been found an invariable rule that when this payment of money rents has been maintained by the wish of the cultivators, no lower rate than 3 annas a beegah has been conceded by the zemindar. Where this has been found, as in some of the poorer lands of the Daeens and in newly established villages, too heavy a rent, the assamees have been obliged to consent to the payment of *nijkaree* or grain rents. In this manner, rents have been conveniently and satisfactorily adjusted without the necessity on the part of the Collector of the interference in the internal distribution of the juma over the several villages, comprising the Daeens, deemed necessary by Mr. Vansittart, under the system of Settlement proposed by him for the Daeens. Under the revised system, each cultivator pays rent for the actual amount of land he cultivates according to the rates agreed upon and entered in the khatounee and jumabundee; the difference between the juma and the aggregate rental of the mehal constituting the zemindaree profits. Finally, each putwaree and each lumberdar has been furnished with the khawut papers and khatounee of his village.

Introduction of minor improvements.

116. The complete revision of the Settlement of 1840 has afforded a favorable opportunity for introducing several minor improvements in the details of the Revenue

system of the district. Among the greatest defects of the system hitherto in force, was the mode of remunerating the village mokuddums and putwarees. The former, for the services they rendered, were assigned a salary of 20 per cent. on the Government revenue of their villages. The gross revenue was considered the juma or Government demand. This was collected in full according to the prescribed kists; but the payment of the mokuddumee allowance was deferred until the close of the Fuslee year, and after the audit of a bill for the amount by the Civil Auditor. This system was not only unnecessarily cumbersome, but obviously open to many objections on other grounds. It had to pass twice through the hands of the Mofussil Revenue Officers before it reached the mokuddum, a necessity almost certain to give rise to abuse. Next, a village on which 80 per cent., or the Government share of the juma, had been duly paid in, was still returned as in balance, although the remaining portion was the mokuddum's property, in the collection of which the State had no interest. Under the improved system now introduced, the mokuddumee allowance, and, as will be hereafter explained, the putwarees' fees have been deducted from the gross juma calculated at the prescribed rates, and engagements have been taken for the net juma remaining after these deductions; the proprietors and lumberdars and putwarees being left to collect, the former their rents, which include their allowance, and the latter their fees, according to the authorized process. By the unanimous wish of the proprietors, where there are more than one, 15 per cent. of the deduction from the gross revenue thus allowed is thrown into the general fund of village profits, and the whole divided in proportion to their shares among the members of the proprietary body; while the remaining 5 per cent. has been assigned to the lumberdar, (now no longer called a mokuddum), as remuneration for his duties as village manager. I have before mentioned that in many villages it has always been the practice with the mokuddums to regard the *mokuddumee huq* in the light of a substitute for the usual village profits, and to share it with his brethren in proportion to their interests in the village. I have given, in Statement No. 5, a list of those villages in which this custom has always prevailed. The number is not inconsiderable with reference to the number of villages which are the property of a single individual.

Remuneration of lumberdars.

Mokuddum's allowance and putwarees' fees deducted from gross juma.

117. The utter* inefficiency of the putwaree establishment has been one of the greatest defects of the revenue system of this district, previous to the revision of Settlement. This was attributable entirely to the erroneous footing on which the putwarees were placed, and their being required to perform duties wholly foreign to their office. They were twelve in number, were servants of Government on a salary of Rs. 5 a month each, besides an allowance for stationery of Rs. 3-8 a month. This entailed an expence of 762 Rupees per annum on Government, which, assuming that the putwarees performed their legitimate duties, ought to have been borne by the zemindars; but as it was, being nothing more than Government servants employed wholly in the collection of the revenue, and residing at the sudder station, and hence ignorant of the affairs of the villages within their circle, they were utterly inefficient for the performance of the legitimate duties of putwarees.

Putwarees and their fees.

118. They have now been placed on the same footing as elsewhere, and are, as they should be, the servants of the zemindars, in accordance with whose wishes, as far as possible, they have been nominated, and by whom they will in future be paid. As directed in the 8th paragraph of the Lieutenant Governor's Note of the 9th April 1847,* the Government establishment has been discontinued, and, the Government having originally undertaken to bear the expence, a *pro ratâ* reduction of juma has been given to the proprietors, to cover the expence of the establishment now to be borne by them. The rate of reduction on account of putwarees' fees fixed by me, was Rs. 3-2 per cent. or half an anna per rupee, which, assuming the gross juma to be as nearly as possible Rs. 25,000, amounts on the whole rent-roll to Rs. 780, or nearly the same as the aggregate amount of the salaries of the Government putwaree establishment. Provision has also been made for additional payments to the putwarees at the same rates, or by a proportion of the crops where the rents are in kind, on account of all land which may be brought under cultivation subsequently to the introduction of the revised Settlement. This has enabled me to increase the number of putwarees from 12 to 20, and at the same time made it the putwaree's interest to keep himself fully informed of the internal affairs, in all their detail, of the villages under his charge.

119 The training and education of the putwaree establishment has been a work of immense

Instruction of putwarees.

* *Vide* Appendix B.

labor to the tehseeldar and his subordinates, under whose superintendence and teaching they have succeeded in preparing the annual papers, and (for the first time since the Settlement) have filed a complete set of the annual papers for the Fuslee year 1256, corresponding to 1848-49, the first year of the revised Settlement. Care shall be taken to have the putwarees fully instructed in their duties, and to have these valuable records in future carefully and correctly kept up.

Village chowkeydaree establishment.

120. There has hitherto been no village chowkeydaree establishment in existence in the Doon, although the mokuddums were, under the terms of their engagement with Government, responsible for the police as well as the revenue of the district. The want of an efficient village police has for some time past been much felt, and will be so more and more every year as the population increases.

121. It was my desire to devise a system of village police which should in some measure supply this want. That there can be any thing like an efficient establishment of this sort in so thinly populated a country as the Doon, is out of the question. The subject has presented many difficulties, which I have not yet been able altogether to meet and overcome. The village proprietors are in general too poor, and the population too scanty, to admit of a chowkeydar to each village. It appeared to me, therefore, when I first took up the subject with the view of forming a chowkeydaree establishment, that what I believe when practicable to be by far the best system, that of assigning a small jageer to each chowkeydar for his support, would not be feasible in this district, as it would be necessary, from the limited number of chowkeydars, which the chowkeydaree funds would admit of, to assign several villages to each; under which circumstances the chowkeydar, it was to be feared, would naturally be inclined to consider himself the servant of the village in which his land was situated, and to neglect the other villages, even if the proprietors of those villages should remunerate him in some other manner.

122. I therefore gave the preference, and, as it appeared at the time, with the concurrence of the zemindars, to the plan of assessing a chowkeydaree fee in money, the amount to bear a fixed proportion to the net juma and to be collected, like the one per cent. road fund, along with the instalments of revenue and to be formed into a fund for the payment of a body of village police. The scale of assessment I fixed at Rs. 3-2 per cent. on the net juma of each village. This I calculated,

assuming the net jumma of the district at Rs. 20,000, would yield Rs. 625 per annum, which, at the rate of Rs. 2-8 per month to each man, would be sufficient to provide twenty chowkeydars for the whole district.

Remuneration of chowkeydars.

123. But I found, when I came to carry this plan into effect, that the assessment was felt to be, as in truth it was, very heavy without promising any benefits at all commensurate with the expence. For the number of chowkeydars which the fund would provide, would be altogether insufficient for the efficient watch of the number of villages placed under the protection of each chowkeydar, amounting on an average to eight each. I therefore abandoned this project, and am now engaged in devising a system, similar to that generally prevailing in other parts of the country. I shall endeavour to arrange that where possible, the chowkeydars shall have small jageers of land assigned them, and where this is not possible, that they shall be paid in certain fixed quantities of grain. All the large and more populous villages will be required to maintain one chowkeydar, each assigning him a small portion of land, with payment besides in grain if necessary. Villages inferior in size and population will have to maintain one chowkeydar to two or three contiguous villages, each paying him certain fees in grain in proportion to its population, while remote and isolated villages too poor to maintain a chowkeydar shall not be compelled to support one, in which case they will be no worse off than they were before. I feel no doubt of being able to carry this plan into effect. My measures, however, are not yet matured. I am therefore not prepared at present to submit the village police Statement required by the Settlement Directions, which, however, I shall not omit to do hereafter, as soon as my arrangements have been completed.

Other Minhai items or deductions from the gross revenue.

124. Besides the deductions from the gross juma above specified, all remissions of a permanent character, such as those on account of fixed cantonment lands, lands occupied by public buildings, the banks of the canal, and the church compound, have been deducted at the time of fixing the revised jumas. The rent-free lands formerly reported, and the release of which in perpetuity has been sanctioned, have of course been excluded from the Settlement; a separate register in the prescribed form having been prepared of such rent-free lands.

Date and duration of Settlements.

125. As the revision of Settlement operations were commenced in the early part of 1847, and as I fully expected that they would be completed before the commencement of the official year 1848-49, I fixed on the 1st May 1848, as the date from which the revised Settlement should be introduced all over the district, and as upwards of seven years had passed since the commencement of the twenty years' Settlement proposed by Colonel Young, I have taken engagements from the malgoozars for thirteen years from the 1st May 1848, making the whole duration of the Settlement, in consequence of the change from the Fuslee to the official year, twenty and a half years. I beg to recommend therefore that the revision of Settlement now reported with all its provisions may be sanctioned for thirteen years from the 1st May 1848. This arrangement will render it necessary to provide for the adjustment and close of the account of the allowance hitherto paid to the mokuddums of the Doon, for the broken period between the close of the Fuslee year 1254, the last for which the allowance has been passed, and the commencement of the official year 1848-49, that is on the November and December or 6-anna kists of 1255 Fuslee or A. D. 1847. The amount of these kists exclusive of irrecoverable balances was Rs. 9,976-11-10, on which the allowance paid to the mokuddums of the Doon was Rs. 1,995-5-10. This amount now stands in the inefficient balance of my office. I have therefore the honor to solicit special authority for its disbursement.

Adjustment of account of mokuddumee allowance.

Depopulated villages require to be struck off the rent-roll.

126. There are a few villages, of which I have appended a list in Statement No. 8, which have for several years been wholly depopulated. The retention of them on the rent-roll is unnecessary. They are therefore recommended to be struck off as directed in the 28th paragraph of the Settlement instructions of the 22nd January 1845.* I have given, in the column of remarks of the Statement, a brief statement of the circumstances which cause the decay of each.

Villages of precarious existence.

127. I take this opportunity to bring to your notice that there are several villages situated in the eastern Doon, which, from the unhealthy localities in which they are situated, are not expected to stand long, and may be swept

* *Vide* Appendix A.

away or deserted at any time. At the earnest request of the parties who hold them however, they have been regularly settled for the remaining period of the Settlement. I have classed all such villages in a separate list, which is contained in Statement No. 10, and I propose, in regard to them, that as soon as any of them shall become deserted, and there appear no hopes of its restoration, such village be at once struck off the rent-roll, the citation of this paragraph of the present Report to be deemed sufficient in support of the recommendation. By this means the inconvenience, hitherto felt in the recommendation of annual remissions of revenue equal in amount to the juma of such villages, will be avoided.

Temporary villages and patches of cultivation.

128. Villages of this precarious description are just as likely to start suddenly into existence as to be obliterated by floods or malaria. It has long been the practice for the remnants of the inhabitants of a depopulated and deserted village, to settle on some spot entirely removed from their former locality, and to commence cultivating. This process though probably irregular is productive of no evil. The small patches thus cultivated in the middle of dense jungle, are neither valuable to Government nor coveted by others, and they are too insignificant and of too precarious an existence to be formed into regular jungle grants. I do not think, therefore, that the practice should be discouraged, though it should be placed under due control. I have accordingly adopted the practice lately of requiring all persons desirous of cultivating small jungle patches of land to apply for leave to do so, and to state in their application the terms on which they are willing to cultivate such land. The terms are necessarily very lenient, in such cases I usually allow such applicants to cultivate one year without payment of any rent, and then, if I find that they have become tolerably firmly established, I enter into such summary settlement with them, as I find practicable, requiring them to pay an annual rent at low rates, either "rusudee" or fixed, for the land they have occupied and cultivated, during occupation, the terms, however, in no case to be considered to extend beyond the period of the existing Settlement. Their rents, which are very insignificant in amount, are carried to account under the head of "profit and loss" or sewae collections, and are not exhibited in the annual kistbundee.

Alteration of the kists.

129. The only other modification which I have thought it necessary to recommend, is con-

nected with the collection of the revenue. The 10-anna kists have hitherto been collected in May and June, and the 6-anna kists in November and December. As, however, the khurreef crops of this district are much more valuable and productive than the rubbee ones, I beg to recommend, as a measure much desired by the zemindars, that the kists be transposed, the 6-anna kists being collected in May and June, and the 10-anna in November and December. I have accordingly adopted this modification from the 1st May 1848.

Statement of outstanding balances.

130. I beg to submit in Statement No. 12, a list of outstanding balances up to the year 1847-48. These balances, amounting to Rs. 2,605-9-2, are all nominal, being composed entirely either of the juma of obliterated villages, which require to be struck off the rent-roll, or of the amount of reduction of juma proposed by Mr. Vansittart in his Report, and carried into effect in anticipation from 1st May 1845. No sanction having been obtained for these reductions, although Mr. Vansittart's revised jumas have all been upheld by me, these items have all been held in the bukya touzee as suspended balances pending the submission of Report on the revision of Settlement. I have entered in the column of remarks of this Statement, brief remarks explaining the origin and nature of these outstanding balances, and have to request that their remission may be sanctioned. The balances of the year 1848-49, amounting to Rs. 7,943-3-6, are also nominal. I have already, when submitting the usual annual balance Statements, furnished a detail of these balances, and explained that they consist wholly of the difference between the jumas of the old and revised Settlements. Their apparent amount is large in consequence of the net juma being exhibited under the revised Settlement, instead of the gross juma as formerly. The simple sanction of the introduction of the revised Settlement from the 1st May 1848, the date recommended, would be sufficient authority for the immediate remission of these nominal balances; but to prevent mistake, I beg to solicit special sanction for their remission.

Expences of revision of Settlement.

131. The last subject on which I have to offer a few remarks, are the expences incurred in the revision of Settlement. These I have exhibited in a tabular form in Statement No. 13 appended to this Report. They are as will be observed of two kinds, those, namely, which have been already sanctioned, and those for which I am now about to solicit

sanction. The latter consist of—1st, the expences of the measurement and the preparation of the papers appertaining to it (among which, for the sake of greater despatch, I included the khatounee or moontukhub) being work preformed on contract by ameens, and 2nd, the contingent expences, being those incurred in providing jurreebs, stationery, cloth for bustas, and maps, and the binding of the Settlement Misls into the form of strong books.

Difficulty in procuring ameens.

132. I have already in several of my former letters mentioned the extreme difficulty I experienced in procuring ameens, in consequence, partly, of the demand for ameens in the Cis and Trans-Sutlej States, and partly of the laborious and unremunerative character of the work, in a barren and uneven country like the Doon. For several months I could not procure the number I required, and it was not until I offered the unusually high rates of Rs. 4 per 100 cultivated acres, and Rs. 2 per 100 uncultivated acres, that I succeeded in doing so. Had it not been for the necessity of paying these high rates it was my intention, under the discretion allowed me in the 25th paragraph of the Lieutenant Governor's Note of 9th April 1847,* to have proposed, as the necessity for the remeasurement of the Doon had arisen from no fault of the zemindars, that it should be made wholly at the Government expence. With reference, however, to the high amount of these expences, and the advantages in other respects as set forth in the above paragraph of the Note, of making the zemindars, where practicable, bear such expences, I resolved on dividing the expences in nearly equal shares between the Government and the zemindars, for whose benefit they have been incurred, and I trust that the distribution I have made, will meet with the approval and sanction of the Board and Government.

Distribution of expences.

133. It will be necessary to explain in a few words the principle on which I proceeded in making this distribution. I felt that if the same rates were charged over the whole district, the expences would fall very unequally on the zemindars of different villages: the proprietors of villages with small, but highly cultivated ruqbas, with a very small proportion of barren waste land, would have to pay very little in comparison with those of the straggling barren rocky villages of the hilly portion of the district, which include in their ruqbas immense tracts

* *Vide* Appendix B.

of mountain land. I therefore resolved if possible to charge the latter at considerably lower rates than the former. The following plan enabled me to do so without causing dissatisfaction to those zemindars who were charged the highest rates. First. I assumed the whole expences of the measurement, including the preparation of a portion of the Settlement records, at the rates laid down, on the whole measured area as given in the General Statement. This amounted to Rs. 4,298-15-6. I then set aside as the share to be charged to the Government one moiety of this sum, or Rs. 2,149-7-9; of the other moiety, I collected from such zemindars as I thought could pay it without hardship, the full rates, resolving to give the rest such remissions as my funds would afford. For these remissions the funds were obtained as follows. The actual expences of the measurement, including the preparation of a portion of the records, to which I thought the funds at my disposal might legitimately and with advantage be applied, fell short of the total amount calculated at the full rates by Rs. 545-10-4, many of the ameens of inferior skill and working at the healthy period of the year, not having been paid the full rates. The difference between the calculated and actual expences, I formed into a fund to be applied to the reduction of the shares of those zemindars, on whom the full rates would have fallen heavy in such proportion as seemed to me to be required. This course, I am happy to say, gave entire satisfaction to all parties.

134. Under this explanation, I have the honor to solicit sanction to my charging in contingent bills under appropriate heads, the sum of Rs. 2,149-7-9, the Government moiety of the expences of measurement, and Rs. 510-6-3, miscellaneous expences of the Settlement, a detail of which is given in Statement No. 13.

Statements and enclosures of Report.

135. Finally, I have only to add a few words on the Statements and other documents which accompany this Report. Of the Statements directed to be submitted with every Settlement Report, the only Statements submitted by me are Nos. 1, 2 and 3, the particulars of which are fully explained in the headings of each. In regard to No. 1, or the "General Statement," I have only to remark that, from the peculiar mode of assessment necessarily adopted, this Statement is deprived of much of its value. The object of obtaining a comparison between the former and proposed jumas is almost entirely defeated by the columns of the former exhibit-

ing the gross jumas, while that for the latter shews the net juma. Again, while the general rule of assessment is the calculation of the juma on the cultivated area of 1840, the rates entered in column 19 are those on the cultivated area, according to the returns of the late measurement, which is often much in excess of the former which regulates the juma; the rates of assessment consequently appear to vary much more widely over the district, than they in reality do. I have already explained in paragraph 122, the reasons for my being unable to submit the Village Police Statement.

136. I have also omitted to prepare and submit in English, the village Statements required by paragraph 173 of the Directions to Settlement Officers, for reasons which I trust will be considered good and sufficient. The object of these Statements is to exhibit the different varieties of soil and other peculiarities, and in short to shew the grounds on which the assessment has been fixed. The revision of Settlement did not include the re-assessment of the district, but only a re-adjustment of such jumas as should require to be altered. The principle of assessment was fixed by the Board's orders of the 2nd June 1840, and, as a general rule, was not to be deviated from. The utility of this Statement therefore did not appear to me sufficient to justify the labor and time, which would have been spent in its preparation. Each Misl, however, contains the counterpart of each portion of this statement in the vernacular language. I trust that the omission of the English Statement will not be considered of any consequence.

137. The other ten Statements are fully explained by their headings, and have been referred to *passim* throughout this Report.

Specimen Misls forwarded.

138. Besides the Statements, I have forwarded under separate covers specimens of Settlement Misls of four villages, each village being an example of one of the different species of tenures found in this district, including one of a jungle grant. These, I have to request, may be returned with as little delay as possible, as they are constantly required for reference in the course of business. I also forward the warrants, English and vernacular, of the ten unconfirmed grants, enumerated in Statement No. 11, and request they may be returned duly signed for delivery to the grantees. The counterpart agreements, English and vernacular, as will be observed, have been duly signed and bound up in the Misl of

each grant. I have not thought it necessary to enter minutely into the particulars of each grant. With one exception, they are all of some standing, of small size, and are situated in healthy parts of the country, and will, I think, prosper.

Conclusion.

139. I have now dwelt minutely, and I fear it may be thought at unnecessary length, on every point of interest connected with the work on which I have now been engaged for three years. My anxiety to omit no subject of interest, and perhaps my disposition to attach undue importance to a work in which I have been so long engaged, will, I hope, be accepted as my excuse. The work has been one which has throughout occupied much of my time and attention, and although it has entailed much extra labor, and been the occasion of frequent care and annoyance caused by the misrepresentations of a few disappointed and disaffected persons, it has deeply engaged my interest, and afforded me much pleasure. I regret much the delay which has taken place in submitting this Report, which is attributable to the frequent and unavoidable interruptions caused by the current duties of my office. I am, however, in a great measure reconciled to this unavoidable delay by the opportunity which it has afforded me of observing and testing the working of the entirely new system which has been introduced, and for the details of which, I feel, I am myself principally responsible.

Delay unavoidable.

Results of revised Settlement highly satisfactory.

140. I am happy to say that the result has verified all my expectations. The revised Settlement has now been fully in operation for two years, and although the measures introduced have worked an entire revolution in the tenures of landed property throughout the whole district, thus involving the interests of thousands, the number of appeals against my decisions and acts in connection with the revision of the Settlement, has not exceeded 10 or 12 in all, while the number of dissentients does not amount to above half that number. My decisions, moreover, in each of these cases was upheld by you; I may safely assume, therefore, that both the measures themselves and the mode of carrying them into effect have given general, almost universal, satisfaction.

141. In the next place, the revenue, although slightly in excess of the revenue hitherto collected under the twenty years' Settlement, has, during the two first years of the revised

settlement, been collected with ease and regularity, and without the occurrence of a single real balance; a fact to which I trust I may be excused for pointing with complacency, as speaking favorably of the discretion used in the mode of re-distribution of the jumas of the district.

Its drawbacks few.

Although, however, I confess that I expect much general good to result from the changes which have been introduced, I am not so prejudiced as not to perceive that, with all its advantages, the principle of the revised settlement in its effect upon property, is chargeable with some disadvantages from which the old system was free. I allude, first, to the injury, perhaps ruin, which will infallibly befall some zemindars by the desertion of their assamees (now no longer *adscripti glebæ*, or held responsible beyond the current year for the rent of the ground they cultivate) in greatly increased numbers to the grants, or other new estates, on which they are offered much more favorable terms than those they now enjoy:—and, secondly, to the disputes and quarrels among the hissadars in minutely divided estates (impossible under the old system), which cannot fail to be injurious to the prosperity of such estates, and probably lead ultimately to their dismemberment, and finally to their passing into the hands of strangers.

Arrangement of records completed.

142. Another benefit resulting from the delay which has occurred in submitting this Report, is, that it enables me to announce the completion of the arrangement, according to the system prescribed by the Board, of the records of my office, both revenue and criminal, in which for the last year, I have been engaged, and which could not be entered upon, until the settlement records had been completed. I have much pleasure in bringing to your favorable notice the assistance I have derived in this work, as well as in introducing a more strict and regular system of conducting business, from the intelligence and diligence of the tehseeldar Moonshee Hingun Lall and my serishtadar, Moonshee Nund Kishore, and the subordinate Sudder and Mofussil amlah, whose training and experience in the offices in the plains, I have found most useful in introducing the improvements so much required.

Their inspection by Senior Member of Board.

143. I had an opportunity, some months ago, of showing the newly arranged records of my office to Mr. Turner, the senior Member of the Board, who was pleased to express his satisfaction at the result of this portion of my

labors. I hope that an early visit to the Doon will give you also an opportunity of inspecting my office, and that your opinion will be equally favorable.

144. In conclusion, I beg to express a sincere hope that the measures now reported will be found to have been carried out in strict conformity with the instructions communicated to me, and that the work executed, notwithstanding its doubtless many imperfections, may, both in its manner and matter, meet with the approval and sanction of Government.

Conclusion.

I have, &c.,

A. ROSS,
Superintendent.

DEHRA DOON:
Superintendent's Office,
The 12th June, 1850.

GENERAL STATEMENT,

IN ACRES, OF

ZILLAH DEHRA DOON.

No. 1.—REFERRED TO

GENERAL STATEMENT in ACRES

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Pergunnah.	Number.	Village.	Highest Jumma, 1st Settlement.	Highest Jumma, 2nd Settlement.	Highest Jumma, 3rd Settlement.	Average Jumma of past 5 years.	Proposed Jumma.	Area in Acres.
Western Doon.	1	Amwala, ..	0 0	0 0	10	23 3 16	35	209
	2	Udhoewala, ..	235 0	250 0	475	896 6 18	580	4962
	3	Indurpoor, ..	0 0	0 0	0	26 2 14	20	88
	4	Oodeewala, ..	200 0	205 0	350	834 12 4	576	2752
	5	Umbeewala, ..	0 0	10 0	75	46 7 12	68	158
	6	Bharoowala, ..	0 0	0 0	0	56 2 18	43	267
	7	Bhutber, ..	70 0	75 0	120	212 11 8	164	4578
	8	Bajawala, ..	35 0	40 0	45	210 0 10	98	360
	9	Bahadurpoor, ..	36 0	40 0	35	151 0 14	100	231
	10	Belindawala, ..	240 0	205 0	175	28 9 12	22	98
	11	Buddreepoor, ..	40 0	42 0	120	216 4 12	182	423
	12	Burkulla, ..	0 0	0 0	0	25 14 14	20	32
	13	Belaspoor Kandlee,	0 0	10 0	21	180 8 12	155	504
	14	Baumunwala, ..	65 0	66 0	140	157 4 16	127	276
	15	Bhugwuntpoor, ..	6 4	6 4	12	32 2 16	21	80
	16	Pithoowala, ..	27 0	28 0	28	67 0 10	68	198
	17	Peleon Nathowala,	52 0	60 0	60	100 1 12	93	311
	18	Perohitwala, ..	40 0	42 0	110	498 11 8	350	1007
	19	Chookhoowala, ..	150 0	155 0	150	317 4 10	229	600
	20	Khemadoz, ..	0 0	0 0	5	40 3 10	31	54
	21	Dwarah, ...	60 0	62 0	100	114 6 8	88	3931
	22	Doodlee, ...	115 0	95 0	50	78 10 8	60	203
	23	Dhorun, ...	290 0	295 0	500	1108 4 0	719	2608
	24	Dhurmpoor, ..	265 0	270 0	360	365 8 14	279	676
	25	Dounkwala, ..	60 0	62 0	80	19 10 12	15	60
	26	Dalunwala, ..	360 0	365 0	400	928 9 14	645	2440
	27	Ranghurwala, ..	65 0	68 0	95	202 14 2	153	375
	28	Raepoor, ...	200 0	205 0	172	467 4 4	367	4714
	29	Sheoleh Khoord,	60 0	62 0	85	95 10 2	74	158
	30	Sheoleh Kullan, ..	205 0	220 0	305	285 1 14	228	497
	31	Sherpoor, ..	16 0	17 0	12	118 13 18	53	726
	32	Shahpoor, ..	44 0	46 0	65	148 5 16	113	241
	33	Shahnuggur, ..	0 0	0 0	0	168 0 8	121	281
	34	Ujjubpoor Kullan,	250 0	255 0	260	565 11 18	405	1055
	35	Ujjubpoor Khoord,	70 0	75 0	75	235 15 4	188	445
	36	Kowlagir, ..	78 0	80 0	100	196 10 0	144	245
	37	Kearcoolee, ..	120 0	125 0	152	223 7 0	172	11024
	38	Koterah, ...	20 0	21 0	42	164 7 4	126	509
	39	Kurrunpoor, ..	310 0	335 0	460	1057 4 18	729	3890
	40	Kowlee, ...	240 0	245 0	290	587 3 2	447	848
	41	Kesoowala, ..	75 0	75 0	85	41 1 16	32	74

IN PARAGRAPHS 4 AND 135.

of ZILLAH DEHRA DOON.

10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17			18			19		
DEDUCT MINHAEE.		MALGOOZAREE.													
		Uncultivated.		*Cultivated.*											
Lakhiraj.	Barren.	Culturable waste.	Lately abandoned.	Irrigated.	Not irrigated.	Total cultivation.	Assessment on total area per acre.			Assessment on total malgoozaree land cultivated and culturable per acre.			Assessment on land under cultivation per acre.		
0	47	89	0	0	73	73	0	2	8	0	3	5¼	0	7	8
11	3802	208	131	18	792	810	0	1	10½	0	8	0⅓	0	11	4
0	44	16	2	0	26	26	0	3	7⅓	0	7	3¾	0	12	3¾
0	1574	194	117	239	628	867	0	3	4	0	7	10	0	10	7½
0	4	13	13	0	128	128	0	6	10½	0	7	0¾	0	8	6
0	120	53	6	0	88	88	0	2	6¼	0	4	8⅓	0	9	8
0	4180	92	35	47	224	271	0	0	4¾	0	7	6¼	0	9	8
0	79	2	21	117	141	258	0	2	4⅘	0	5	7	0	6	1¼
0	53	35	18	13	112	125	0	6	11	0	8	11¾	0	12	9½
0	3	36	1	58	0	58	0	3	7	0	3	8½	0	6	0¾
0	41	25	14	0	343	343	0	6	10½	0	7	7½	0	8	5¾
0	1	0	2	29	0	29	0	10	0	0	10	3¾	0	11	0½
0	110	182	56	61	95	156	0	4	11	0	6	3½	0	15	10¾
9	28	37	12	74	116	190	0	7	6	0	8	6	0	10	8¼
4	36	10	26	1	3	4	0	4	2½	0	4	4⅔	5	4	0
0	33	67	17	21	60	81	0	5	5½	0	6	7¾	0	13	5
0	76	133	1	88	13	101	0	4	9¼	0	6	4	0	14	8¾
0	274	125	91	0	517	517	0	5	6¾	0	7	7½	0	10	10
0	182	84	46	23	265	288	0	6	1¼	0	8	9	0	12	8½
0	3	0	2	49	0	49	0	9	2½	0	9	8½	0	10	1¾
0	3695	39	62	5	130	135	0	0	4¼	0	5	11½	0	15	5½
0	23	83	4	93	0	93	0	4	8¾	0	5	4	0	10	3¾
0	1199	337	46	45	981	1026	0	4	5	0	8	2	0	11	2¼
0	165	64	53	5	389	394	0	4	6¾	0	6	7¼	0	11	4
0	5	32	13	10	0	10	0	4	0	0	4	4½	1	8	0
0	1166	286	99	31	858	889	0	4	2¾	0	8	1¾	0	11	7¼
0	90	17	2	219	47	266	0	4	11	0	6	5¾	0	6	11¼
0	3851	242	26	0	595	595	0	1	3	0	6	9	0	9	10½
5	37	14	1	3	98	101	0	7	5	0	10	2¼	0	11	8⅓
6	66	83	3	339	0	339	0	7	4	0	8	7	0	10	9
0	270	238	13	94	111	205	0	1	2	0	1	10¼	0	4	1⅓
0	47	5	5	134	50	184	0	7	6	0	9	3¾	0	9	10
0	58	52	17	0	154	154	0	6	10½	0	8	8	0	12	6¾
0	358	98	10	134	455	589	0	6	1¾	0	9	3¼	0	11	0¼
0	56	66	16	137	170	307	0	6	9	0	7	8¼	0	9	9⅓
0	15	21	15	52	142	194	0	9	4¾	0	10	0¼	0	11	10½
0	10684	50	17	48	225	273	0	0	3	0	8	1	0	10	1
0	235	173	47	0	54	54	0	3	11½	0	11	7	2	5	2
30	2368	274	207	65	946	1011	0	3	0	0	7	7¾	0	11	6¼
0	141	8	28	558	113	671	0	8	5¼	0	10	1¾	0	10	8
0	16	11	0	47	0	47	0	6	11	0	8	10	0	10	10¾

No. 1.—Referred to

GENERAL STATEMENT in ACRES

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Pergunnah.	Number.	Village.	Highest Jumma, 1st Settlement.	Highest Jumma, 2nd Settlement.	Highest Jumma, 3rd Settlement.	Average Jumma of past 5 years.	Proposed Jumma.	Area in acres.
Western Doon.	42	Kidarpoor,	0	10	100	162 10 12	125	317
	43	Ghungoreh,	0	0	0	101 14 4	70	216
	44	Gopeewala,	300	305	400	1193 2 10	750	6712
	45	Loharwala,	0	7	10	84 14 10	65	102
	46	Meawala,	7	9	7	60 12 8	33	394
	47	Mohubbawala,	4	10	25	59 14 2	34	149
	48	Mannsingwala,	310	315	500	1105 9 2	703	5070
	49	Metteebheree,	65	66	95	115 6 6	163	331
	50	Majrah,	235	240	425	514 12 16	343	728
	51	Mothrowala,	207	212	225	302 3 8	254	1076
	52	Mohkumpoor Kullan,	80	100	75	20 8 18	16	51
	53	Mohkumpoor Khoord,	0	0	0	38 6 18	56	354
	54	Malawala,	0	0	0	19 10 12	15	21
	55	Malookawala,	5	30	80	122 7 2	110	257
	56	Nangul,	5	6	6	0 0 0	25	269
	57	Nowanuggur,	35	37	30	33 1 2	24	46
	58	Nuglah,	100	130	100	19 10 12	14	28
	59	Nuthwawala,	5	7	25	218 15 10	60	1390
	60	Narunjunpoor,	120	125	225	376 4 6	287	653
	61	Nagulhutnala,	5	6	25	25 14 14	20	61
	62	Nanlee,	0	0	0	0 0 0	2	26
	63	Nuthunpoor,	0	0	0	200 3 4	154	372
	64	Hurreepoor Kullan,	400	410	325	536 4 0	410	799
	65	Hurrawala,	7	7	7	29 7 18	24	347
	66	Hatheebur-kulla,	300	310	425	871 6 10	588	1266
	67	Hurbunswala,	25	26	50	210 14 16	162	292
	68	Hurbhujwala,	0	0	0	84 0 4	65	236
	69	Hurreepoor Khoord,	40	42	20	22 1 10	17	97
	70	Umbaree,	39	0	10	38 6 18	80	358
	71	Byragheewala,	7	8	6	49 2 10	26	206
	72	Beecarnah,	8	8	4	25 14 14	20	2093
	73	Bhanwala,	38	40	51	35 3 18	50	132
	74	Boolakeewala,	0	7	5	0 0 0	32	252
	75	Birsinee,	7	8	10	0 0 0	32	743
	76	Burrooah,	73	78	91	70 9 14	32	585
	77	Bidhowlee,	140	110	15	148 5 16	114	812
	78	Benahur,	121	125	140	223 7 0	150	8267
	79	Bhugwanpoor Joolon,	45	50	40	130 7 16	57	227
	80	Bunseewala,	0	0	0	0 0 0	17	145
	81	Pirtheepoor,	0	25	5	69 11 8	48	138
	82	Poundha,	6	6	6	70 9 14	83	1057

IN PARAGRAPHS 4 AND 135.

of ZILLAH DEHRA DOON.

10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17			18			19		
DEDUCT MINHAEE.		MALGOOZAREE.													
		Uncultivated.		*Cultivated.*											
Lakhiraj.	Barren.	Culturable waste.	Lately abandoned.	Irrigated.	Not irrigated.	Total cultivation.	Assessment on total area per acre.			Assessment on total malgoozaree land, cultivated and culturable per acre.			Assessment on land under cultivation per acre.		
0	112	34	0	39	132	171	0	6	3¾	0	9	9	0	11	3¾
0	114	0	16	1	85	86	0	5	2¼	0	10	11¾	0	13	0¼
0	5177	375	37	25	1098	1123	0	1	9½	0	7	9¾	0	10	8¼
0	7	6	8	0	81	81	0	10	2¼	0	10	11¼	0	12	10
0	204	114	19	0	57	57	0	1	4	0	3	9¾	0	9	3
0	33	3	0	0	113	113	0	3	7¾	0	4	8¼	0	4	9¾
0	3854	68	197	176	775	951	0	2	0¾	0	9	2¾	0	11	9¼
0	57	30	56	81	107	188	0	7	10½	0	9	6¼	0	13	10¼
0	116	113	21	100	378	478	0	7	6¼	0	8	11½	0	11	5¾
0	503	152	49	67	305	372	0	3	9½	0	7	1	0	10	11
0	6	21	0	0	24	24	0	5	0¼	0	5	8¼	0	10	8
0	194	72	1	0	87	87	0	2	6	0	5	7	0	10	3½
0	2	0	5	14	0	14	0	11	5	0	12	7½	1	1	1¾
0	23	12	0	222	0	222	0	6	10	0	7	6	0	7	11
0	4	209	10	46	0	46	0	1	6	0	1	6	0	8	8¼
0	5	6	0	3	32	35	0	8	4¼	0	9	4½	0	10	11½
0	7	0	0	21	0	21	0	8	0	0	10	8	0	10	8
0	675	29	103	0	583	583	0	0	8½	0	1	4	0	1	7¾
31	133	45	8	352	84	436	0	7	0¼	0	9	4¾	0	10	6½
0	36	0	4	0	21	21	0	5	3	0	12	9½	0	15	3
0	16	2	2	0	6	6	0	1	2¾	0	3	2½	0	5	4
0	52	15	54	0	251	251	0	6	7½	0	7	7½	0	9	9¾
0	180	7	45	465	102	567	0	8	2½	0	10	7	0	11	6¾
0	153	118	7	0	69	69	0	1	1	0	1	11¾	0	5	6¾
0	226	38	87	123	792	915	0	7	5¼	0	9	0½	0	10	3½
0	37	28	22	205	0	205	0	8	10½	0	10	2	0	12	7¾
0	29	97	72	27	11	38	0	4	4¾	0	5	0½	1	11	4¼
0	11	29	1	0	56	56	0	2	9½	0	3	2	0	4	10¼
0	81	152	92	0	33	33	0	3	6¾	0	4	7½	2	6	9½
0	17	128	46	5	10	15	0	2	0¼	0	2	2	1	11	8¾
0	2014	3	30	0	46	46	0	0	1¾	0	4	0½	0	6	11½
0	32	44	22	0	34	34	0	6	0¾	0	8	0	1	7	6¼
0	11	188	0	0	53	53	0	2	0¼	0	2	1½	0	9	8
0	211	467	0	0	65	65	0	0	8½	0	0	11½	0	7	1½
0	295	161	71	0	58	58	0	0	10½	0	1	9¾	0	8	10
0	559	35	3	0	215	215	0	2	3	0	7	2½	0	8	5¾
0	8025	47	0	0	195	195	0	0	3¾	0	9	11	0	12	3¾
0	58	102	4	47	16	63	0	4	0¼	0	5	4¾	0	1	4¼
0	19	43	3	0	80	80	0	1	10½	0	2	2	0	3	4¾
0	8	33	4	0	94	94	0	5	6¾	0	5	11	0	8	2
0	416	342	5	0	293	293	0	1	3¾	0	2	1	0	4	2

No. 1.—Referred to

GENERAL STATEMENT in ACRES

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Pergunnah.	Number.	Village.	Highest Jumma, 1st Settlement.	Highest Jumma, 2nd Settlement.	Highest Jumma, 3rd Settlement.	Average Jumma of past 5 years.	Proposed Jumma.	Area in acres.
	83	Puttee Misras,	22	23	15 0	46 7 14	36	5952
	84	Phoolsunnee,	10	75	41 7	42 0 2	38	261
	85	Purteedpoor,	71	78	0 0	0 0 0	131	382
	86	Toolwaree,	45	45	37 0	114 6 8	89	531
	87	Toullee,	0	0	0 0	0 0 0	26	842
	88	Timlee,	12	14	350 0	1249 7 8	36	208
	89	Tippurpoor,	7	9	Including Timlee,		83	445
	90	Jussoowala,	30	35	41 0	263 10 10	211	891
	91	Jatonwalah,	28	28	21 0	38 6 18	38	333
	92	Jhajrah,	0	7	13 0	113 9 14	101	782
	93	Juggutpoor,	29	30	25 0	32 2 16	25	225
	94	Chandpoor Kullan,	0	20	30 0	22 5 15	30	161
	95	Chandpoor Khoord,	0	0	0 0	0 0 0	29	192
	96	Khooshalpoor,	110	115	101 0	85 12 16	87	601
	97	Dhurmawala,	61	55	Including Timlee,		102	325
	98	Doodhae,	22	22	15 0	18 12 6	26	774
	99	Dhuckranee,	10	55	110 0	476 5 18	396	2094
	100	Dhakee,	0	75	40 0	42 14 8	43	99
	101	Dometh,	0	6	0 0	28 9 12	22	1134
	102	Dhartawala,	0	10	0 0	22 5 10	17	137
	103	Dhoolanee,	0	0	0 0	0 0 0	24	1586
	104	Rooddurpoor,	47	48	28 0	194 13 8	150	1317
	105	Ramsahaywala,	Including Bhugwanpoor,			17 14 0	14	26
	106	Sibhawala,	248	262	Including Timlee,		192	1116
	107	Sahunspoor,	120	125	60 0	133 4 6	224	1062
	108	Soornah,	50	55	51 0	107 4 0	82	2280
	109	Soodhonwala,	0	7	7 0	62 9 0	18	363
	110	Shahpoor,	91	60	Including Timlee,		120	715
	111	Andoowala,	5	12	Ditto	Ditto,	54	406
	112	Futtehpoor,	0	8	Ditto	Ditto,	250	915
	113	Kullianpoor,	20	20	20 0	29 7 18	20	335
	114	Kaswalee, Kotree,	0	7	15 0	60 12 8	47	2170
	115	Kuttaputhur,	47	42	7 0	38 6 18	30	218
	116	Kandhowlee,	65	67	81 0	81 5 6	89	3797
	117	Kotrah,	35	36	0 0	0 0 0	38	434
	118	Koonjab,	30	31	25 0	188 9 6	173	651
	119	Kidarawala,	0	25	0 0	336 0 16	273	1380
	120	Kotee,	0	0	0 0	0 0 0	10	800
	121	Kherah,	0	0	0 0	0 0 0	44	407
	122	Koolahul,	8	8	5 0	0 0 0	30	668
	123	Kharakhet,	0	0	0 0	25 0 8	11	313

Western Doon.

IN PARAGRAPHS 4 AND 135.

of ZILLAH DEHRA DOON.

10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
DEDUCT MINAHEE.		MALGOOZAREE.							
		Uncultivated.		*Cultivated.*					
Lakhiraj.	Barren.	Culturable waste.	Lately abandoned.	Irrigated.	Not irrigated.	Total cultivation.	Assessment on total area per acre.	Assessment on total malgoozaree land cultivated and culturable per acre.	Assessment on land under cultivation per acre.
0	5794	51	19	0	88	88	0 0 1	0 3 7¾	0 6 6½
0	143	40	45	0	33	33	0 2 4	0 5 2	1 2 5
0	59	89	38	35	161	196	0 5 5¾	0 6 6	0 10 8½
0	249	151	22	25	84	109	0 2 8	0 5 0½	0 13 0¾
0	643	64	2	0	133	133	0 0 6	0 2 1	0 3 1½
0	36	103	11	0	58	58	0 2 9	0 3 4	0 9 11
0	24	332	10	37	42	79	0 2 11¾	0 3 2	1 0 0½
0	142	411	91	0	247	247	0 3 9½	0 4 6	0 13 8
0	126	129	14	0	64	64	0 1 10	0 2 11¼	0 9 6
0	199	146	3	0	434	434	0 2 0¾	0 2 4½	0 3 9
0	129	26	17	0	53	53	0 1 9½	0 4 3½	0 7 6½
0	18	110	1	10	22	32	0 2 11¾	0 3 4½	0 15 0
0	21	46	10	0	115	115	0 2 5	0 2 8½	0 4 2½
0	106	323	22	84	66	150	0 2 3¾	0 2 9¾	0 9 3½
0	35	147	28	51	64	115	0 5 0½	0 7 7½	0 14 2½
0	576	36	2	0	160	160	0 0 6½	0 0 2¼	0 2 6¼
0	695	848	204	97	250	347	0 3 0¼	0 4 6¼	1 2 3
0	11	6	9	7	66	73	0 6 11½	0 7 9¾	0 9 5
0	351	732	11	0	40	40	0 0 3¾	0 0 5¼	0 8 9½
0	35	63	2	3	34	37	0 1 11¾	0 2 8	0 7 4¾
0	1407	1	97	0	81	81	0 0 3	0 2 1½	0 4 8
0	588	392	195	6	136	142	0 1 9¾	0 3 3½	1 1 0
0	2	1	3	9	11	20	0 8 7½	0 9 4	0 11 2½
0	94	771	20	48	183	231	0 2 9	0 3 0	0 13 3½
0	344	321	9	152	236	388	0 3 4½	0 4 10	0 10 10½
0	1395	732	55	65	33	98	0 0 7¾	0 1 5¾	0 13 4¼
0	111	131	13	0	108	108	0 0 9½	0 1 1¾	0 2 2
0	39	493	31	70	82	152	0 2 8¼	0 2 10	0 12 7½
0	3	318	1	0	84	84	0 2 10	0 2 10¾	0 10 3½
0	100	460	21	69	265	334	0 4 4½	0 4 11¾	0 11 11¾
0	43	292	0	0	0	0	0 0 11½	0 1 1	0 0 0
0	1603	275	28	0	264	264	0 0 4	0 1 4	0 2 10
0	74	120	0	24	0	24	0 2 2½	0 3 4	1 1 0
0	1549	2028	7	0	213	213	0 0 4½	0 6 5½	0 6 8¼
0	144	171	0	0	119	119	0 1 4	0 2 9	0 4 10
0	267	173	75	62	74	136	0 4 2¼	0 7 1¾	1 4 4½
0	241	852	31	0	256	256	0 3 2½	0 3 10¾	1 1 4½
0	724	2	23	0	51	51	0 0 2½	0 2 1¼	0 3 1½
0	73	163	19	0	152	152	0 1 8¾	0 2 1¾	0 4 7¼
0	441	182	2	0	43	43	0 0 8½	0 2 1¾	0 2 10
0	154	159	0	0	0	0	0 0 6¾	0 1 1¼	0 0 0

No. 1.—Referred to

GENERAL STATEMENT in ACRES

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Pergunnah.	Number.	Village.	1st Highest Jumma, Settlement.	2nd Highest Jumma, Settlement.	3rd Highest Jumma, Settlement.	Average Jumma of past 5 years.	Proposed Jumma.	Area in acres.
Western Doon.	124	Gungbhewa,	0	7	70 0	50 15 2	32	95
	125	Ghummolon,	140	70	70 0	73 4 12	46	252
	126	Lukhunwala,	50	52	52 0	134 2 12	196	596
	127	Lutchmeepoor,	5	5	8 0	79 8 14	29	387
	128	Langah,	64	50	7 0	20 8 18	49	906
	129	Medneepoor and Budreepoor,	70	82	Including Timlee,		149	530
	130	Mehrah ka Gaon,	0	0	0 0	0 0 0	11	99
	134	Majree,	35	38	38 0	68 13 2	80	364
	132	Meonwala,	0	0	0 0	0 0 0	48	382
	133	Narh,	5	6	Including Birsinee,		16	131
	134	Horawala,	90	95	135 0	225 3 12	173	1668
	135	Grant (Attic Farm),	0	0	0 0	0 0 0	184	6072
	136	Grant (Arcadia)	0	0	0 0	0 0 0	270	5499
	137	Grant (Koonja and Karghee),	0	0	0 0	0 0 0	48	1622
	138	Grant (Hopetown 3),	0	0	0 0	0 0 0	603	18843
	139	Jewungurh,	0	0	0 0	0 0 0	6	960
	140	Chuktoonwala,	0	0	0 0	0 0 0	42	608
	141	Chunderbunnee,	0	0	0 0	0 0 0	6	940
	142	Dhoolcote,	0	0	0 0	0 0 0	4	1000
	143	Ladpoor,	0	0	0 0	0 0 0	3	543
	144	Mirzapoor,	0	0	0 0	0 0 0	4	599
	145	Nowadah,	0	0	0 0	0 0 0	5	2073
	146	Gungbhewah,	0	0	0 0	0 0 0	0	2292
	147	Budreewala,	0	0	0 0	0 0 0	0	171
		TOTAL,	5929	6291	7012 7	15857 6 0	18932	172793
Eastern Doon.	1	Bhogpoor,	211	211	202 0	236 13 10	158	1335
	2	Bhulsooah,	0	0	0 0	12 8 4	10	64
	3	Palee,	12	12	12 0	10 11 12	8	187
	4	Phagsee,	0	0	0 0	0 0 0	7	102
	5	Thanonhutnala,	3	3	13 0	3 9 4	3	8
	6	Dooewala,	100	102	92 0	40 3 10	20	97
	7	Raneepokhree,	60	60	32 0	126 14 12	98	374
	8	Sungteawala Kullan,	With Kaleematee, 174	175	350 0	103 10 16	55	142
	9	Ditto Khoord,	580	725	340 0	66 2 4	44	100
	10	Sarunghurwala,	19	21	26 0	34 13 12	18	52
	11	Kanurwala,	135	140	141 0	195 11 14	96	329

IN PARAGRAPHS 4 AND 135.

of ZILLAH DEHRA DOON.

10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17			18			19		
DEDUCT MINAHEE.		MALGOOZAREE.													
		Uncultivated.		*Cultivated.*											
Lakhiraj.	Barren.	Culturable waste.	Lately abandoned.	Irrigated.	Not irrigated.	Total cultivation.	Assessment on total Area per acre.			Assessment on total malgoozaree land cultivated and culturable per acre.			Assessment on land under cultivation per acre.		
0	25	41	2	0	27	27	0	5	4½	0	7	3¾	1	1	2½
0	42	89	9	37	75	112	0	2	11	0	3	6	0	6	6¾
0	49	277	30	69	171	240	0	5	3	0	5	8	0	13	0
0	95	55	44	35	158	193	0	1	2½	0	1	7	0	2	4¼
0	417	103	337	0	49	49	0	0	10¼	0	1	7¾	1	0	0
0	58	276	88	57	51	108	0	4	6	0	5	0½	1	6	1
0	15	14	2	0	68	68	0	1	9¼	0	2	1	0	2	7
0	129	122	8	19	86	105	0	3	6	0	5	5¾	0	12	2¼
0	14	281	0	0	87	87	0	2	0	0	2	1	0	8	10
0	7	90	0	0	34	34	0	1	11¼	0	2	0¼	0	11	2
0	634	732	23	87	192	279	0	1	8	0	2	8	0	9	11
0	2213	3523	5	0	331	331	0	0	8	0	1	0½	0	12	0½
0	1727	2932	192	0	648	648	0	0	9½	0	1	1¾	0	6	8
0	481	345	448	162	186	348	0	0	5½	0	0	8	0	2	2½
0	6168	10785	35	0	1825	1825	0	0	6¼	0	0	9¼	0	5	3½
0	131	663	0	0	166	166	0	0	1¼	0	0	1¼	0	0	7
0	16	355	111	0	126	126	0	1	1¼	0	1	1½	0	5	0½
0	415	245	116	0	64	64	0	0	1¼	0	0	2⅓	0	1	6
0	381	285	334	0	0	0	0	0	0¾	0	0	1¼	0	0	0
0	127	354	2	0	60	60	0	0	1	0	0	1½	0	0	9½
0	74	347	0	0	178	178	0	0	1¼	0	0	1¼	0	0	4
0	1394	551	4	0	124	124	0	0	0½	0	0	1¼	0	0	1¾
0	631	1661	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
0	0	171	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
93	92978	43249	5380	6196	24894	31090	0	1	9	0	3	9½	0	9	8 2/16
0	900	176	51	140	68	208	0	1	10¾	0	5	9¾	0	12	1¾
0	21	23	0	0	20	20	0	2	6	0	3	8½	0	8	0
0	162	3	9	0	13	13	0	0	8¼	0	5	1½	0	9	10¼
0	23	55	12	0	12	12	0	1	1¼	0	1	5	0	9	4
0	1	0	0	0	7	7	0	6	0	0	6	10¼	0	6	10¼
0	4	63	16	14	0	14	0	3	3½	0	3	5¼	1	6	9¼
0	3	274	4	0	93	93	0	4	2¼	0	4	2¾	1	0	10¼
0	48	2	12	80	0	80	0	6	2½	0	9	4½	0	11	0
0	4	32	1	63	0	63	0	7	0½	0	7	4	0	11	2
0	17	2	2	19	12	31	0	5	6½	0	8	2¾	0	9	3½
0	20	188	37	78	6	84	0	4	8	0	4	11¾	1	2	3¾

No. 1.—Referred to

GENERAL STATEMENT in ACRES

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Pergunnah.	Number.	Village.	Highest Jumma, 1st Settlement.	Highest Jumma, 2nd Settlement.	Highest Jumma, 3rd Settlement.	Average Jumma of past 5 years.	Proposed Jumma.	Area in acres.
Eastern Doon.	12	Kaleematee,.. ..	34 0	39 0	Including Sungtea-wala Kullan.	48 4 4	32	134
	13	Koodal, ...	6 0	6 0	9 0	16 1 8	6	57
	14	Kaloowala, ...	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0 0	15	161
	15	Guddool, ...	170 0	175 0	218 0	309 3 16	238	4897
	16	Malkote, ...	158 8	169 0	234 0	384 5 0	247	21680
	17	Hansoowala, ..	116 0	120 0	135 0	45 9 6	30	153
	18	Bhoputwala Kullan,	Including Bhoput-wala Khoord,			25 14 12	40	381
	19	BhoputwalaKhoord,	55 0	56 0	50 0	4 7 10	3	36
	20	Bhuttohwala, ..	40 0	42 0	0 0	91 2 12	20	74
	21	Dhalwala, ...	0 0	0 0	0 0	11 9 18	9	76
	22	Raewala, ...	140 0	145 0	155 0	186 1 16	142	1180
	23	Seedhurwala, ..	57 0	20 0	12 0	33 15 8	20	51
	24	Shampoor, ..	350 0	360 0	300 0	177 13 4	103	563
	25	Kheree Kullan, ..	170 0	140 0	80 0	71 8 0	35	112
	26	Gurhee,..	60 0	65 0	75 0	105 7 8	81	313
	27	Negheewala, ..	16 0	20 0	21 0	59 14 2	33	252
	28	Hurreepoor Kullan,	25 0	20 0	12 0	76 13 16	94	712
	29	Ditto Khoord, ..	Including Hurree-poor Kullan,			2 10 18	5	64
	30	Bhaneawala.. ..	125 0	125 0	125 0	110 13 4	85	367
	31	Jewunwala, ...	16 0	16 0	16 0	0 0 0	8	40
	32	Kucknawah,.. ..	19 0	19 0	26 0	73 4 12	12	95
	33	Missurwala Kullan,	125 0	126 0	90 0	54 8 6	32	181
	34	Ditto Khoord, ..	24 0	25 0	0 0	21 7 4	11	71
	35	Majree, ...	42 0	43 0	57 0	25 0 8	15	52
	36	Grant Raneepokhre.	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0 0	5	930
		Total,	3042 8	3180 0	2823 0	2767 4 2	1838	35422
		Grand Total,	8971 8	9471 0	9835 7	18624 10 2	20770	208215

IN PARAGRAPHS 4 AND 135.

of ZILLAH DEHRA DOON.

10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17			18			19		
DEDUCT MINAHEE.		MALGOOZAREE.													
		Uncultivated.		*Cultivated.*											
Lakhiraj.	Barren.	Culturable waste.	Lately abandoned.	Irrigated.	Not irrigated.	Total cultivation.	Assessment on total area per acre.			Assessment on total malgoozaree land cultivated and culturable per acre.			Assessment on land under cultivation per acre.		
0	53	17	5	0	59	59	0	4	2	0	6	3¾	0	8	8
0	0	37	20	0	0	0	0	1	8¼	0	1	8¼	0	0	0
0	1	110	21	0	29	29	0	1	6	0	1	6	0	8	3¼
0	4672	391	40	43	351	394	0	0	9½	0	4	7½	0	9	8
0	20240	895	46	15	484	499	0	0	2¼	0	2	9¼	0	7	11¼
0	12	70	23	48	0	48	0	3	1½	0	3	4¾	0	10	0
0	52	269	40	8	12	20	0	1	8	0	1	11½	2	0	0
0	6	13	4	13	0	13	0	1	4	0	1	7	0	3	8½
0	3	43	0	28	0	28	0	4	3¾	0	4	6	0	11	5
0	28	33	0	0	15	15	0	1	10¾	0	3	0	0	9	7¼
0	444	511	49	88	88	176	0	1	11½	0	3	1	0	12	11
0	2	10	0	38	1	39	0	6	3¼	0	6	6¼	0	8	2½
0	109	302	28	124	0	124	0	2	11	0	3	7½	0	13	3¼
0	33	19	1	59	0	59	0	5	0	0	7	1	0	9	6
0	44	141	1	127	0	127	0	4	1	0	4	9¾	0	10	2½
0	29	173	0	50	0	50	0	2	1	0	2	4	0	10	6¾
0	212	414	15	71	0	71	0	2	1¼	0	3	0	1	5	2
0	8	48	5	3	0	3	0	1	3	0	1	5¼	1	10	8
0	58	133	7	142	27	169	0	3	8¼	0	4	4¾	0	8	0½
0	2	21	0	0	17	17	0	3	2¼	0	3	2¼	0	7	6½
0	72	6	4	6	7	13	0	2	¼	0	8	4	0	14	9½
0	17	117	0	33	14	47	0	2	10	0	3	1½	0	10	10¾
0	33	22	0	15	1	16	0	2	6½	0	4	7½	0	12	0
0	13	16	0	17	6	23	0	4	7½	0	6	1¾	0	10	5¼
0	171	279	0	0	480	480	0	0	1	0	0	1¼	0	0	2
0	26917	4908	453	1322	1822	3144	0	0	9¾	0	6	6	0	9	3¾
93	119895	48157	5833	7518	26716	34234	0	1	7 1/10	0	3	9 2/10	0	9	8 4/16

A. ROSS,
Superintendent.

No. 2.—Referred to

ANNUAL JUMMA STATEMENT

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Pergunnah.	Number.	Village.	Jumma of 1847-48, the year previous to the revision of Settlement.	1848-49.	1849-50.	1850-51.
Western Doon.	1	Amwala,	23 3 16	35	35	35
	2	Udhoeewala,	896 6 18	580	580	580
	3	Indurpoor,	26 2 14	20	20	20
	4	Oodeewala,	834 12 4	576	576	576
	5	Umbeewala,	46 7 12	68	68	68
	6	Bharoowala,	56 2 18	43	43	43
	7	Bhutber,	212 11 8	164	164	164
	8	Bajawala,	210 0 10	98	98	98
	9	Bahadurpoor,	151 0 14	100	100	100
	10	Belindawala,	28 9 12	22	22	22
	11	Buddreepoor,	216 4 12	182	182	182
	12	Burkulla,	25 14 14	20	20	20
	13	Belasspoor Khandlee,	180 8 12	155	155	155
	14	Bamunwala,	157 4 16	127	127	127
	15	Bhugwuntpoor,	32 2 16	21	21	21
	16	Pithoowala,	67 0 10	68	68	68
	17	Peleon Nathoowala,	100 1 12	93	93	93
	18	Purohitwala,	498 11 8	350	350	350
	19	Chookhoowala,	317 4 10	229	229	229
	20	Khemadoz,	40 3 10	31	31	31
	21	Dwarah,	114 6 8	88	88	38
	22	Doodlee,	78 10 8	60	60	60
	23	Dhorun,	1108 4 0	719	719	719
	24	Dhurumpoor,	365 8 14	279	279	279
	25	Dounkwala,	19 10 12	15	15	15
	26	Dalunwala,	928 9 14	645	645	645
	27	Rangurwala,	202 14 2	153	153	153
	28	Raepoor,	477 4 4	367	367	367
	29	Showlal Khoord,	95 10 2	74	74	74
	30	Ditto Kullan,	285 1 14	228	228	228
	31	Shairpoor,	118 13 8	53	53	53
	32	Sherpoor,	148 5 16	113	113	113
	33	Shahnuggur,	168 0 8	121	121	121
	34	Ujubpoor Kullan,	565 11 18	405	405	405
	35	Ditto Khoord,	235 15 4	188	188	188
	36	Kowlageer,	196 10 0	144	144	144
	37	Keearcoolee,	223 7 0	172	172	172
	38	Koterah,	164 7 4	126	126	126
	39	Kurrunpoor,	1057 4 18	729	729	729
	40	Koowlee,	587 3 2	447	447	447
	41	Keshowala,	41 1 16	32	32	32
	42	Kedarpoor,	162 10 12	125	125	125

IN PARAGRAPHS 4, 5 AND 135.

of ZILLAH DEHRA DOON.

8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17

PROPOSED JUMMA.

1851-52.	1852-53.	1853-54.	1854-55.	1855-56.	1856-57.	1857-58.	1858-59.	1859-60.	1860-61.
35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35
580	580	580	580	580	580	580	580	580	580
20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20
576	576	576	576	576	576	576	576	576	576
68	68	68	68	68	68	68	68	68	68
43	43	43	43	43	43	43	43	43	43
164	164	164	164	164	164	164	164	164	164
98	98	98	98	98	98	98	98	98	98
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22
182	182	182	182	182	182	182	182	182	182
20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20
155	155	155	155	155	155	155	155	155	155
127	127	127	127	127	127	127	127	127	127
21	21	21	21	21	21	21	21	24	21
68	68	68	68	68	68	68	68	68	68
93	93	93	93	93	93	93	93	93	93
350	350	350	350	350	350	350	350	350	350
229	229	229	229	229	229	229	229	229	229
31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31
88	88	88	88	88	88	88	88	88	88
60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
719	719	719	719	719	719	719	719	719	719
279	279	279	279	279	279	279	279	279	279
15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
645	645	645	645	645	645	645	645	645	645
153	153	153	153	153	155	153	153	153	153
367	367	367	367	367	367	367	367	367	367
74	74	74	74	74	74	74	74	74	74
228	228	228	228	228	228	228	228	228	228
53	53	53	53	53	53	53	53	53	53
113	113	113	113	113	113	113	113	113	113
121	121	121	121	221	121	121	121	121	121
405	405	405	405	405	405	405	405	405	405
188	188	188	188	188	188	188	188	188	188
144	144	144	444	144	144	144	144	144	144
172	172	172	172	172	172	172	172	172	172
126	126	126	126	126	126	126	126	126	126
729	729	729	729	729	729	729	729	729	729
447	447	447	447	447	447	447	447	447	447
32	32	32	32	32	32	32	32	32	32
125	125	125	125	125	125	125	125	125	125

No. 2.—Referred to

ANNUAL JUMMA STATEMENT

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Pergunnah.	Number.	Village.	Jumma of 1847-48, the year previous to the revision of Settlement.	1848-49.	1849-50.	1850-51.
Western Doon.	43	Ghungorah,	101 14 4	70	70	70
	44	Gopeewala,	1193 2 10	750	750	750
	45	Loharwala,	84 14 10	65	65	65
	46	Meeawala,	60 12 8	33	33	33
	47	Mohibbawala,	59 14 2	34	34	34
	48	Mansingwala,	1105 9 2	702	702	702
	49	Metheebheree,	215 6 6	163	163	163
	50	Majrah,	514 12 16	343	343	343
	51	Motbrowala,	302 3 8	254	254	254
	52	Mohkumpoor Kullan,	20 8 18	16	16	16
	53	Ditto Khoord,	38 6 18	56	56	56
	54	Malehwala,	19 10 12	15	15	15
	55	Malookawala,	122 7 2	110	110	110
	56	Nagul,	0 0 0	25	25	25
	57	Nowanuggur,	33 1 2	24	24	25
	58	Nuglah,	19 10 2	14	14	14
	59	Nuthwawala,	218 15 10	60	60	64
	60	Nerunjunpoor,	376 4 6	287	287	280
	61	Nagulhutnala,	25 14 14	20	20	27
	62	Nalee,	0 0 0	2	2	0
	63	Nuthunpoor,	200 3 4	154	154	152
	64	Hurreepoor Kullan,	536 4 0	410	410	414
	65	Hurrahwala,	29 7 18	24	24	20
	66	Hateebur-kulla,	871 6 10	588	588	588
	67	Hurbunswala,	210 14 6	162	162	164
	68	Hurbhujwala,	84 0 4	65	65	68
	69	Hurreepoor Khoord,	22 1 10	17	17	12
	70	Umbarree,	38 6 18	80	80	85
	71	Byraghewala,	49 2 10	26	26	27
	72	Bicarnah,	25 14 14	20	20	20
	73	Bhanewala,	65 3 18	50	50	56
	74	Bolakewala,	0 0 0	32	32	30
	75	Birsunnee,	0 0 0	32	32	30
	76	Burrooah,	70 9 14	32	32	32
	77	Bidhowlee,	148 5 16	114	114	112
	78	Benahur,	223 7 0	150	150	152
	79	Bhugwanpoor Joolon,	130 7 16	57	57	54
	80	Bunseewala,	0 0 0	17	17	10
	81	Pirtheepoor,	69 11 8	48	48	47
	82	Poundha,	70 9 14	83	83	87
	83	Puttee Misras,	46 7 14	36	36	38
	84	Phoolsunnee,	42 0 2	38	38	33

IN PARAGRAPHS 4, 5 AND 135.

ZILLAH DEHRA DOON.

8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17

PROPOSED JUMMA.

1851-52.	1852-53.	1853-54.	1854-55.	1855-56.	1856-57.	1857-58.	1858-59.	1859-60.	1860-61.
70	70	70	70	70	70	70	70	70	70
750	750	750	750	750	750	750	750	750	750
65	65	65	65	65	65	65	65	65	65
33	33	33	33	33	33	33	33	33	33
34	34	34	34	34	34	34	34	34	34
702	702	702	702	702	702	702	702	702	702
163	163	163	163	163	163	163	163	163	163
343	343	343	343	343	343	343	343	343	343
254	254	254	254	254	254	254	254	254	254
16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16
56	56	56	56	56	56	56	56	56	56
15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
110	110	110	110	110	110	110	110	110	110
25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25
24	24	24	24	24	24	24	24	24	24
14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14
60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
287	287	287	287	287	287	287	287	287	287
20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20
2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
154	154	154	154	154	154	154	154	154	154
410	410	410	410	410	410	410	410	410	410
24	24	24	24	24	24	24	24	24	24
588	588	588	588	588	588	588	588	588	588
162	162	162	162	162	162	162	162	162	162
65	65	65	65	65	65	65	65	65	65
17	17	17	17	17	17	17	17	17	17
80	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	80
26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26
20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20
50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50
32	32	32	32	32	32	32	32	32	32
32	32	32	32	32	32	32	32	32	32
32	32	32	32	32	32	32	32	32	32
114	114	114	114	114	114	114	114	114	114
150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150
57	57	57	57	57	57	57	57	57	57
17	17	17	17	17	17	17	17	17	17
48	48	48	48	48	48	48	48	48	48
83	83	83	83	83	83	83	83	83	83
36	36	36	36	36	36	36	36	36	36
38	38	38	38	38	38	38	38	38	38

No. 2.—Referred to

ANNUAL JUMMA STATEMENT

Pergunnah.	2 Number.	3 Village.	4 Jumma of 1847-48, the year previous to the revision of Settlement.	5 1848-49.	6 1849-50.	7 1850-51.
Western Doon.	85	Purteetpoor,	0 0 0	131	131	131
	86	Toolwaree,	114 6 8	89	89	89
	87	Toullee,	0 0 0	26	26	26
	88	Timlee,	1249 7 8	36	36	36
	89	Tippurpoor,	0 0 0	83	83	83
	90	Jussoowala,	263 10 10	211	211	211
	91	Jatonwala,	38 6 18	38	38	38
	92	Jhajrah,	213 9 14	101	101	101
	93	Juggutpoor,	32 2 16	25	25	25
	94	Chandpoor Kullan,	22 5 10	30	30	30
	95	Ditto Khoord,	0 0 0	29	29	29
	96	Khooshalpoor,	85 12 16	87	87	87
	97	Dhurmawala,	0 0 0	102	102	102
	98	Doodhaee,	18 12 6	26	26	26
	99	Dhukranee,	476 5 18	396	396	396
	100	Dhakee,	42 14 8	43	43	43
	101	Dometh,	28 9 12	22	22	22
	102	Dhurtawala,	22 5 10	17	17	17
	103	Dhoolanee,	0 0 0	24	24	24
	104	Roodurpoor,	194 13 8	150	150	150
	105	Ramsahaywala,	17 14 0	14	14	14
	106	Sibbhawala,	0 0 0	192	192	192
	107	Sehunspoor,	233 4 6	224	224	224
	108	Soornah,	107 4 0	82	82	82
	109	Sooddhonwala,	62 9 0	18	18	18
	110	Shahpoor,	0 0 0	120	120	120
	111	Andoowalah,	0 0 0	54	54	54
	112	Futtehpoor,	0 0 0	250	250	250
	113	Kulliapoor,	29 7 18	20	20	20
	114	Kaswalee Kotree,	60 12 8	47	47	47
	115	Kuttaputur,	38 6 18	30	30	30
	116	Kundhowlee,	81 5 6	89	89	89
	117	Kotrah,	0 0 0	38	38	38
	118	Koonjah,	188 9 6	173	173	173
	119	Kedarawala,	336 0 16	273	273	273
	120	Kotee,	0 0 0	10	10	10
	121	Kherah,	0 0 0	44	44	44
	122	Koolahul,	0 0 0	30	30	30
	123	Kharakhet,	25 0 8	11	11	11
	124	Gunghewa,	50 15 2	32	32	32
	125	Ghummolou,	73 4 12	46	46	46
	126	Lukhunwala,	234 2 12	196	196	196

IN PARAGRAPHS 4, 5 AND 135.

of ZILLAH DEHRA DOON.

8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17

PROPOSED JUMMA.

1851-52.	1852-53.	1853-54.	1854-55.	1855-56.	1856-57.	1857-58.	1858-59.	1859-60.	1860-61.
131	131	131	131	131	131	131	131	131	131
89	89	89	89	89	89	89	89	89	89
26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26
36	36	36	36	36	36	36	36	36	36
83	83	83	83	83	83	83	83	83	83
211	211	211	211	211	211	211	211	211	211
38	38	38	38	38	38	38	38	38	38
101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101
25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25
30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30
29	29	29	29	29	29	29	29	29	29
87	87	87	87	87	87	87	87	87	87
102	102	102	102	102	102	102	102	102	102
26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26
396	396	396	396	396	396	396	396	396	396
43	43	43	43	43	43	43	43	43	43
22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22
17	17	17	17	17	17	17	17	17	17
24	24	24	24	24	24	24	24	24	24
150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150
14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14
192	192	192	192	192	192	192	192	192	192
224	224	224	224	224	224	224	224	224	224
82	82	82	82	82	82	82	82	82	82
18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18
120	120	120	120	120	120	120	120	120	120
54	54	54	54	54	54	54	54	54	54
250	250	250	250	250	250	250	250	250	250
20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20
47	47	47	47	47	47	47	47	47	47
30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30
89	89	89	89	89	89	89	89	89	89
38	38	38	38	38	38	38	38	38	38
173	173	173	173	173	173	173	173	173	173
273	273	273	273	273	273	273	273	273	273
10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
44	44	44	44	44	44	44	44	44	44
30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30
11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11
32	32	32	32	32	32	32	32	32	32
46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46	46
196	196	196	196	196	196	196	196	196	169

No. 2.—Referred to

ANNUAL JUMMA STATEMENT

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Pergunnah.	Number.	Village.	Jumma of 1847-48, the year previous to the revision of Settlement.	1848-49.	1849-50.	1850-51.
Western Doon.	127	Lutchmeepoor,	79 8 14	29	29	29
	128	Langah,	28 8 18	49	49	49
	129	Medneepoor and Budreepoor,	0 0 0	149	149	149
	130	Mehra-ka-Gaon,	0 0 0	11	11	11
	131	Majree,	68 13 2	80	80	80
	132	Meonwala,	0 0 0	48	48	48
	133	Narh,	0 0 0	16	16	16
	134	Horawala,	225 3 12	173	173	173
	135	Grant (Attic farm),	0 0 0	184	249	323
	136	Grant (Arcadia),	0 0 0	270	365	473
	137	Grant (Koonja and Karghee),	0 0 0	48	64	84
	138	Grant (Hope Town 3),	0 0 0	603	815	1058
	139	Jewungurh,	0 0 0	6	15	27
	140	Chuktoonwala,	0 0 0	42	57	74
	141	Chunderbunnee,	0 0 0	6	16	28
	142	Dhoolcote,	0 0 0	4	11	20
	143	Ladpoor,	0 0 0	3	7	13
	144	Mirzapoor,	0 0 0	4	9	17
	145	Nowadah,	0 0 0	5	12	22
	146	Gungbhewah,	0 0 0	0	12	29
	147	Budreewala,	0 0 0	0	0	0
		Total,	23192 2 6	18932	19389	19925
Eastern Doon.	1	Bhogpoor,	236 13 10	158	158	158
	2	Bhulsooah,	12 8 4	10	10	10
	3	Palee,	10 11 12	8	8	8
	4	Phagsee,	0 0 0	7	7	7
	5	Thanonhutala,	3 9 4	3	3	3
	6	Dooewala,	40 3 10	20	20	20
	7	Raneepokhree,	126 14 12	98	98	98
	8	Sungteawala Kullan,	103 10 16	55	55	55
	9	Ditto Khoord,	66 2 4	44	44	44
	10	Sarungdhurwala,	34 13 14	18	18	18
	11	Kanurwala,	195 11 14	96	96	96
	12	Kaleematee,	48 4 4	32	32	32
	13	Koodal,	16 1 8	6	6	6
	14	Kaloowala,	0 0 0	15	15	15
	15	Guddool,	309 3 16	238	238	238
	16	Malkote,	384 5 0	247	247	247
	17	Hansoowala,	45 9 6	30	30	30
	18	Bhoputwala Kullan,	25 14 14	40	40	40
	19	Ditto Khoord,	4 7 10	3	3	3

IN PARAGRAPHS 4, 5 AND 135.

of ZILLAH DEHRA DOON.

8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17

PROPOSED JUMMA.

1851-52.	1852-53.	1853-54.	1854-55.	1855-56.	1856-57.	1857-58.	1858-59.	1859-60.	1860-61.
29	29	29	29	29	29	29	29	29	29
49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49
149	149	149	149	149	149	149	149	149	149
11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11
80	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	80	80
48	48	48	48	48	48	48	48	48	48
16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16
173	173	173	173	173	173	173	173	173	173
397	471	545	619	694	768	842	916	990	1064
582	691	800	908	1017	1126	1235	1343	1452	1561
104	123	142	162	181	201	220	239	259	278
1301	1544	1787	2030	2273	2516	2759	3002	3245	3488
41	59	80	104	128	152	176	200	224	247
91	108	125	142	159	176	193	210	228	245
44	63	85	110	136	161	187	212	237	263
31	44	60	78	96	113	131	149	167	185
21	30	40	52	64	76	88	100	112	124
26	38	51	66	81	96	111	126	142	157
34	49	66	85	105	124	144	164	183	203
53	83	119	161	208	256	304	352	400	448
1	3	5	9	12	17	21	26	31	36
20483	21063	21662	22283	22911	23535	24168	24796	25427	26056
158	158	158	158	158	158	158	158	158	158
10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20
98	98	98	98	98	98	98	98	98	98
55	55	55	55	55	55	55	55	55	55
44	44	44	44	44	44	44	44	44	44
18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18	18
96	96	96	96	96	96	96	96	96	96
32	32	32	32	32	32	32	32	32	32
6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
238	238	238	238	238	238	238	238	238	238
247	247	247	247	247	247	247	247	247	247
30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30
40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40
3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3

No. 2.—Referred to

ANNUAL JUMMA STATEMENT

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Pergunnah.	Number.	Village.	Jumma of 1847-48, the year previous to the revision of Settlement.	1848-49.	1849-50.	1850-51.
Eastern Doon.	20	Bhuttohwala,	91 2 12	20	20	20
	21	Dhalwala,	11 9 18	9	9	9
	22	Raewala,	186 1 16	142	142	142
	23	Seedhurwala,	33 15 8	20	20	20
	24	Shampoor,	177 13 4	103	103	103
	25	Kheree Kullan,	71 8 0	35	35	35
	26	Gurhee,	105 7 8	81	81	81
	27	Negheewala,	59 14 2	33	33	33
	28	Hurreepoor Kullan,	76 13 16	94	94	94
	29	Ditto Khoord,	2 10 18	5	5	5
	30	Bhanecawala,	110 13 4	85	85	85
	31	Jewunwala,	0 0 0	8	8	8
	32	Kucknawah,	73 4 12	12	12	12
	33	Missurwala Kullan	54 8 6	32	32	32
	34	Ditto Khoord,	21 7 4	11	11	11
	35	Majree,	25 0 8	15	15	15
	36	Grant Raneepokhree,	0 0 0	5	13	24
		Total,	2767 4 4	1838	1846	1857
		Grand Total,	25959 6 10	20770	21235	21782

IN PARAGRAPHS 4, 5 AND 135,

of ZILLAH DEHRA DOON.

8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
				PROPOSED JUMMA.					
1851-52.	1852-53.	1853-54.	1854-55.	1855-56.	1856-57.	1857-58.	1858-59.	1859-60.	1860-61.
20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20
9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	2	9
142	142	142	142	142	142	142	142	142	142
20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20
103	103	103	103	103	103	103	103	103	103
35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35
81	81	81	81	81	81	81	81	81	81
33	33	33	33	33	33	23	83	33	33
94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94	94
5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
85	85	85	85	85	85	85	85	85	85
8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
32	32	32	32	32	32	32	32	32	32
11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11
15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
38	54	73	95	117	139	161	183	205	227
1871	1887	1906	1928	1950	1972	1994	2016	2038	2060
22354	22950	23568	24211	24861	25507	26162	26812	27465	28116

A. ROSS,

Superintendent.

No. 3.—Referred to in Paragraphs 4 and 135.

Statement showing the tenures in which the Mehals of Zillah Dehra Doon are held.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Pergunnah.	Zemindaree.	Putteedaree.	Bhyacharee.	Total.	Remarks.
Western Doon, ...	116	17	1	134	
Eastern Doon, ...	35	0	0	35	
Total, ...	151	17	1	169	

A. ROSS,
Superintendent.

No. 4.—Referred to in Paragraphs 20, 55 and 64.

List of Mehals in which rents have hitherto always been paid to the Moquddums, either entirely or partially in kind by Kunbutai, contrary to the conditions of the ten years' Settlement.

1	2	3	4	5
Number.	*Mehals in which rents are paid wholly in kind.*	Number.	*Mehals in which rents are paid partly in money, and partly in kind.*	Remarks.
1	Belindawalla.	1	Umbeewala.	
	Pirohitwala.		Amwala.	
	Mohibbahwala.		Bajawala.	
	Nugla.		Burculla.	
5	Nagul.	5	Bamunwala.	
	Nuthunpoor.		Peleon Nathoowala.	
	Bhugwanpoor Joolon.		Pithoowala.	
	Purteethpoor.		Dounkwala.	
	Poundha.		Doodlee.	
10	Timlee.	10	Showla Kullan.	
	Tipperpoor.		Ditto Khoord.	
	Tilwaree.		Sherpoor.	
	Jussowala.		Kesowalah.	
	Jatonwala.		Kowlee.	

No. 4.—Referred to in Paragraphs 20, 55, and 64.

List of Mehals in which Rents have hitherto always been paid to the Moquddums either entirely or partially in kind by Kunbutai, contrary to the conditions of the ten years' Settlement.

1	2	3	4	5
Number.	*Mehals in which rents are paid wholly in kind.*	Number.	*Mehals in which rents are paid partly in money and partly in kind.*	Remarks.
15	Jajhrah.	15	Loharwala.	
	Khooshalpoor.		Majra.	
	Dhurmawala,		Nuthwawala.	
	Dhakee.		Nerunjunpoor.	
	Dhukranee.		Hurreepoor Kullan.	
20	Domaith.	20	Byragheewala.	
	Dhurtawala.		Burwah.	
	Doodhaee.		Kaswalee Kotree.	
	Roodurpoor.		Luckhunwala.	
	Ramsahaywala.		Horahwala.	
25	Subbawala.	25	Bhoputwala Kullan.	
	Suhenspoor.		Ditto Khoord.	
	Suddhowala.		Bhaneawala.	
	Soormah.		Raewala.	
	Shahpoor.		Sungteewala Kullan.	
30	Andoowala.	30	Kanhurwala.	
	Futtehpoor.		Hansoowala.	
	Koorjah.			
	Kedarawala.			
	Ghummolon.			
35	Gungbhewa.			
	Medneepoor and Budreepoor.			
	Majree.			
	Lutchmeepoor.			
	Langah.			
40	Daloowala.			
	Sungteewala Khoord.			

A. ROSS,

Superintendent.

No. 5.—Referred to in Paragraphs 64 and 116.

List of Mehals in which the village profits, whether consisting of Moquddumee Huq only, or other zemindaree profits also, have, up to the present time, been shared with the Hissadars or Moquddums brethren.

1	2	3
Number.	*Mehals.*	Remarks.
1	Inderpoor.	
2	Oodeewala.	
3	Khemadoze.	
4	Ujjubpoor Kullan.	
5	Ditto Khoord.	
6	Kowlaghir.	
7	Kearcoolie.	
8	Mohkumpoor Khoord.	
9	Meanwala.	
10	Majra.	
11	Mullookawala.	
12	Mohkumpoor Kullan.	
13	Hurreepoor Khoord.	
14	Doodlee.	
15	Baddreepoor.	
16	Dhurrumpoor.	
17	Raipoor.	
18	Sheolah Kullan.	
19	Ditto Khoord.	
20	Kowlee.	
21	Kurrunpoor.	
22	Nerunjunpoor.	
23	Hurreepoor Kullan.	
24	Doodhae.	
25	Bhogpoor.	
26	Bhulsooah.	
27	Guddool.	

A. ROSS,
Superintendent.

No. 6.—Referred to in Paragraph 5.

Comparative State ment of the Gross and Net Jumma of 1840-41, *and that of the revised Settlement of* 1848, *exhibiting the net increase of the latter over the whole Zillah.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Pergunnah.	Gross Jumma assessed in 1840.	Deduct reductions granted at different times between 1840 and 1st May 1848.	Remaining Gross Jumma previous to revision of 1848.	Minhaee or items of deduction from Gross Jumma of regular recurrence.				Net Jumma of 1840-41 actually collected.	Proposed Jumma of 1848-49.	Decrease.	Increase.	Net Increase.
				Huq Moqudumee of 20 per cent.	Salary of 12 Putwarrees, at 63-8 per mensem.	Remission annually granted for several years prior to 1st May 1848.	Total Minhae.					
Western Doon;	23771 15 8	173 4 0	23598 11 8	4640 10 8	571 8 0	1016 10 3	6228 12 11	17369 14 17	18932	0 0 0	1562 1 3	0 0 0
Eastern Doon,	2872 8 4	0 0 0	2872 8 4	562 7 4	190 8 0	224 12 6	977 11 10	1894 12 14	1838	56 12 14	0 0 0	0 0 0
Total,	26644 7 12	173 4 0	26471 3 12	5203 1 12	762 0 0	1241 6 9	7206 8 1	19264 11 11	20770	56 12 14	1562 1 3	1505 4 9

A. ROSS,

Superintendent.

No. 7.—Referred to in Paragraphs 109 and 110.

List of villages in which reduction of jumma has been recommended on account of the description of over-assessment known as Shamilat and Beshee, showing the comparative amount of cultivation in the years 1840 *and* 1848.

1	2	3	4			5	6			7	8	9
Pergunnah.	Mouzah.	Cultivated and assessable area by professional Survey of 1840.	Deduct.			Remaining assessable area of revised Settlement.	Cultivated area by late Survey.			Increase over column 5.	Decrease from column 5.	Remarks.
			Beshee.	Shamilat.	Total.		Cultivated.	Fallow.	Total.			
Western Doon.	Oodewala,	934	35	56	91	843	867	117	984	141	0	
	Adhoewala,	1003	35	47	82	921	810	131	941	20	0	
	Bajawala,	235	0	93	93	142	258	21	279	137	0	
	Pirohutwala,	558	19	0	19	539	517	91	608	69	0	
	Chookoowala,	355	12	0	12	343	288	46	334	0	9	
	Dhorun,	1240	42	144	186	1054	1026	46	1072	18	0	
	Daulunwala,	1039	37	15	52	987	889	99	988	1	0	
	Kaolaghir,	220	8	0	8	212	194	15	209	0	3	
	Kurrunpoor,	1183	41	70	111	1072	1011	207	1218	146	0	
	Gopeewala,	1335	47	193	240	1195	1123	37	1160	0	35	
	Gungoreh,	114	0	12	12	102	86	16	102	0	0	
	Maunsingwala,	1237	43	161	204	1033	951	197	1148	115	0	
	Meanwala,	68	0	36	36	32	57	19	76	44	0	
	Hurrawala,	33	0	22	22	11	69	7	76	65	0	
	Hathee Burkulla,	975	34	67	101	874	915	87	1002	128	0	
	Lutchmeepoor,	89	0	75	75	14	193	44	237	223	0	

No. 8.—Referred to in Paragraph 126.

List of villages which, having for several years been wholly depopulated and deserted, are now recommended to be struck off the rent-roll.

1	2	3	4
Pergunnah.	Mouzahs.	Jumma of 1840.	Remarks.
Western Doon, ..	Koloopanee, ...	41 1 16	The depopulation of these villages has been caused entirely by insalubrity of the climate, and the consequent death or desertion of the cultivators. The particulars of the ruin of each of these villages, with the exception of Beerpoor, which was not deserted till the year 1848, are given in Statement No. 12, recommending remissions of outstanding balances. The plan of submitting a separate Statement of all the villages, which, in consequence of their having become wholly depopulated, require to be struck off the rent-roll, was adopted at a time when their number was much larger. The list originally included the following twelve villages, which have since happily been restored on light jummas; Bhugwanpoor, Doodhaee, Soodhonwala, Koterah, Kharehkhet, Mohibbowala, Nuthwawala, Doeewala, Khyree Kullan, and Gungbhewa.
Eastern Doon, ...	Boodhawala, ...	13 6 10	
	Beerpoor, ...	38 9 12	
	Pooroowala, ...	18 12 6	
	Sakoowala, ...	26 13 0	
	Kathul, ...	19 10 12	

A. ROSS,

Superintendent.

No. 9.—Referred to in Paragraph 99.

List of villages applied for on grant terms but settled in zemindaree tenure on fixed jummas, calculated at the average of grant rates, being either deserted and resigned villages restored, or new villages established.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Number.	Pergunnah.	Mouzahs.	Jumma of 1840.	Proposed Jumma.	Remarks.
1	Western Doon,	Nalee,	0 0 0	2 0 0	
2	,,	Nuthwawala,	218 15 10	60 0 0	
3	,,	Nagul,	0 0 0	25 0 0	
4	,,	Birsinee,	0 0 0	32 0 0	
5	,,	Bunsewala,	0 0 0	17 0 0	
6	,,	Bhugwanpoor,	0 0 0	57 0 0	
7	,,	Boolakewala,	0 0 0	32 0 0	
8	,,	Towlee,	0 0 0	26 0 0	
9	,,	Chandpoor Khoord,	0 0 0	29 0 0	
10	,,	Dhoodhaee,	18 12 6	26 0 0	
11	,,	Dhoolanie,	0 0 0	24 0 0	
12	,,	Soodhonwala,	62 9 0	18 0 0	
13	,,	Koterah,	0 0 0	38 0 0	
14	,,	Kotee,	0 0 0	10 0 0	
15	,,	Koolahul,	0 0 0	30 0 0	
16	,,	Kharahkhet,	25 0 8	11 0 0	
17	,,	Kherah,	0 0 0	44 0 0	
18	,,	Langah,	20 8 18	49 0 0	
19	,,	Nowala,	0 0 0	48 0 0	
20	,,	Mehra-ka Gaon,	0 0 0	11 0 0	
21	,,	Narh,	0 0 0	16 0 0	
22	Eastern Doon,	Phagsee,	0 0 0	7 0 0	
23	,,	Kaloowala,	0 0 0	15 0 0	

A. ROSS,

Superintendent.

No. 10.—Referred to in Paragraph 127.

List of Villages in the Eastern Doon, which from the extreme insalubrity of their locality, are not expected to stand, and which therefore it is proposed should be struck off the rent roll immediately on report of their desertion.

1 Mouzah.	2 Proposed Jumma.	3 Remarks.
Buttohwala,	20 0 0	
Phagsee,	7 0 0	
Jewunwala,	8 0 0	
Deowala,	20 0 0	
Sungteawala Khoord,	44 0 0	
Ditto Kullan,	55 0 0	
Seedhurwala,	20 0 0	
Shampoor,	103 0 0	
Kaloowala,	15 0 0	
Kheree Kullan,	35 0 0	
Missurwala Kullan,	32 0 0	
Ditto Khoord,	11 0 0	
Majree,	15 0 0	
Negeewala,	33 0 0	
Total,	418 0 0	

A. ROSS,
Superintendent.

No. 11.—Referred to in Paragraph 100.

List of Grants on clearing leases divided into those already confirmed, and those now proposed for confirmation.

1 Pergunnah.	2 Name of Grant.	3 First year of Grant.	4 Confirmed or unconfirmed.	5 Area.	6 Remarks.
Western Doon,	Attic Farm,	1840	Confirmed.		
,,	Arcadia,	1840	Ditto.		
,,	Kargee, &c. 4portions,	1840	Ditto.		
,,	HopeTown,3portions,	1840	Ditto.		
,,	Budrewala,	1848-49	Proposed for confirmation.		
,,	Jewungurh,	1845-46	Ditto.		
,,	Chuktoonwala,	1841-42	Ditto.		
,,	Chundurbunee,	1845-46	Ditto.		
,,	Doolkote,	1845-46	Ditto.		
,,	Gungbhewa,	1846-47	Ditto.		
,,	Ladpoor,	1845-46	Ditto.		
,,	Mirzapoor,	1845-46	Ditto.		
,,	Nawadah,	1845-46	Ditto.		
Eastern Doon,	Ranee Pokhree,	1845-46	Ditto.		

A. ROSS,
Superintendent.

No. 12.—Referred to in Paragraph 130.

Statement of Outstanding Balances up to 1847-48 *requiring remission which have been held suspended by the orders of the Board or Government, pending submission of Report on revision of Settlement.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Pergunnah.	Mouzah.	Name of Proprietor.	Former Jumma.	Balance of each Year.		Total.	Remarks.
				Year.	Amount.		
					Rs. As. G.		
1	Bajawda,.. ..	Ray Nund Ram,..	206 7 6	1845-46,	73 14 2		
				1846 47,	84 6 10		
				1847-48,	78 4 16	236 9 8	1. The balances standing against this village are equal in amount (nearly) to the aggregate of reduction of Jumma for three years, recommended by Mr. Vansittart, in his Settlement Report No. 172, dated 7th July 1845, viz., Rs. 79. The grounds of the reduction proposed by him are briefly as follows. At the period of the 20 years' settlement of 1840, the full jumma at the three-anna rates was assessed on all the land returned as cultivated, by the Revenue Surveyor; much of this land however being in reality land over which the plough had been hurriedly driven once on the strength of Colonel Young's proclamation of the 1st March 1838, on the implied condition that it should be held on grant terms the as-

K										
2	Bhugwanpoor,..	Ram Dyal, ...	130	7	16	1846-47,	47	5	0	
						1847-48,	82	8	1	129 13 1

sessment as was to be expected proved a heavy over-assessment, and the village fell out of cultivation. In order to restore the village, and in consideration of the original over-assessment, Mr. Vansittart recommended that it should be held from the year 1845-46, on the highest jumma of the settlement of 1830 viz., Rs. 128. This village has accordingly been assessed in this jumma, at the revision of settlement, and as Mr. Vansittart's proposition was intended to have effect from the year 1845-46, the difference between the former and proposed jumma, Rs. 79, has been held as an annual irrecoverable balance which now requires remission. It will be observed that there is a small error in the annual items, the cause of which cannot now be traced, but the total of the balance is correct to within 6 annas 12 gundas, by which amount it is less than the balance ought to have been.

2. This village was found unprofitable by its late proprietor, Mr. Lindsay, grantee of Hopetown, and was accordingly resigned by him, the revenue having been made good by him up to the close of the year 1845-46. The village became nearly deserted. During the two following years, the collections were made assameewar from the few assamees that remained, the difference between the actual collections, and the jumma of 1840, now constitutes the balances standing against this village, which of course require remission, having fallen completely out of cultivation. The village was at the revision of settlement as-

No. 12.—Referred to in Paragraph 130.

Statement of Outstanding Balances up to 1847-48 *requiring remission which have been held suspended by the orders of the Board or Government, pending submission of Report on revision of Settlement.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Pergunnah.	Mouzah.	Name of Proprietor.	Former Jumma.	Balance of each Year.		Total.	Remarks.
				Year.	Amount.		
					Rs. As. G.		
3	Phoolsunnee, ..	Shibbo, ...	42 0 2	1846-47,	42 0 2	69 4 4	signed on a juma calculated on an average of grant rates amounting to Rs. 57, to Ram Dyal, the present proprietor.
				1847-48,	27 4 2		3. In consequence of the extreme insalubrity of its climate, and the drawing of the watercourse on which it depended for irrigation into the Government canal, this village was in 1845 wholly deserted. In 1847, it was re-settled with its present proprietors, who paid the November or six-anna kists of the year 1847-48. At the revision of settlement being a poor and unpromising village, which I was anxious to preserve from a second destruction, it was assessed at Rs. 38, being on an average of grant rates on its culturable area. The balances equal in amount to the entire jumma of one year, and the larger portion of the second will require to be remitted.

4	Jhajra, ...	Beharee Lall, ...	213 9 14	1846-47,	120 0 14			4. This village, like Bajawala, was much over-assessed at the settlement of 1840. It was accordingly recommended for a reduction of jumma of Rs. 120-0-14 by Mr. Vansittart, in his report of the 7th July 1845. At the revision of the settlement, the jumma proposed by him was maintained by me, to which a small additional assessment, at an average of grant rates, was added, making the present jumma, after the prescribed deductions of mooquddumee and putwarree huqs, Rs. 101. The balances amounting to the total of the proposed reductions for two years require remission.
				1847-48,	120 0 14				
						240	1 8		
5	Chundurbunnee,	Sheikh Nubbee Bux,	15 3 3	1846-47,	15 3 2			5. The whole of this village fell out of cultivation in 1843-44, and was resigned by the mooquddum. It was accordingly assigned on grant terms to Nubbee Bux, who holds a grant in the neighbourhood, and the arrangement was reported by Mr. Vansittart, in his letter No. 58, of the 29th July 1845. The village is accordingly held now on English grant rates, and is a regular grant. The balances corresponding in amount to the jumma of 1840, for two years, of course require remission.
				1847-48,	15 3 2				
						30	6 4		
6	Doodhaee, ...	Motee, ...	18 12 6	1846-47,	18 12 6			6. The decay of this village commenced many years ago, the mooquddum Hurruckmunnee continuing to pay the annual demand until his death, long after the village ceased to be profitable: on his death the village was deserted, and balances equal in amount to the entire jumma were annually remitted. At the revision of settlement, it was re-settled on an average of grant rates with Motee, its pre-
				1847-48,	18 12 6				
						37	8 12		

No. 12.—Referred to in Paragraph 130.

Statement of Outstanding Balances up to 1847-48 *requiring remission which have been held suspended by the orders of the Board or Government, pending submission of Report on revision of Settlement.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Pergunnah.	Mouzah.	Name of Proprietor.	Former Jumma.	Balance of each Year.		Total.	Remarks.
				Year.	Amount.		
					Rs. A. G.		sent proprietor, the jumma being Rs. 26. The balances amounting to the total of the old jumma for two years, during which it still continued uncultivated, of course require remission.
7	Soodonwalah, ..	Beharee Lall, ...	62 9 0	1846-47,	62 9 0		7. This village, like Phoolsunnee, was many years ago wholly deserted in consequence of its watercourse having been drawn off into the Government canal, and its only means of irrigation thus failing, remissions equal in amount to the jumma have annually been granted for many years past. At the revision of settlement, it was assigned at an average of grant rates on a jumma of Rs. 18 to its present proprietor. The balances equal in amount to the entire jumma of the two years immediately preceding the introduction of the revised settlement require remission.
				1847-48,	62 9 0		
						125 2 0	

8	Sherpoor,	Baboo Ramkoomar,	118	13	8	1844-45,	64	8	18
						1845-46,	84	13	18
						1846-47,	84	13	18
						1847-48,	84	13	18
							319	2	12
9	Koterah,	Shiboo,	164	7	4	1846-47,	164	7	4
						1847-48,	103	14	4
							268	5	8
10	Kooloopanee,	Ram Bux,	41	1	16	1846-47,	15	6	0
						1847-48,	41	1	16
							56	7	16

8. The circumstances of this village are precisely similar to those of Bajawala, *vide* No. 1. The balances correspond nearly with the total amount of the difference for four years between the jumma of 1840 and that proposed by Mr. Vansittart in his settlement report of the 7th July 1845, viz., Rs. 34, which he intended should have effect from 1844-45. To this a small additional jumma has been added at the revision of settlement at an average of grant rates on a portion of the culturable area, making the jumma of the revised settlement Rs. 53 : these balances will of course require remission.

9. The circumstances of this village are precisely similar to those of Phoolsunnee No. 3, which see. It was deserted many years ago, and was restored in 1847 and assigned to Shiboo, the enterprizing proprietor of Phoolsunnee, who agreed to take it on the former jumma, which, after the usual deductions, now amounts to Rs. 126. The November or six-anna kist of 1847 was paid by him. The balances for many years equaling in amount, the entire jumma have annually been remitted. The present balances equal to the jumma for one whole year, and the ten-anna kist of the second year of course require remission.

10. This village has fallen a victim to insalubrity of climate. It was wholly depopulated and abandoned in 1846-47. A few assameewar collections were made on account of the ten-anna kist of 1846, since which it

No. 12.—Referred to in Paragraph 130.

Statement of Outstanding Balances up to 1847-48 *requiring remission which have been held suspended by he orders of the Board or Government, pending submission of Report on revision of Settlement.*

1	2	3	4	5	6		7	8
Pergunnah.	Mouzah.	Name of Proprietor.	Former Jumma.	Balance of each Year.			Total.	Remarks.
				Year.	Amount.			
					Rs. As. G.			has remained wholly uncultivated; not having been since re-established, this village is recommended to be struck off the rent-roll from the commencement of the revised settlement. The balances consisting of the jumma for one year, and a portion of a second of course require remission.
11	Kara Khet, ..	Dulla Bisht, ...	25 8 0	1843-44,	25 8 0			11. This village first fell into balance in 1843-44, when it in fact was deserted; during the two following years it was partially cultivatted, and the revenue realized. In 1846, it again became entirely deserted and waste from the effects of climate; at the revision of settlement it was again restored and assigned to Oodut Bisht and his brethren, emigrants from the Gurhwal territory, who brought with them a considerable following of hill men. The jumma was fixed at Rs. 11, being on an average of grant rates
				1846 47,	9 8 0			
				1847-48,	25 0 8		60 0 8	

										on the culturable area, and I am happy to say the village is now prospering. The balances being nearly equal to the entire jumma for three years, are recommended for remission.
12	Luchmeepoor, ..	Hokoomut Sing, ..	79	8	14	1845-46,	29	0	0	12. The circumstances of this village are precisely similar to those of Bajawalah, No. 1, which see. The jumma proposed by Mr. Vansittart has been maintained at the revision of settlement, with the addition of a considerable item as the jumma, on an average of grant rates, of a portion of the culturable area. This portion, added to the jumma recommended by Mr. Vansittart in his Settlement Report of 7th July 1845, makes up the jumma of the revised settlement, viz., Rs. 29. The balances being the amount, nearly, of the proposed reductions for three years of course require remission.
						1846-47,	67	0	14	
						1847-48,	67	0	14	
										163 1 8
13	Mohibbawala, ..	Nubbee Bux, ...	59	14	2	1846-47,	23	1	2	13. On the ruin of this village many years ago it was taken up by Nubbee Bux, an enterprizing merchant of Landour, on the promise of grant terms in addition to a small portion of the original jumma, which was retained. At the revision of settlement, Mr. Vansittart's arrangements were upheld, a portion of the old jumma being retained, and a small additional jumma assessed, on the portion of the culturable land, at an average of grant rates. The original and additional portion constitute the jumma of the revised settlement Rs. 34. The balances consisting of the amount of the proposed reductions for two years of course require remission.
						1847-48,	23	1	2	
										46 2 4

No. 12.—Referred to in Paragraph 130.

Statement of Outstanding Balances up to 1847-48 *requiring remission which have been held suspended by the orders of the Board or Government, pending submission of Report on revision of Settlement.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Pergunnah.	Mouzah.	Name of Proprietor.	Former Jumma.	Balance of each Year. Year.	Balance of each Year. Amount.	Total.	Remarks.
					Rs. As. G.		
14	Meeanwala, ..	Buddun Singh, ..	60 8 12	1846-47,	32 12 8		14. The circumstances of this village are similar to those of Bajawala, No. 1, and others of the same class. On the same grounds the jumma was recommended by Mr. Vansittart to be reduced to the highest jumma of the settlement of 1830. This arrangement was maintained by me at the revised settlement, a small addtiion of jumma on a portion of the culturable area having been assessed on an average of grant rates as in other cases. The jumma of the revised settlement is thus Rs. 33. The balances consisting of the aggregate of the proposed reductions for two years of course require remission.
				1847-48,	32 12 8	65 8 16	
15	Mithunwala, ..	Jowala, ...	218 15 10	1846-47,	200 3 10		15. The circumstances of this village are the same as those of Jhajra, No. 4. It was originally much over-assessed in conse-
				1847-48,	200 3 10	400 7 11	

									quence of which, and the ravages of disease and climate, it fell out of cultivation. It was assigned in 1845 partly at three-anna rates, partly on grant terms, to the present proprietor, by whom it has been restored. To the jumma proposed by Mr. Vansittart in his Settlement Report of 7th July 1825, Rs. 18-12, a small additional jumma has been assessed on an average of grant rates on a portion of the culturable area, making the jumma of the revised settlement after the prescribed reductions, Rs. 68. The balances consisting of the proposed reductions for two years, will, of course, require remission.
16	Hurrawala, ..	Isur Sahee, ..	29	7	18	1847-48,	19 7 18	19 7 18	16. The circumstances of this village are precisely similar to those of the preceding, No. 15. To the jumma proposed by Mr. Vansittart, a small addition has been made on an average of grant rates on a portion of the culturable land, making the revised jumma for 1848-49, Rs. 24. The balances consisting of the proposed reduction for one year are recommended for remission.
17	Boodhawala, ...	..	13	6	10	1846-47,	13 6 10		17. This village has long been deserted, its decay and ruin having been caused by insalubrity of its climate. Remissions corresponding in amount with the jumma have, for some years, annually been granted. The present balances will, for the same reason, require remission, and the village not having been restored, is recommended to be struck off the rent-roll from the commencement of revised settlement.
						1847-48,	8 6 10	21 13 0	

No. 12.—Referred to in Paragraph 130.

Statement of Outstanding Balances up to 1847-48 *requiring remission which have been held suspended by the orders of the Board or Government, pending submission of Report on revision of Settlement.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Pergunnah.	Mouzah.	Name of Proprietor.	Former Jumma.	Balance of each Year. Year.	Balance of each Year. Amount.	Total.	Remarks.
					Rs. As. G.		
18	Pooroowala, ..	.. .. ..	18 12 6	1846-47, 1847-48,	18 12 6 11 12 6	30 8 12	18. Same as the above No. 17; a few assameewar collections were, during the last year, made on this and the above village. The present balances being nearly the entire jumma for two years will require remission, and the village is recommended to be struck off the rent roll from the commencement of the revised settlement.
19	Dooeewala, ..	Futteh Sing, ..	40 10 10	1847-48,	15 0 0	15 0 0	19. This village, in consequence of the death of the moquddum and the desertion of the assamees, fell out of cultivation in the year 1847, after the realization of the 10 anna or May kists of that year. At the revision of the settlement it was re-settled with its present proprietor on an average of grant rates on a jumma of Rs. 20. The balances accruing during the year of its desertion require remission.

20	Sakhowala, ..	.. .. ..	26 13 0	1847-48,	13 15 5	13 15 5	20. Same as Nos. 17 and 18. This village was deserted in 1847, and should be struck off the rent-roll from the commencement of the revised settlement, and the balances corresponding in amount with the jumma for one year, less a few assameewar collections, on account of the 10 anna kist of 1847, should be remitted.
21	Katul, ...	.. .. ..	19 10 12	1846-47,	19 10 12		21. Same as Nos. 17 and 18. This village has been long obliterated, and should be struck off the rent-roll from the commencement of the revised settlement. The balances consisting of the entire jumma for two years require remission.
				1847-48,	19 10 12	39 5 4	
22	Kanhurwala, ..	Shiboo Negee, ..	195 11 14	1846-47,	40 6 0		22. This is a good village for the Eastern Doon. It was, however, over-assessed at the settlement of 1840, from the same causes as Bajawala No. 1, and has consequently been falling off ever since that time. The shamilat lands in the village bore so large a proportion to its cultivated area as to render the payment of the jumma assessed each year more difficult. At the revised settlement this shamilat assessment was struck out, and the village assessed at the three-anna rates on its present actual cultivation, the revised jumma, after the usual deductions, being Rs. 96. The village is now beginning to recover itself. The balances consist nearly of the amount of the proposed reductions for two years, and of course require remission.
				1847-48,	70 11 4	111 1 14	
23	Khyree Kulan,	Sooneeroo, ..	71 8 0	1846-47,	71 8 0		23. This village had long been deserted, and annual remissions of the entire jumma for many years granted. In 1847, it was res-
				1847-48,	34 13 0	106 5 0	

No. 12.—Referred to in Paragraph 130.

Statement of Outstanding Balances up to 1847-48 *requiring remission have been held suspended by the orders of the Board or Government, pending submission of Report on revision of Settlement.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Pergunnah.	Mouzah.	Name of Proprietor.	Former Jumma.	Balance of each Year. Year.	Amount.	Total.	Remarks.
							tored and assigned to the present proprietor, who paid the khureef kists of that year; at the revision of settlement it was re-settled at a jumma of Rs. 35, being the full jumma on the existing cultivation. The balances consisting of the entire jumma for one year and part of the jumma of the second year will, of course, require remission.
				Total Outstanding Balances.			
				1843-44,	25 8 0		
				1844-45,	64 8 18		
				1845-46,	187 12 0		
				1846-47,	1151 4 18		
				1847-48,	1176 7 6		
						2605 9 2	

A. ROSS,
Superintendent.

No. 13.—Referred to in Paragraph 134.

Statement showing the Expenses incurred in the revision of Settlement.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
	Expense of Survey by Ameens.							*Moiety of Expenses of Survey payable by the zemindars.*			*Salary of Omlah employed in the Settlement.*				*Miscellaneous Expenses, exclusive of the foregoing.*					
	Area surveyed.		*Rate per 100 Acres.*		*Amount.*															
Zillah.	Cultivated and fallow.	Culturable and barren waste.	Cultivated and fallow.	Culturable and barren waste.	Cultivated and fallow.	Culturable and barren waste.	Total.	Collected.	Remitted.	Moiety payable by Government.	Extra salary of Tehseeldar from 1st August 1847 to 30th September 1848, sanctioned by order of Government, No. 4037, dated 14th October 1847.	Salary of Establishment at 70 Rs. per mensem, from 1st February 1847 to 8th November 1848.	Salary of Mirdhas employed from 1st February to 30th April 1847.	Total.	Stationery.	Ropes for Jureebs.	Cloth for Bustahs and Maps.	Book-binder, for binding Settlement Mists.	Total.	Grand Total.
Deyrah Doon,	37124 0 0	140707 0 0	4 0 0	2 0 0	1484 15 6	2814 0 0	4298 15 6	1603 13 5	545 10 4	2149 7 9	700 0 0	1479 5 9	30 0 0	2209 5 9	310 15 0	49 9 6	74 1 9	79 12 0	510 6 3	6473 1 2

A. ROSS,
Superintendent.

APPENDIX A.

No. 293 of 1845.

From J. THORNTON, Esq.,
Secretary to Government, N. W. P.,
Revenue Department,

To H. M. ELLIOT, Esq.,
Secretary to the Sudder Board
of Revenue, N. W. P., Agra.

Dated Agra, the 22nd January 1845.

Sir,

I am desired to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated November 29th last, regarding the state of affairs in the Dehra Dhoon, and to communicate to you the following instructions on the subject of the pending settlement, as the result of the investigations made by the Lieutenant Governor during his late visit to that district.

2nd. In order fully to understand the subject, it is necessary to revert to the settlement made in 1830, and extending for ten years till the close of 1839. The principles on which that settlement was made are detailed in the letters noted in the margin.* It was based on the assumption that the Government was the entire possessor of the land, and might bestow it on whom they liked. In virtue of this right, they made a settlement only of the cultivated land, bestowed it in proprietary right on the actual cultivators, and made the theekadars or former malgoozars, servants of Government, to manage the villages and make the collections, receiving for their services 10 per cent. of the payments from the cultivators.

* Letter from Major Young, Superintendent, dated 28th November 1829.
Resolution of Government, dated 16th March 1830.

3rd. Mr. Vansittart has questioned the justice or expediency of this arrangement. After full enquiry into the case, the Lieutenant Governor has arrived at the conclusion that the proceeding was opposed to the principles observed by the British Government in other provinces of this Presidency.

When the Government, by placing a limit on its demand for a term of years, created a valuable property, it had the right to vest that property in whom it pleased; but here, as elsewhere, it was just to give it to those parties, who had in equity the best claim to it. It would appear that in the Dhoon, there were villages in which the proceeding was equitable, because the land was in fact held by a number of cultivating proprietors. But there were also many villages, where this state of property did not exist, and where the same diversity of tenure was to be found, as is apparent in other parts of the country. Some villages had been settled by private speculators at their own risk and cost within the the recent memory of man, either during the Goorkah occupation or in our time. In others were a body of proprietors cultivating in part themselves, and in part through their resident assamees. In all these cases, justice and expediency demanded that the proprietary right should be vested in the first settlers of the villages, or in the old proprietors, and not, as has been the case, in the mere assamees, who had never claimed nor exercised any proprietary rights.

4th. The assessment was on the cultivated land only, and at the rate of three annas per beegah uniformly. The waste land might be taken up by the nearest ryot, *i. e.*, proprietor, on application, at rates increasing till the 5th year, when it reached the maximum of three annas a beegah. No village boundaries were marked off, but each village was left to extend itself as it could, and some new villages were settled by speculators on the above terms.

1st year,	¼ anna.
2nd do.,	1 do.
3rd do.,	1½ do.
4th do.,	2 do.
5th do.,	3 do.

5th. The extension of cultivation however was slow, and in 1837-38, the Dhoon was thrown open to European speculators on terms much more favorable than those offered in 1830. The land was to be held rent-free for three years, and was not to reach the maximum of three annas a beegah (or 14 annas 6 gundas an acre) till after 20 years, and then this rate was only to be laid on three-fourths of the whole culturable area, one-fourth being left unassessed. It is unnecessary to enter at length into the particulars of this proceeding. European speculators eagerly accepted the offers, and many grants were immediately applied for. The old native settlers in the Dhoon became alarmed, and feared that they were to be hemmed in on all sides by European grants. The spur thus given to agriculture was very great. On 1st March, 1838, Colonel Young issued a Notification inviting natives to

come forward and take the land near their villages, lest it should be given away to European grantees. The terms on which they were to take the land were not mentioned; but it is evident from the penultimate paragraph of the Commissioner's letter of 25th January 1838, (approved by the Board on 13th February 1838) on the authority of which the proclamation was issued; that the more favorable grant terms were then understood to be offered only to Europeans, and that the natives were considered at liberty to take lands on no other than the old terms of 1830. However this may be, numerous applications were immediately made on all sides for waste lands, which were all approved, and intimation of them sent to the tehseeldars. It was further said that pottahs would be given when the land could be measured off and assigned. Upon this, some land in many cases was broken up immediately, but pottahs were never given.

6th. The measurement of the Dhoon, under Captain Brown, took place in 1838-39. The boundaries of all the villages were determined, and the cultivated, culturable, and barren land in each village measured here as elsewhere. The terms on which the settlement was to be made are contained in the Board's orders of 2nd June 1840.

7th. Three annas per beegah or 14 annas 6 gundahs was to be as before the maximum demand (per acre), of which 2 annas and 6 gundahs, or one-sixth, was to be the right of the moquddum, and 11 annas and 10 gundahs the right of the Government. One-fourth of the culturable land was to be left unassessed to the village, avowedly for grazing, whilst the remainder was to be given on the grant terms of 1837-38 to the village if they would take it, and if not to any other applicant. Unoccupied land beyond the limits of any village was to be at the disposal of Government, and to be assigned as they might see fit.

8th. The actual cultivators were to be recognized as the proprietors of the soil, and the rights of the moquddums to remain as before.

9th. Upon these principles the settlement of 1840 was formed by Colonel Young, but it has never yet been reported to the Government, nor have the principles on which it has been effected been ever yet brought under the consideration of the Government.

10th. Exceptions have been taken to the assessment and to the declaration of rights. On both these very essential points, specific orders are requisite, and the Lieutenant

Governor desires me to communicate the following instructions respecting them.

11th. The exceptions taken to the assessment are three.

First.—That faith has been broken with the persons who brought land into cultivation on the strength of Colonel Young's proclamation of 1st March 1838, (*vide* Mr. Vansittart's letter of 18th March 1843, paragraphs 14 to 18).

Secondly.—That the surveyor measured much land as cultivated, which in fact was not cultivated or occupied, and that as the settlement has now been made with the cultivating occupants, the rate on these lands cannot, in some cases, be realized. These lands are called *shamilat;* (*vide* Mr. Williams' letter of 28th September 1842, paragraph 9).

Thirdly.—That the assessment has been fixed on the cultivated and occupied land according to the English professional measurement, and not according to the native *khusreh* measurement, the former being in excess of the latter, whilst the latter alone shows in detail the extent of each proprietor's occupancy. This excess is called *beshee;* (*vide* Mr. Williams' letter of 3rd June 1842, paragraphs 3 to 8).

12th. The first of these imputations is the most serious; for the preservation of good faith is necessary. Several cases were therefore examined in which this pledge of land on grant terms was said to have been given and violated. In all, the case was found to stand as already stated in paragraph 5th. Application had been made, and land promised on measurement. But the applicants, without waiting for the pottah, broke up the land, and when the measurement was made, they pointed out the cultivated and occupied land adjoining their settled villages as that which they expected to hold on grant terms. This application was rejected. The occupied and cultivated land was assessed at 3 annas per beegah; culturable land, (if there were any in the vicinity), equal to one-fourth of the cultivated, was left free of assessment, and the excess given on grant terms. There was no breach of faith in this, because no grants had ever been made, but there was a disappointment of expectation, though this was owing as much to the precipitancy of the applicants as to any other cause.

13th. Wherever, as in the case of Europeans, new villages had been located by natives in expectation of grants, those hopes should certainly be fulfilled; and if in such cases, the full jumma had been assessed, it should be remitted, the village given on grant terms, and the excess refunded. Such

has been the course very properly pursued by the Board with regard to mouzah Chuttunwallah, pergunnah Suntour, in the Western Dhoon, the property of Futteh Singh, and any other similar cases that may be brought forward, must be similarly treated. But where the newly cultivated land was merely added on to old settled villages, it may fairly be said that neither under the terms of the settlement of 1830, nor of the proclamation of 1st March 1838, were they warranted in breaking up waste land till after application it had been measured off and granted. The terms of the settlement of 1840 were very liberal. To those they have agreed, and by those they must abide.

14th. The other two exceptions to the assessment, proceed on the ground that the people have an abstract right to the very favourable terms contemplated in the Board's orders of 2nd June 1840, and that if it can be proved that from any cause the terms they have obtained are not quite so favourable as they should have been under those instructions, they are entitled to a tantamount reduction. Now this position cannot be maintained. The Board merely meant to prescribe a general rule for guidance; not a fixed law for assessment. They neither intended to do the latter, nor had they the power to do so. The rule was followed to the best of the assessing officer's ability, and the settlement formed. If that settlement was fair, it must stand here as elsewhere. If, on the other hand, it can be shown to be excessive, or incapable of realization, here as elsewhere it must be reduced. As might be expected, the maximum of 3 annas per beegah is very unequal. It is so low, that almost all land can pay it, but it also leaves a very unnecessary and disproportioned profit to the proprietors of good land, and this profit is yearly increasing with rapidity as population increases, and the value of land rises. Wherever the land can easily pay the assessment, there is no sufficient cause for reduction of jumma, because it can be shown that it fell at more than 3 annas a beegah, or that culturable land to the extent of one-fourth of the cultivated was not left unassessed. But wherever from these causes the land is really overassessed with reference to its assets, the Collector is at liberty to recommend a reduction of the assessment.

15th. Some difficulty arises from determining who is to pay the rate on the *shamilat* or *beshee* lands, but this has been in many cases already adjusted by the proprietors agreeing to distribute it on their holdings, or by the mo-

quddum taking it on himself. Where this has been done, it should be confirmed, and where it has not been done, and yet the total assessment on the village is moderate, it should be done by the Collector. If the assessment is in itself higher than can fairly be demanded, it should be reduced by striking off the assessment on the *shamilat* and *beshee* lands, or in any other preferable way. It is believed that there are some cases in the Dains, (or circles of high stony lands in the upper parts of the Dhoon), where reduction is necessary. There, separate cultivated villages are intermixed with the lands of the Dains, and the hamlets of the Dains, with one another, to such a degree, that it was necessary to measure several villages or hamlets together according to the European scientific method. These were measured separately, according to the native method, but the assessable area shown by the European method exceeded the total of the corresponding area as given by the native method. It is now impossible to say by whom the assessment on the *shamilat* and *beshee* lands should be paid, whilst the demand from the whole is very high, and burthensome, and there was no culturable land which could be assigned free of assessment.

16th. The determination of the rights of the present residents in the Dhoon is a subject of great importance and much delicacy. Here, as must necessarily be the case in every country, insecurity of title has materially affected the prosperity of the country, nor will the district thrive, as it ought to do, till every man knows, or has the means of knowing, what his rights are. The difficulty, such as it is, must be faced, and the necessary remedy applied.

17th. The Lieutenant Governor has already expressed, in paragraph 3, his opinion that the Resolution of Government, dated 16th March 1830, as carried into effect by the local officers and afterwards confirmed by Government, was erroneous and injudicious. It was however within the competency of the Government to make the declaration, and the rights thus created, and now exercised for upwards of 14 years, must be scrupulously maintained. But there is no necessity for extending the principles of that Resolution, further than was contemplated at the time they were assumed, or than is now universally the case. They have not been extended to the grants made to Europeans in 1837-38 and subsequently, and it is not right that they should be extended to any villages brought into cultivation by natives since 1830, as has now been erroneously done. Nor is it

necessary that they should be extended to ryots settled in the old villages by the moquddums since 1830.

18th. It remains that all those who were recognized as proprietors in 1830*, or their heirs or assignees, should be still regarded as proprietors, and that not only of the land they then held, but also of the land they may have since brought into cultivation and now hold. Towards such the moquddums are mere Government servants, called upon to collect from them, and in virtue of that office entitled to a portion of the sum collected. Their office is not heritable nor transferable, but they are liable to exclusion by the Collector for misconduct, or insolvency, or any other cause which incapacitates them from the right discharge of their duty.

Extract from Resolution of Government, dated 16th March 1830.

7. That the moquddums be distinctly regarded as officers of Government, liable to be removed from the situation, if they shall fail to promote the public interests and to give satisfaction to the people; but otherwise to be continued, as proposed in the 20th paragraph of Major Young's Report, and should any individual be removed for misconduct, (the general arrangement continuing), a preference shall be given to persons of the same family if otherwise qualified.

Extract from Major Young's letter, dated 28th November 1829.

20. The right of succession to the mooquddumee should be hereditary by entail to the next male heir, without the power of selling, willing it away, or sequestrating it in any manner.

19th. The cultivating proprietors, in the event of their default, are responsible to the Government in their persons and property. Their land may be sold, their personal property may be distrained, and themselves imprisoned. The moquddum is required to aid in these processes, and to assist in making arrangements for the land. He is also at liberty to take the land if no better offer be made, but he cannot be compelled to take the land. The cultivating proprietors are not jointly responsible one for the other, nor is the moquddum responsible for the default of the cultivators, otherwise than that he is liable to be displaced from his post of moquddum if he is unable or unwilling to collect the jumma of the village.

20th. Assamees in villages that were settled in 1830, who have been located since that date, should be considered the tenants of those who located them, whether moquddums or proprietors. The land they hold should be entered as the property of the person who located them, and they put on the footing of *khood kasht* assamees, paying a rent fixed by special contract, or varying according to the custom of the pergunnah, but possessing no heritable and transferable

property. If they have located themselves, they will of course be proprietors.

21st. Villages which have been located since 1830, will be settled in full proprietary right with the locators; care being only taken that the terms made with the resident assamees are maintained.

22nd. Culturable land to the amount of one-fourth of the cultivated land, was left free of assessment under the impression that it was required for grazing purposes. This was a mistake. There is grazing land in abundance elsewhere, and the culturable land has been generally broken up. Where this has been done in old settled villages, it will be considered the property of him by whom or at whose cost it was broken up. Where it has not been broken up, it must now be decided who has the right to break it up. Each proprietor is entitled to a plot proportioned to his property; but if he is unable or unwilling to occupy it, it should be offered first to the moquddum, and next to any other proprietor willing to take it up. If no one will take the land, it may be left unappropriated, with a declaration that each proprietor is entitled to a certain portion, and may break it up when he liked.

23rd. In paragraph 19, of his letter of 18th March 1843, Mr. Vansittart mentions several villages settled in 1830, where the ryotwarry character of that proceeding has never had effect, and the moquddum has remained to the present day sole proprietor. This opinion rests on no recorded document, but on the known fact that in these villages the cultivators have continued up to the present date to pay to the moquddum a fixed portion of their crops, either by *kun* or *buttai*, and have never paid according to the sums assessed on them at the time of Settlement, nor exercised any rights of transfer. In such cases, the right may be held to have lapsed, even supposing it now to be claimed. But it is most desirable that the records should not stand as they now do, exhibiting a false and arbitrary state of property. If the cultivators assert the right they should be made to exercise it, otherwise they should be made to relinquish in favor of the moquddum, who is the actual possessor of it. Each case should be examined, and some arrangement made between the moquddum and the cultivators.

24th. It requires no very great labor to follow out these principles in the Dhoon. The villages are few, and the Lieutenant Governor has full confidence in the ability and

discretion of Mr. Vansittart to carry out all the measures which are requisite.

25th. The jumma settled by Major Young will be immediately confirmed on its being reported by the Board, but confessedly liable to reductions, where they may be found necessary by the Settlement Officer. In all other respects, their inability to raise a confirmed jumma, Mr. Vansittart is hereby invested with full powers as a Settlement Officer under Regulation VII. 1822, and Regulation IX. 1833. Under these powers, it will be necessary for him to take up the case of each village, determine all the rights in it, and hold a proceeding declaratory of those rights.

26th. It remains to notice a few cases where villages have lately fallen into decay, and where other new villages are forming.

27th. Much of the land in the Dhoon is of little value, the population is scanty, and the impediments to residence arising from the unhealthiness of the climate and to the want of water so great, that there is difficulty in forming new villages or even maintaining the old ones. The inhabitants are not much attached to the soil, and when the very favorable grant terms are contrasted with the settlement terms, it is not surprizing if the men sometimes desert their old settled lands in order to take up new lands. This indeed would have been much more the case than it has, had it not been that the debt to Government during the period of settlement has been considered personal, as has already been stated in paragraph 19; a man was not allowed to resign his lease, and if he left the land he was obliged, so long as he remained in the Dhoon, to pay the demand, unless he could obtain another person to take the lease from him. This perhaps was necessary under the circumstances of the case. It was not illegal, and when the liberal terms granted to the people are considered, it was not inequitable.

28th. Still there are several cases, in which death or desertion from the Dhoon have depopulated small villages, which cannot now be restored. The longer retention of these on the rent-roll is unnecessary, and authority will be given for striking them off and remitting the existing balances on them as soon as Mr. Vansittart submits a list of them, with a brief statement of the circumstances which occasioned the decay of each.

29th. Mr. Vansittart has exerted himself with much zeal to establish new villages. The orders of Government,

dated 22nd June last, have decided the terms on which such grants should be given: and the orders of Government, dated 18th November 1839, paragraph 6, vested the local officers with authority to give such grants to natives on condition of their being reported to Government for sanction. The annexed form of pottah seems to meet the requisitions of the case, and there is no objection to the immediate grant of lands on these terms, provided the boundaries be first determined and marked off; that each grant do not exceed 4000 acres, and that tenders for higher terms have been invited, but not made as prescribed in paragraph 4 of the orders of 22nd June last. These grants must be reported for confirmation as soon as engagements have been exchanged. Grants to Europeans must, under the orders of 18th November 1839, be reported to Government as definitively settled by the local authority, before engagements are exchanged.

30th. The Lieutenant Governor is desirous that every encouragement should be given to Mr. Vansittart in his endeavours to bring the waste lands of the Dhoon into cultivation, by the formation of new villages, and by liberal grants of *tuccavee*. It is only necessary to guard against the injury of old villages, by the establishment of new ones, and of this Mr. Vansittart seems fully aware. The advantages possessed by settlers in the Dhoon are not few, and there is every prospect that agricultural operations will succeed, if they are prudently and economically conducted, and care be taken to give good titles, and scrupulously to respect and protect all rights to landed property.

31st. A copy of this letter has been given to Mr. Vansittart for his information and guidance.

32nd. The original enclosures of your letter are herewith returned, copies having been retained for record.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

J. THORNTON,

Secy. to Govt., N. W. P.

AGRA:
The 22nd January 1845.

FORM OF POTTAH, *referred to in preceding page.*

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS that the Hon'ble the Lieutenant Governor of the North Western Provinces has been pleased to confer on Mr. ———————————— his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns, the grant of a tract of waste land measuring British statute acres ——— situate in ———————————— to be holden by him on the conditions hereinafter stated, that is to say, for the first fifty years on the following conditions.

1st. To clear, according to the undermentioned proportions, the whole tract within the period of twenty years, with the exception of ———————— acres of irremediably barren land, and one-fourth or ———————— acres of the remainder deducted, as approved of by Government.

2nd. If no commencement be made to clear within the first year, the settlement to be void, and the grant resumable by Government, who may settle it with any other person.

3rd. If one-fourth of the whole culturable land be not cleared and cultivated within the first five years, the remainder to lapse to Government, or a settlemet be made with any other person; and the grantee to be liable to a fine of 4 annas for every acre of the one-fourth remaining uncultivated.

4th. If one-half of the whole culturable land be not cleared and cultivated in ten years, the remainder to lapse to Government, or a settlement to be made with any other person, and the grantee to be liable to a fine of 4 annas for every acre of the one-half remaining uncultivated.

5th. If three-fourths of the whole culturable land be not cleared and cultivated in twenty years, the remainder to be at the disposal of Government, and the grantee to be liable to a fine of 4 annas for every acre of the three-fourths remaining uncultivated.

6th. A fine incurred under any one of the three preceding clauses shall be leviable from the cleared portion of the grant, in the same way as any ordinary balance of land revenue; but the person and other property of the grantee shall not be liable for it.

7th. To pay according to the kistbundees in use in the Deyrah Dhoon, the following yearly jummas, viz:

Years F. S.			Jumma.	Years F. S.			Jumma.
1	or	„	Nil.	16	or	„	
2	„	„	Nil.	17	„	„	
3	„	„	Nil.	18	„	„	
4	„	„		19	„	„	
5	„	„		20	„	„	
6	„	„		21	„	„	
7	„	„		22	„	„	
8	„	„		23	„	„	
9	„	„		24	„	„	
10	„	„		25	„	„	
11	„	„		26	„	„	
12	„	„		27	„	„	
13	„	„		28	„	„	
14	„	„		29	„	„	
15	„	„					

Year.	Rate per acre.	Year.	Rate per acre.	Year.	Rate per acre.
	R. A. G.		R. A. G.		R. A. G.
1st, 2nd and 3rd,	Nil.	6th, ...	0 6 2	9th, ...	0 10 15
4th, ...	0 3 0	7th, ...	0 7 13	10th, ...	0 12 6
5th, ...	0 4 11	8th, ...	0 9 4		

These jummas are to be recoverable according to the rules and regulations in force for the collection of the revenue from malgoozars, farmers, &c., in cases of arrears.

8th. The standard of measurement to be the British standard acre consisting of 4840 square yards, and the Government shall be at liberty to measure the land in the 6th, 11th and 21st years, with the view of ascertaining that the conditions respecting the clearance of the specified portion of land by each of those periods have been fulfilled.

9th. The grantee to erect boundary marks round his grant, and to keep them in a state of repair.

10th. The public highways are not considered included in the grant of the land through which they run, and remain the property of the State.

11th. The grantee is to pay a contribution of one per cent. per annum on the amount of his jumma for the year,

for the repairs of the high roads, in lieu of all demands of the State, for aid in repairing the high roads. The grantee will have no claim on the Government for making or repairing private roads.

12th. The right of Government to take lands for roads, canals, or other public purposes, in the mode laid down by the Regulation, is to remain in force in the lands included in this grant.

13th. All rights of way for men and cattle from the villages to watering places, and from villages to the high roads, are to be respected, and any dispute to be settled by the Magistrate under the control of the Commissioner.

14th. The right to all mineral products found within the grant is reserved to Government, and the grantee shall not deprive the public of the use of the natural products of the ground to the extent and on the terms under which they may have hitherto enjoyed them.

15th. The right of distribution of water for irrigation is reserved to the State. Government will direct such cuts and sluices to be made as may appear proper.

16th. The grantee is bound to conform to such rules regarding police arrangements as may be determined on, and to appoint and support a *goryt* for each inhabited village if required.

17th. The grantee is bound to conform to all Regulations and Acts of Government in common with all other landholders.

NOTE.—The lands included in this grant are shewn in the subjoined table.

No. in Map.	Name of grant.	Name of grantee.	Total area in acres.	Deduct irremediably barren acres.	Remains useful area acres.	Deduct ¼th as approved by Government.	Area to be engaged for.

And provided the said conditions be well and truly fulfilled, then from and after the lapse of the said term, the lands to be holden on the same conditions and subject to the

same rules and regulations as all other landed tenures paying revenue to the British Government in the North Western Provinces.

By order of the Hon'ble the Lieutenant Governor, North Western Provinces, dated at Agra, this ———— day of ———— in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty ———.

Examined and Registered as No. —— in the Secretary's Office, Revenue Department, N. W. P.

Secretary to Govt., N. W. P.

APPENDIX B.

Notes regarding the Settlement of the Dhoon.

1st. Having lately had an opportunity at Dehrah of examining in company with the Commissioner, Mr. Morrieson, the proceedings of the Superintendent in the revision of the settlement under the orders of January 22nd 1845, it seems advisable to place on record the result of these enquiries.

2nd. Mr. Vansittart's report of July 7th 1845, which has not yet been forwarded to Government, came under consideration, and some questions proposed by the Superintendent were discussed.

3rd. Further enquiry has fully established the errors which were committed in this settlement. The tenures of land in the Dhoon are not materially different from what are found in other parts of the country, and it is a fatal mistake to consider every cultivator the absolute proprietor of the land he cultivates. It was also an error to assume 3 annas a local beegah (or 14 as. 6 pie, 6 gundahs an acre) a fair assessment for all land in the Dhoon. For some land it was unnecessarily light, but some very poor land in the thinly peopled parts of the district could not pay even that.

4th. The assessment cannot now be altered. The rate determined was a maximum. The lightly assessed lands will yield their proprietors more or less profit during the settlement. The jumma on the heavily assessed land will continue to be paid with difficulty, unless some means can be devised for lightening the burthen, or more equally distributing it in particular cases.

5th. Much may be done towards remedying the erroneous record of rights. The effect of the late settlement seems to have been little understood. In many cases the old state of things has not been altered, and all parties appear willing to cancel what has passed, and to revert to their ancient customs.

6th. The village of Majera is a case in point. It is a regular putteedaree village, held by a community of Rajpoots, who are divided into two *thokes*, one of which

contains 3 puttees and the other 4. The land and the *assamees* are divided amongst the several shareholders. The cultivating *assamees*, though recorded as proprietors of their cultivation, have never considered themselves to be such, and shrink from the responsibility which it involves. There is apparently no difficulty in forming a new record as in a putteedaree village. If, however, the cultivators who were recognized as proprietors at the time of settlement, refuse to relinquish their rights, they must be confirmed as subordinate proprietors on the footing explained in paragraph 118 of Directions for Settlement Officers.

7th. In such cases the moquddumee allowance of 20 per cent. may be distributed differently from what it was at the time of settlement. This may be arranged according to the wish of the parties. It is said, that generally they wish 15 per cent. to be distributed amongst the proprietors, and 5 per cent. to be reserved for the lumberdar or lumberdars. This is unobjectionable. The whole will be shewn as so much deducted from the Government demand, and the proprietors and lumberdars will collect it themselves, according to the authorized process.

8th. At present there are 12 putwarrees engaged for the whole district, and receiving pay from Government as their servants*. They reside at the sudder station, and know nothing of the villages. It would be much better to put the putwarree's establishment on the same footing here as elsewhere, which the proprietors are willing enough should be the case, if they have the nomination of the men. In such an event the Government establishment may be idscontinued and a *pro ratâ* reduction of jumma given to the proprietors to cover the expense.

* 12 Putwarrees, @ 5	60
Stationery, ...	3
per mensem, ..	63
or per annum, ..	756

9th. Many of the villages have assigned to them culturable waste lands on grant terms, over and above the one-fourth free of assessment. It was never decided who was to have, or pay for this land. On the new arrangement, a *rus-suddee* jumma will be fixed, to cover this source of increased income, and the land will be left to the community of proprietors to be dealt with according to the village custom. One rupee per annum additional for every 15 acres, after the first three years, seems to be a rate of increase nearly corresponding in round numbers with what is generally understood by grant terms, though in this case its mean-

ing has never been defined. Fractions in these, as in all other similar cases, may be omitted, and the nearest rupee be taken.

10th. The moquddums on the old footing seem to have been responsible for the police as well as the revenue. The former obligation may be best discharged by their nominating a chowkeedar to each village or circle of villages, who will be paid in money or land as may be found best.

11th. The constitution of the Dains has been the subject of much doubt. Mr. Vansittart's conclusion, as expressed in paragraphs 16 and 20 of his report of 7th July 1845, is not generally approved.

12th. My own impressions are founded on brief conversations with the native officers, and with the leading men, especially of Oodeewallah and Kurunpoor Dains. The constitution of the estates appears to me so simple and conformable with the usual features of similar tenures in other parts of the country, that I am only surprised that doubts should have existed on the subject, and I am led from that very cause to suspect the accuracy of the information I received. My opinion must therefore be received with caution, and most carefully tested before it be made the basis of future proceedings.

13th. I will state as briefly as the case admits, my view of the constitutions of these Dains, of the way in which they should have been settled, and of the course which, under present circumstances, is open to the Government.

14th. The Dains comprise the lands stretching from the vicinity of Dehrah up the southern slope of the hills. Much of the land is very poor, but that in the neighbourhood of Dehrah and Rajpoor, and the interjacent road, is most valuable as building ground. The value of all is much greater than it ever was before, from the great demand for produce of all sorts, as well as for the labor of the inhabitants.

15th. There are eight Dains, each of which is said to be the property of one family or tribe or community. The names of the Dains and the families who own them are noted in the margin.*

* 1. Oodeewallah owned by Chundail Rajpoots.
2. Udoeewallah „ „ Khurowla.
3. Mansingwallah, „ „ Mujralee.
4. Dhorusi „ „ Sarusuret Brahmins.
5. Kurrunpoor „ „ Chundail Rajpoots.
6. Hatee Burkullah „ „ Khurowla.
7. Gopeewallah „ „ Bisht.
8. Dalunwallah „ „ Chundail.

16th. Each of these Dains comprises the whole or part of several villages, each village in the Dains has its known boundaries, and the portion belonging to each Dain, whether cultivated or waste, is also well known. There are some villages, (*e. g.* Keolagir), part of which is in a Dain and the rest a distinct mehal. The Dains are in fact talookahs consisting of lands in different villages, all constituting one mehal, and held by a village community according to a known rule. The cultivators, who are not members of the community, are either Raoleeas or common *assamees*. The former are members of neighbouring Rajpoot or Brahmin families, with whom the proprietors have intermarried, and whom they have settled on their villages on favorable terms.

17th. Each Dain seems to have been originally divided into 36 *jhoolahs*, though the term is now obsolete. This appears to have been merely an arbitrary mode of expressing the fractional shares of the estate. A Dain was supposed to be divided into 36 *jhoolahs* instead of 20 biswahs or 16 annas, and the shares were expressed in 36ths instead of 20ths or 16ths.

18th. In this state of things the proper course would have been to have marked off the boundaries of each village, and to have surveyed it professionally and by *khusreh*. A Dainwar Moontukhib would have shown the area of each Dain, which should have been assessed on its assets, and settled with the proprietors. The rights of these proprietors would have been defined in the *wajib-oolurz*, and the rights of all subordinate proprietors or tenants would have been decided in the usual way, and shown in the jummabundee.

19th. As it is, strips of land *(puthrees)* lying between mountain streams, have been arbitrarily and erroneously named as certain Dains, and surveyed so, both professionally and by *khusreh*. It is impossible to find from the papers where the lands of any Dain lie. The settlement has been made for each Dain with the cultivators in each mouzah as his property. The property thus created has been in many cases sold or sublet at an enormous profit.

20th. The proper remedy is now to make a new Mouzahwar measurement and Dainwar Moontukhib. The Dains may then be settled with the proprietary communities, and the best arrangement practicable made between them and the subordinate occupants of the land. Each such subordinate occupant is entitled to be considered the pro-

prietor of the plot of land settled with him, at the jumma then determined, and will occupy the position defined in paragraph 118 of "Directions for Settlement Officers." If they resign this right, they then become mere *assamees*, between whom and the proprietary community a fair arrangement is to be made.

21st. The moquddums (of whom there may be two or more, as expedient) will become lumberdars. The community of proprietors will have the right to the waste land in the Dains, and to the equitable assessment on all lands in excess of their puttahs held by the subordinate proprietors, and on all resigned lands. The sayer items, such as wood, minerals, &c., may be given to them, but the Government must reserve to itself the right over all streams of water and their beds, in order that it may have the power of equitably distributing the waters for the good of the people at large.

22nd. In making this change the Superintendent must be most careful that its full bearings be understood, and the consent obtained of all parties, whose rights may be affected. The papers must be compiled with much accuracy and fulness, so as not only to show the present state of property, but also so as to provide for its future probable changes.

23rd. One great evil of proprietary communities thus constituted is the difficulty of their giving a title to land within the estate. Provision must be specially made for this in the *wajib-ool-urz*. It must be determined who in the community can sell or lease land, and how the subordinate interests are to be compensated. Hitherto intending lessees or purchasers have had only to deal with the recorded cultivating proprietary occupant: in future they will have to deal primarily with a numerous proprietary community, and secondarily with subordinate, proprietary or non-proprietary occupants. The subordinate proprietary occupants can sell or dispose of their property as they like. The non-proprietary cannot, but will have to be bought out, like the tenants in Ireland, when the land has been purchased or leased from the community of proprietors.

24th. By way of caution it may be observed, that perhaps the persons who have been represented to me as proprietors, are in fact only the moquddum's family, and that the Rooheeas and other old families are in fact the village community. This is a nice point to determine. It

ought to turn on the consideration of who disposed of the waste lands, enjoyed the sayer products, and reaped all incidental advantages, or bore all incidental burthens over and above the Government demand? Was it the moquddums alone? or the family whom I suppose to be the village community? or more than these, and if so, who?

25th. The re-measurement of the villages may be made at the Government expense, but this re-measurement is for the better definition and protection of the rights of the community, and may therefore be fairly charged upon them, if they will consent. There is this advantage in its being done at their expense, that they will consider it more their own act, and will be the more careful that it be well done. Probably they will not object to do it themselves, when its full advantages are explained. In the Dains there may be difficulty in apportioning the expense.

26th. My impression is, that the Dains are not as a whole overassessed, and that if the settlement for each Dain be made as proposed with a community, all the members of whom are jointly and severally responsible for payment of the whole demand, there will be no difficulty in realizing the present jumma. But it is most impolitic to maintain the stipulation that they will be liable to an increased charge for all land brought into cultivation, over and above the one-fourth given them free of assessment. The limits of each Dain being determined, the whole area within those limits should be at the entire disposal of the community during the period of settlement, with or without a *russudee* increase, as may seem fair. Where the assessment is heavy, no *russudee* increase should be demanded, but the proprietors should be encouraged to extend their cultivation by a guarantee against any increased assessment during the present settlement. This boon may probably go far to reconcile all parties to the proposed change in the constitution of property.

27th. These notes have been made thus full to assist the Superintendent in his future operations. They must be taken at their true value; as suggestions and not as directions; as indicating what may be done, and not as enjoining what must be done.

J. THOMASON.

LANDOUR:
April 9th 1847.

THE

TORTURES OF A CIVIL SUIT

IN A

MOFUSSIL COURT.

BOMBAY:
PRINTED BY THOMAS GRAHAM.
1859.

DEAR READER,

Pray attend to the following narrative in which the tortures of a Civil suit in a Mofussil Court will be fully illustrated, and the manner in which the Court is made the machine of the ruin and impoverishment of an innocent man will be shewn, for the edification of those who may have the misfortune of being entangled in a litigation. The narrative is not a fiction, but a real fact, as it has occurred and is occurring in Poona.

2. In 1853, one Goolab Chund, a merchant of Poona, became a bankrupt. In order to extort money from Bapoo Sing, who was his friend and neighbour, he threatened him with the Fouzdaree and the Dewanee, *i. e.* a criminal action and a civil action, as they are designated in the Zillas subordinate to Bombay. These are no small misfortunes, and are dreaded so much, that a man not possessed of extraordinary fortitude would fain purchase freedom from them for a considerable sum of money. Bapoo Sing, however, did not regard the unjust threat conveyed to him by Goolab Chund, and preferred to abide by the issue of his civil and criminal prosecutions, trusting in the justice of his case.

3. Goolab Chund, not able to extort money by simple threats, repaired to the Court of the Principal Sudder Ameen of Poona, and filed there, in the name of one Kunneram, his wife's brother, a suit for Rs. 6,364-12-3. The date of the suit is the 22nd August 1853. In order to support the claim for the large sum, he falsified his books, and entered large sums of money on sheets of paper which he carefully inserted in his books, and thereby shewed that the balance of an account-current against Bapoo Sing was the amount of the suit. He further stated that he sold the debt to Kunneram, and authorised him to sue Bapoo Sing. He himself with his books remained as a witness to the claim.

4. Four days after the institution of the suit, Kunneram applied to the Court of the Judge for sequestration of the property of Bapoo Sing, a trader. The application was granted and the property was sequestrated in 1853. Any one who understands

how a trader will fare when his property is sequestrated, will easily understand the damage and loss of credit inflicted upon Bapoo Sing. The next step which Goolab Chund took, was a criminal prosecution for 1,400 Rupees. He had merely to apply to the late Mr. James Spiers, the then Foujdar of Poona, and Bapoo Sing's account books were immediately attached and placed in the Police Office. Here they remained for nearly 30 months. Bapoo Sing constantly applied to the Magistrate, but he was informed that an enquiry was going on. To all appearance, however, no enquiry was going on, and if it did go on at all, it did not surely require 30 months. At last Bapoo Sing applied to the Governor in Council, in 1855, and the Secretary to Government, Mr. Anderson, in his letter No. 788, dated the 15th March 1856, Judicial Department, referred Bapoo Sing to the Magistrate of Poona, to whom the decision of Government, it was stated, was communicated. On the receipt of the orders of Government, the Magistrate restored the books and informed Bapoo Sing that he was acquitted of the charges preferred against him.

5. The loss during these proceedings was almost incalculable. Bapoo Sing's trade was closed, his books locked up in the Police Office, and his debts unrecovered; to say nothing of the anxiety and concern which preyed upon him.

6. The Principal Sudder Ameen put off the civil suit from day to day; for something or other he postponed the case and resumed inquiry after a long interval. Bapoo Sing often applied for the transfer of the suit to another Court, but the Judge did not think it proper to do so. Bapoo Sing shewed satisfactory reasons why the enquiry should not be entrusted to the Principal Sudder Ameen's Court, in which every encouragement was given to the plaintiff's.

7. In the meantime the Sudder Dewanee Adawlut ruled that the plaintiff who purchases a debt from another for the purpose of merely prosecuting a third party, should be invariably nonsuited. The Court had observed that such purchases were generally fraudulent. Bapoo Sing put this decision of the Sudder before the Principal Sudder Ameen and demanded the nonsuit; but that Court would not act upon the rule of the Sudder Dewanee Adawlut; but resorted to an irregularity, whereby, on an application of

Goolab Chund, the name of Kunneram was struck off from the file and the name of Goolab Chund inserted in its place. The attempt was evidently made with the view of surmounting the impediment presented by the inconvenient rule of the Sudder Dewanee Adawlut. He quoted Clause 2 of Section 17 of Regulation IV. of 1827 as the authority for the procedure, when it must be observed, that this clause did not authorise such a procedure. It was altogether a fiction, used for the support of the wicked Goolab Chund.

8. This man had already on the 9th January 1854 stated on solemn affirmation, that he had no claim against Bapoo Sing, and that the only claim he had was sold to Kunneram, from whom he received consideration. Having thus asserted on oath, he had no right whatever to stand before the Court in the character of plaintiff. In the case before the Principal Sudder Ameen, Goolab was no party, and therefore the Regulation did not apply. Moreover the application was made in the last stage of the suit, and ought therefore to have been flung away. But the Principal Sudder Ameen did not wish to do so. Bapoo Sing then applied to the Zilla Judge for an order to the Principal Sudder Ameen to decide the case as it stood. The Judge refused to grant it. An appeal was made to the Sudder Dewanee Adawlut, and that Court required the Principal Sudder Ameen to proceed according to law and refuse the application of Goolab Chund. The Principal Sudder Ameen received the order, but kept it for six months in his records without obeying it, but at last was obliged to pass a decision, on the 19th September 1857, nonsuiting the plaintiff. The substance of the decree is as follows.

9. The rules framed by the Sudder Court are more in accordance with the caprice of the Judges than in conformity with the principles of justice. The Court waited so long in expectation of a new rule which the plaintiff said was framed lately by the Sudder Dewanee Court. This, however, the plaintiff failed in producing, and he is therefore nonsuited. By this decree, Goolab Chund however has not lost his claim. He is at liberty to institute a new suit, and if he has no means of paying the expenses, he may file it in *forma pauperis*, or he may borrow money to pay its expenses.

10. The Statute of Limitation enacts that a suit for the balance of an account-current cannot be instituted after the lapse of six years from the date of the last transaction. This period elapsed on the date of the above decree, and further suit was entirely barred.

11. Goolab Chund's books, in the meantime, became subject of enquiry in another case in the Judge's Court. The Judge entrusted the enquiry to the Nazir, Mr. Summers, whose report, dated the 8th December 1858, was submitted to the Judge. The length of the document prevents the entire insertion of it, but the substance is as follows :—

12. "I have read the papers connected with the case of Bapoo Sing and have examined several witnesses regarding the books. It is proved that new leaves have been inserted in them and that the accounts are not regular and that there are gross inconsistencies in the entries in the books. From all this I have no doubt that the books are forgeries, intended to extort money from others ; they should therefore be sent to the Magistrate, that the writer may meet with condign punishment.

13. The above report was made after an enquiry which occupied ten months, from February to December 1858. The correct conclusion at which the Nazir arrived in this time, were not reached at by the Principal Sudder Ameen during an investigation extending over a period of more than four years. The surprise is, that while the books shewn to be forgeries by the Nazir were in the Court of the Principal Sudder Ameen, every attempt was made to prove them to be honest records.

14. Goolab Chund, acting in conformity to the hint given in the decree, filed another suit in the same week in which the decree was passed. This new institution was again followed by an application for sequestration.

15. Although the suit is barred by the Statute of Limitation, enquiry is proceeding with all vigour.

16. Bapoo Sing, in his answer to the suit, shewed that the suit was not admissible, that the Court had always shewn a leaning to the plaintiff, encouraged litigation by all means in its power, and that the effect of all this had been the total ruin of Bapoo Sing, who was a victim to the wicked propensities of Goolab Chund, fostered

as they were by the assistance and encouragement of the Court. The Principal Sudder Ameen deemed this truth to be a contempt of the Court, and fined Bapoo Sing in the sum of Rs. 50.

17. Thus the case at this moment stands on the file of the Principal Sudder Ameen of Poona, Wamonrow Juggunath, Esq., in the 7th year of its long age ! ! !

18. How the property of a man is secure under the influence of these Courts, may be judged from the above narrative. The cost of application to the Principal Sudder Ameen alone has amounted to Rs. 300. Each application is required to be written on a Stamp of four Rupees' value. Add to this the numberless applications to the Judge of Poona and to the Sudder Dewanee Adawlut, the expense of going to Bombay, and the engaging European Barristers and Native Vukeels. Bapoo Sing was obliged to go to Bombay about ten times. The procuring of the Sudder's order to reject Goolab Chund's application to be permitted to sue as plaintiff in the case in which he had sold his interest in it to Kunneram for a consideration as was alleged, cost Bapoo Sing Rs. 300. Thus the expense of defending an unjust claim, supported by forgeries from the beginning, which any other Court, except that of the Principal Sudder Ameen, would have detected in a day, has already amounted to about Rs. 2,000. Add to this the loss of profits from his trade, which is entirely closed during seven years; it cannot be less than 5,000 on the lowest calculation. Bapoo Sing must take some years to be restored to his former condition, or perhaps he may never do this in his life. To whose charge is this enormous ruin of a man to be laid? The Principal Sudder Ameen is still doing his best to improve the case in every way, and how far he shall succeed must be left to future.

19. The Judge would have forwarded the books to the Magistrate according to the suggestion of the Nazir, but he was prevented from doing so by an application from the Principal Sudder Ameen, who stated that he required the book, in the course of a suit pending before him. The Judge at this request sent the books to him, notwithstanding the most earnest remonstrance of Bapoo Sing.

20. It should not be forgotten that the Judge's establishment and the Judges of the lower Courts are generally confede-

rate. The former will never inform the Judge of what is going on in these Courts, or whether a man is there victimized. They will always induce the Judge to support the proceedings of the Courts below, without regard to their justice or injustice. To this state of things is to be attributed the disregard of the Judge to the numerous protests of Bapoo Sing against being tried by the Principal Sudder Ameen, and the necessity of constantly appealing to the Sudder at a great cost.

21. Bapoo Sing, after all the cost, has the satisfaction of knowing that the plaintiff, from whom it is to be, if it is ever recovered, is a bankrupt and poor man, who can never pay one-tenth of it.

22. Has not then a wicked man accomplished the ruin of an innocent man whose only crime was that he disregarded unjust threats and did not submit to the extortion which Goolab Chund was trying to practise upon him? If he had paid Goolab Chund a small sum of money, which he wanted from him, he would not have been, as he has been, plundered and ruined in the course of seven long years: which of the choice would have been better, is left to be judged by the reader of this painful narrative.

23. The suit as it stands is not tenable on any account Goolab Chund has sworn that he sold his interest in it, and it is further barred by the Statute of Limitation. In an exactly parallel case the decision given by the Sudder Ameen's Court, on the 29th September 1858, at Poona, was as follows:—

"The Plaintiff had sold the claim, the subject-matter of the suit, to another man. That man sued the defendant. The period prescribed for such suit in the mean time expired. Now the plaintiff sues the defendant and requests an extension to the period, on the ground that he had ignorantly allowed a third party to sue instead of himself. But the Court is of opinion that no such excuse can be admitted in order to prolong the period appointed by law and he is therefore nonsuited."

24. This view of case was upheld by the Joint Judge, Mr. H. Newton. (Vide the case of appeal No. 558 decided on the 5th February 1859.)

25. Mark the difference in the conduct of the similar cases in the Court of the Sudder Ameen, Kishnarow Vittul Vinchorker, Esquire, and the Principal Sudder Ameen Wamunrow Juggunath, Esquire.

26. From the foregoing details, the reader may have some idea of the way in which any man, by the machinery of a Court of Justice, succeeds in accomplishing the ruin of his neighbour, and how signally the good intentions of Government are frustrated. Bapoo Sing himself is too much bewildered to find his way out of the snares in which he unfortunately finds himself entangled. For the various features of the case, any one who has the leisure and curiosity may turn over the file of the case as existing on the records of the Judge of Poona, and there he would realize far greater wonders and more terrible consequences than are described or can be described in the little brochure now presented to the sympathizing public.

JUDICATURE OF INDIA.

SIR,—In your issue of the 26th appears a letter from a Native, extracted from the *Madras Times*, on the proposed system of Judicature for that Presidency. The views of the writer and his practical suggestions are not such as will command much attention, but there is one proposition that deserves to be stated with the greatest emphasis.

"It is not desirable that all disputes of even the smallest amount should be brought before Courts." This should be the key-note of the reform of much of our procedure.

I believe English lawyers have a maxim *de minimis non curat lex*. The law does not concern itself with *very* little things. You dont use a Nasmyth's hammer to crack a filbert. But in the Mofussil, that is just what we *do*. The vast majority of suits in our District Courts are about matters of infinitesimally small amount. The writer I have quoted, mentions a suit for the recovery of three shillings, in which the Plaintiff was allowed to have a Commission to examine witnesses issued to Mysore! The suit lasts for four months, and interest is allowed to the plaintiff. No wonder the ultimate costs to the poor devil of a defendant (an "ignorant shepherd") will amount to five times the original amount.

What a monstrous perversion of judicature is this! But cases of the same kind happen every day. A plaintiff can always get a Sudder fearing Judge to issue summonses and allow time for the production of witnesses, or direct interrogatories if need be, to the indefinite protraction of a suit for the most trumpery amount. Our Judges are so much in dread of their official superiors that they dare not use their discretion to refuse vexatious applications, and Lord Eldon's principle *sat cito si sat bene* is applied to an extent so exaggerated, as to turn the administration of justice into the most handy and effective possible organ of private malice.

A Court of Justice with its well-paid Judge, its written record, its appara us of vakeels, stamped paper, regulation law, &c., does not exist for the arrangement of miserable pecuniary disputes which could and would settle themselves but for the mischievous facilities which it affords to litigious creditors.

I should like to hear the opinion of Native and European Judges in the Mofussil on this proposition :—Let every Court of the first instance sit once a week for the summary determination of petty suits (say under Rs. 50) of which a memorandum only should be recorded and forwarded to the Sudder. The decision to have the effect of an award between the parties; only to be appealed against on the allegation of *mala fides* against the Judge. I would fix Rs. 2 as the limit below which even this Small Cause Jurisdiction should not be employed for the service of creditors.

In such petty suits summonses for witnesses should not be granted within the local limits of the Court's Jurisdiction ; the presence of the defendant or his authorised agent (not a Vukeel) should be compulsory, and no adjournment for more than 8 days permitted on any pretext.

Of course the Court in its higher jurisdiction would have to take cognizance of suits of Rs. 50 and under. There must be many of your correspondents capable of giving a practical opinion on this suggestion. I hope they not prejudice them against it by throwing out rather matter for consideration of a more revolutionary character. *Why* should the Government unlike to assist creditors to the recovery of their claims *at all* ? Has not this branch of our Judicature been a failure ; corrupting the people, making our Courts unpopular, and producing no equivalent advantage ?

I would not wish to press the inevitable answer to its logical consequences, which would be the degradation or elevation of our Judges, as regards most of their functions, to the rank of arbitrators, but it may perhaps strengthen our perception of the truth, that our Mofussil adjudication of infinitesimals, though undertaken with the best intentions, is in fact disgraceful and dangerous, and should be abandoned as soon as possible.—I am, Sir,

JURIS STUDIOSUS.

THE

EMPIRE

OF THE

MIDDLE CLASSES.

BEING

NOS. 1 AND 2 OF

SHORT SERMONS ON INDIAN TEXTS.

By HENRY MEREDITH PARKER,

BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE, RETIRED LIST.

"Aee Haideregh! Aee Haideregh! Aee Haideregh!
Kay anchunaun mahee, nehaun shud zeeree megh."—*Hafiz.*

"Alas! Alas! Alas!
That so bright a moon should sink in so black a cloud."

LONDON:
W. THACKER AND CO., 87, NEWGATE STREET.
CALCUTTA: THACKER, SPINK, AND CO. BOMBAY: THACKER AND CO.

1858.

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

"A PLAN FOR THE HOME GOVERNMENT OF INDIA," with Provisions calculated to prevent or limit the Evils and Dangers of Patronage. Price 1*s.*

"Among the numerous pamphlets to which the great Indian crisis has given birth, many of them distinguished only by their prejudice and ignorance, we occasionally alight upon one to which either the name of the writer or the unusual good sense of its contents attracts our respectful attention. Prominent among these productions of exceptional merit is one by Mr. H. M. PARKER, a distinguished member of the Bengal Civil Service, and well known throughout India as a sparkling and graceful writer. He has just put forth 'A Plan for the Home Government of India,' which gives, in the space of twenty pages, a complete account of all the machinery of administration and its manner of working, necessary to ensure not only the efficiency of the proposed system, but its entire independence of all party influences. . . . . We would recommend every one to read Mr. PARKER'S pamphlet. He takes up the right ground at starting, and, although we differ from him regarding some of the details of his scheme, we feel that we have the same object in view—the appointment of a thoroughly independent and experienced Indian Council."—*The Overland Mail.*

BOLE PONJIS: a MISCELLANY OF PROSE AND VERSE. 2 vols. fcap. 8vo., 12*s.*

THE MARCY CONVENTION (Privateering); "Capture or No Capture? That is the Question. 8vo. 1*s.*

TO THE

HONOURABLE THE COURT OF DIRECTORS

OF THE

EAST INDIA COMPANY.

THE most humane, the most equitable, liberal, and beneficent Rulers who ever governed a conquered empire; the noblest and most confiding superiors, who ever employed a public service; under whose just and discriminating administration the men who won, the men who ruled, and the men who have saved India, were formed: this trifle is very respectfully inscribed, by

Their obedient, humble servant,

H. M. PARKER,

Bengal Civil Service (Retired List).

London, December, 1857.

THE

EMPIRE OF THE MIDDLE CLASSES.

AT last, then!—The Empire of the Middle Classes, that noble and gorgeous Empire won by their valour, ruled by their firm and moderate policy, tranquillized by their wisdom, governed with only that small leaven of the oligarchic element, which it was impossible to free it from under a constitution like that of Great Britain—that resplendent Empire, long gloriously and admirably administered, the envy of nations, is about to pass away. It will no longer exist as the Empire of the Middle Classes—as the Empire of Clive, Coote, Flint, Hastings, William Jones, Shore, Barlow, Dance, who beat a fleet of men-of-war with a fleet of merchantmen; Ochterlony, Munro, Metcalfe, Edmonstone, Malcolm, Pollock, Nott, Barry Close, Henry Pottinger, Eldred Pottinger, that wonderful boy, whose marvellous exploit, unknown or forgotten here, would have made him a lieutenant-general in Russia, and in France raised monuments to his glorious memory—James Prinsep, Trevelyan, Horace Wilson, Kaye, Vincent Eyre, Abbot, Rawlinson, Outram, Lambert, Everest, Wilson, Nicholson, Neill, the Lawrences, Willoughby, and a hundred others, statesmen and warriors, men of literature, and men of science, who have sprung from the bosom of the ruling class. Hereafter it may very probably be the Empire of Lord Charles A, the Honourable Mr. B, the Honourable Mr. C; but more, much more than all, of the sons, and nephews, and sons-in-law, and grandsons, of the honourable members for D, E, F, G, &c., to the end of the alphabet. And why, it may be

asked, may not that class produce statesmen as accomplished and soldiers as gallant, as their predecessors in the East? Far be it from me to say that it will not; they will be English, Scotch, and Irish gentlemen, that is saying enough. It is not India that is altogether to be thought of in the matter, but quite another country, which may some fine morning become awake to the fact, that it is inextricably governed by such majorities in Parliament, as have not made their appearance since the days when Walpole is *said* to have said, that "every man had his price."

Be that as it may, we have to all appearance arrived at the closing act of a magnificent drama; and in that very act, full of tragic, mournful, glorious interest, manifesting to the whole world the wonderful *solidity* with which the foundations of the Empire of the Middle Classes have been laid; a firmness, a cohesion, which nothing but a rule of unrivalled sagacity and real wisdom could have created in so short a period, and in a conquered country—a firmness and cohesion, which have resisted and baffled the terrible strength of a mighty conspiracy and military outbreak, under which half the governments and nations of the globe would have succumbed. Yes, the Rule and Empire of the Middle Classes has done this marvellous deed. Massacre, mutiny, insurrection, rebellion, false friends, and treacherous foes, have alike failed to move the steadfast foundations of our power, or relax our iron grasp. We never quailed, we never doubted, we never wavered.

> "Groom fought like noble, squire like knight,
> As fearlessly and well."

And now that we are, perhaps, about to resign our great prize, so hardly won, so indomitably kept, we may proudly say to our successors, and the world, what Coriolanus thundered in the ears of the Volscians—

> "Alone we did it."

Our successors!—and to whom will the management of this magnificent succession be transferred? that is the question paramount now to all others. To the Crown?—a mere form of

words. To the House of Peers?—that is not very probable. The nation is already sufficiently jealous of an aristocracy, in which, nevertheless, there is much, very much, to honour, to admire, and to be proud of. The nation would never permit any transfer which should make the Peers of Great Britain its rulers and managers, either directly or indirectly, for the vast dependency—though they may possibly do worse.

To the House of Commons? Yes! The House of Commons will, if we do not prevent so pregnant an evil, be the actual, whoever may be the nominal, rulers of India, when the present system of Government is extinguished. It will be supposed to be managed as other things are, by a pleasant fiction, supposed to be managed by the Three Estates of the Realm; but we all know what that means in the present day, and the real, true rulers of India will be the House of Commons. The members of that Honourable House will govern *their* Empire, no longer the Empire of the Middle Classes, but the "EMPIRE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS," through the minister, by an agreeable kind of circulating process such as that by which the Abbè Sieyes created and absorbed his "Grand Elector." The minister, who, as the responsible executive, must necessarily have, either directly or indirectly, great control over the nomination of his subordinates or assistants, will govern *his* governors, the House of Commons, by a judicious distribution of the patronage amongst them, not only amongst those who uphold his Indian measures, but amongst those who support his measures in the abstract, and everything will be made pleasant. It will be something, only on a more sublime scale, resembling the process which the Court of Directors have been accused of following with the proprietors of India Stock; only that where a minister and a House of Commons are concerned, it may be rather a more serious affair for the nation.

The good, easy public is simple enough to imagine, that so long as the original appointments to India, civil and military, are only made under a system of competition, that then jobbery, nepotism, patronage, and the like, are at once cut up, root and branch.

I must take leave to doubt whether, even as respects the original appointment, the system of competition will secure us from the chronic jobbery which appears to be a part and parcel of our glorious constitution. I should not die of astonishment if we found, under the competition system, that a very extraordinary proportion of the successful candidates were sons, or nephews, or cousins, of ministers of the Crown, of peers, bishops, members of Parliament, court ladies, and great bankers; of gentlemen with handsome livings in their gift, proprietors of influential newspapers, &c., &c.

Gentlemen of Oxford and Cambridge, have you always been perfectly and profoundly satisfied when Lord Fitzmorion, or the son of the Archbishop of Swaffham, or the nephew of the Lord Chancellor, figured in the first class, and yourselves in the second, that the more elevated position was *entirely* due to superior merit and acquirements?

But be that as it may, admit that the best candidate will always be the successful one, it is of no vital importance; for the Asmodeus who presides over patronage, jobbing, and nepotism, will, I feel satisfied, under the Empire of the House of Commons, have his head quarters in India.

The "programme," to use a recent coinage, is one of sufficient simplicity. There is a sharp session of Parliament; the ministry is tottering: the dark limbo of unofficial existence, dreaded by statesmen, "looms in the distance." Questions of extreme moment are barely carried by half satisfied supporters. One of vital importance is on the eve of discussion.—"If Duberly," says the Premier, addressing the Secretary of State for India, "If Duberly carries his amendment, we must, of course, go out. Her Majesty's service and the country will equally suffer. I speak in no spirit of self laudation, but our resignation, at this critical juncture, would be most disastrous for the Empire. The defeat must be prevented at any cost. You, my dear Mount Vernon, are, of course, acquainted with those in Her Majesty's Indian service who are related to or connected with members of the Lower House. Let the members in question be apprised, confidentially of course, the thing requires delicacy, but Kater

will manage it, that if we remain in office, there are certain gentlemen in the Indian services of whose talents and conduct you receive such favourable reports, that you are prepared to recommend them for immediate promotion. Those gentlemen, it fortunately happens, are connected with members who will, we trust, feel it their duty to the country to support us against Duberley's amendment. The Governor-General, our friend Quaning, who must come home, of course, if we go out, will understand the thing, and act accordingly."

But, it might be urged, the same process may be followed at present. The minister is as potent for jobs in India under the "Empire of the Middle Classes" as he would be under the "Empire of the House of Commons." Not so. In the first place, the Governor-General, through whom the job must be perpetrated, has as frequently been of the party of the outs as the party of the ins, and would scarcly incur obloquy or commit injustice to serve a ministry with which he had no political sympathy. Again, the Court of Directors have had too many connections, or, at all events, persons for whom they were interested in the services, to permit such jobs; besides, a Governor-General; frequently not on the best terms with the Honourable Court, who might find it difficult to avoid assisting a powerful minister the chief of his own party, would be very little influenced by a request "not to forget Jones," made by one of twenty-four elderly, uninfluential gentlemen in Leadenhall Street. Indeed, under the Empire of the Middle Classes, any assumed unjust supercession by the local Governments of India, or of promotion to the prejudice of stronger claims, would, in nine cases out of ten, have been the subject of an appeal to the Court of Directors themselves; who, having no interest in stifling such an appeal, and no motive to slur over a job which would carry with it little profit or pleasure to their honourable body, would be fully disposed to give redress if it was justly due. But, in the case I have supposed, undeserved promotions and unearned appointments in India for the purpose of bolstering up a tottering Cabinet in England, where will an appeal lie? Why, from a minister to a ministry with

which he must stand or fall (for it is too Utopian to imagine that Governor-Generalships will be given under the pending system without reference to party), and to serve which the job has been jobbed. Picture to yourselves, oh, most thinking people, an attaché to the embassy at Ecbatana appealing to my Lord Palmerston against his supercession by my Lord Clarendon —especially if the parent of the more fortunate youth, the superceder, happened to be the son or nephew of a wavering member of the Upper or Lower House whom the ministry desired to conciliate. The idea is too jocose.

And here let me declare, what I can assert with a safe conscience, my unqualified and sincere conviction, founded on nearly twenty-five years of local experience and observation, that there can have been no Government in the world more entirely free, for very many years past, from favouritism or jobbery than the local Government of Bengal. I doubt not but that the other Governments in India have been equally free from those peculiarly English institutions; and if I do not express my conviction with equal strength on that point, it is because I cannot speak from personal experience and familiar knowledge,—neither can I pledge myself for the home Government, since I have not had the honour to be of the twenty-four registers of the orders issued by the President of the Board of Control. But, as relates to my own Presidency, I KNOW (and I had perfect opportunties of obtaining such knowledge) that I vouch for no more than the rigid truth when I declare that during the five-and-twenty years, while I had an opportunity of judging, no Government could have been more free from jobbery and misapplied patronage than the Government of Bengal.

That there may have been occasionally, very, very rarely, a civil or military appointment given through interest or nepotism, it would be affectation to deny; the purest of Governors-General is but a man with human affections, and a kindly desire to benefit those whom he loves; we never complained of such small deviations (very few and very far between) from the strict requirements of justice; because it was felt that, on the

whole, the vast civil and military patronage had been, and was, distributed with wonderful integrity, purely, honourably, wisely, and with no other objects in view than a sincere and conscientious desire to reward merit, to promote emulation in the services, and to secure the general welfare and good government of the Empire.

A friend of mine, who had returned to England, after having deservedly held some of the highest appointments in India, was told by a noble Earl, then about to proceed to that country as Governor-General, that he (the Earl) knew there was nothing but jobbery and favouritism going on in his future Viceroyalty. "My Lord," replied Mr. B., "I have seen how things are managed in India; and I see how things are managed in England; I have been behind the scenes in both countries, and I frankly tell your Lordship, that I have known of more jobbing in this country in six months, than I witnessed in India during a service of thirty years." My friend most assuredly spoke the truth; the very *fear* of jobs (a sort of job-panic or jobophobia), from which the public mind in England is never free, shows the prevalence of the malady. We have no fear here of cobra capellas, or Thugs, or hippopotami.

"Oh, peuple vertueux"—as the much maligned Deputy for Arras used to say, "peuple sublime—peuple respectable," you are probably about to make your ministers the greatest job-masters in creation. You force the means of infinite job upon them, and yet you will be the very first to vituperate and howl at them for employing the power you have compelled them to accept—and that power, if a certain proposition, now looming in the future, should ever receive coherence and form, will be multiplied a hundred fold. It has been urged, chiefly, I believe, by the barristers of the Supreme Courts of Calcutta and Madras (with what object, it is, of course, quite impossible to conjecture), that English shall be the law language, the language of all Courts in India, and that English lawyers shall be appointed judges therein. "Fore Heaven!" as that unlucky Michael Cassio says, "Fore Heaven! this is a more exquisite song than the other." A competent knowlege of the languages

of the country subject to our rule, has always been something of a stumbling-block to the aspiring sons of Themis. I have scarcely known a single instance of a Calcutta barrister, who could string together ten sentences in Hindostanee or Bengally, with the slightest chance of being understood. I say nothing of Tamool, Canarese, Malabars, Ooreah, Teligoo, &c., &c. Well, it is now proposed to smooth the difficulty quite away. We had an impression that, in matters of justice, there should be some mode of communication between the parties to a suit and the judge, in a language understood by both; and that it would be rather unkind to inform a man, in an "unknown tongue," that he was going to be hanged, after a trial, not one word of which had he understood from beginning to end. Hence the examinations, in the native languages, at the East India College, Haileybury; the second examination, before entering the service in India; the third after a certain period of service; and now, I believe, a fourth, before an officer can fill the higher grades. But all this, it appears, has been a foolish waste of time and intellect;—ordain that the English language shall be the language, and English jurisconsults the judges of native Courts and Cutcherries. Boldly cut the knot by declaring, that instead of plaintiffs, and defendants, and judges, understanding more or less of each others' speech, they shall not understand each other at all, and then!—why, then the goddess of jobbery (and no doubt there is such a divinity in the Hindoo Pantheon, which provides a deity for every rascality), would dance such a dance of joy, as has not been seen since Kali executed a fandango on the body of her husband. For then there would not in all merry England, Scotland, or Ireland, be an electioneering attorney, or a well-connected briefless barrister, or a genteel solicitor, with more address than business, or any gentleman who had eaten his terms in the Temple Hall, who might not aspire to be, *per saltum*, judge of Futtepoore Sicri, or magistrate of Budge Budge, or principal collector of Rajahmundry—especially if he had a friendly Member of Parliament to whisper a word to the Indian minister in his favour. As for an Indian civil service (if it be

allowed to exist as a service) standing in the way of such appointments, let us remember what was done at Ceylon, where there was also a civil service the members of which, had entered it under an assurance that they should not be superseded by gentlemen sent from England!

But there are other dangers which one may as well advert to, though they will not, of course, be allowed the weight of a canary-bird's feather against platform and newspaper declamation, working upon popular ignorance and prejudice.

India has escaped that last, great, unavoidable curse of constitutional governments—party administration. It has been spared the enormous evil of one Viceroy landing with an orange ribbon in his hat, and another with a bunch of shamrocks in his button-hole, to be succeeded by a third, with the orange ribbon again. But something of that pleasant description will not fail to occur, when India is governed by the House of Commons; that is to say, if its magnificent patronage does not enable the party in power, at the time of the transfer, to retain its ascendency (much to the benefit of constitutional government in England), until that time when all things shall, even to London drinking water, be purified by the inevitable democracy promised us by M. de Tocqueville.

But if that unfortunate India, hitherto so happily spared from such a calamity, should become a battle ground for parties, and it most certainly will if it becomes the Empire of the House of Commons, imagine the utter confusion worse confounded that must ensue.—One day the "parti prêtre," which appears to have a personal quarrel with Vishnoo, will be in power, and drive our unhappy dusky fellow-subjects to despair by pushing proselytism to the verge of persecution. The next, the "parti philosophe," successors of the foregoing iconoclasts, will stand up for the extremest liberty of conscience, and proclaim aloud that a man may, as far as they are concerned, worship an old shoe, if it affords him any comfort to do so. Then comes a set into power —haughty, imperial, all for absorbtion, annexation, conquest, if necessary, and complete subjugation,—succeeded, possibly within three years, by another set, who will breathe nothing but peace

and love,—utterly repudiate the stern views of their predecessors, and hasten, perhaps, to restore pensioned sultans, and unemployed rajahs in "a transport of republican enthusiasm and universal philanthropy," never equalled since the days of the "needy knife-grinder. Imagine this kind of process, which Great Britain itself only survives owing to the toughness and sturdy good sense of the people; imagine, I say, this kind of process at work among the ignorant but sensitive and impulsive races of India—a country in which you are lucky if you effect any change after twenty years of preparation, and where you approach a reform as you would touch Rob Roy's sporran, out of which, unless you handle it with preternatural caution, pops the muzzle of a loaded pistol. I feel persuaded that a few years of English party government would be very likely to drive not only an Indian army, but a much more formidable power, the whole Indian people, into a resistance to your authority, which might take a form calculated to baffle all the might even of mighty Britain. They would politely decline to pay any more revenue to a Government which kept them in such an incomprehensible state of eternal fidget and bewilderment. Very few of you are aware that the entire, complete, whole Hindoo population of one of the greatest cities in India once walked forth, bag and baggage (it was not some nonsensical quarrel about a cow and a pig which always affords legitimate cause for a row between Hindoos and Mahommedans, but the imposition of a Police rate), and remained in the fields for more than a fortnight; and this happened, not in the times of Ram Raja and the "Mrichchicatra," but while Wellington gained Salamanca, and the first gent in Europe wore the best made coat in the world.

The Government of the Empire of the Middle Classes may not have been a perfect Government, but it so far suited the people to be ruled that on all settled portions of our dominions it was a steady, methodical, *quiet* Government—slow, perhaps you might call it, but sure, and regular. It was not a rule of fits and starts and contradictions. We did not one day express our bitter abhorrence of negro slavery and the next clothe ourselves in nightcaps of cotton from Georgia, and eat Brazilian sugar;

neither did we at one time ally ourselves with our fellow subjects the Orangemen, against our fellow subjects the Catholics, and at another with our fellow subjects the Catholics, against our fellow subjects the Orangemen. We fettered ourselves with many self-imposed chains; but we have worn them honestly and conscientiously. There is now a sort of idea that the Parliamentary Empire would not hesitate to break one of the heaviest,—namely, the perpetual settlement in Bengal. If the Parliament should do this thing, and if it is to be a sample of the new system intended to replace our "tradition" and "routine," I wish their honors joy of their task. Lord Metcalfe's prophecies touching the Sepoy revolt, not the vague, general prognostics of a clever guesser, but distinct and explicit as if the native troops had sent him a plan of operations, specifying time, place, and circumstance before hand; Lord Metcalfe's sad, but most true, predictions, I say, have been largely quoted, as emanating from a man of the clearest sagacity and wonderful prescience. Well, if he is to be honoured as a prophet in one thing, let due reverence be paid to his prophecy with respect to another. I knew Lord Metcalfe well, and I reverenced and honoured him; for a braver heart or more clear spirit never guided the present or scanned the future. I have heard him say, with that mild equanimity which no danger ever shook, or pain ever vanquished, "WHENEVER INDIA IS LOST, IT WILL BE LOST IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS."

Men of England, think of this prophecy when you are about to change the system of Indian Government; remember it is the conviction of no ordinary man, and no ordinary statesman, but came from one whose other prophecy men jeered at, until it was miserably and awfully fulfilled.

"WHAT HAVE YOU DONE FOR INDIA?"

The Court of Directors of the East India Company, that true type and organ of the Middle Classes, and those their officers who have so honourably represented the Middle Classes in the East, have continually to endure the repetition of one cuckoo note, trilled forth in the monotonous and rather dull manner of cuckoos, less, perhaps. with any malevolent design, than in ignorance and prejudice, those besetting sins of the English mind, wherever Indian and most other foreign affairs are concerned.

We are asked, with a triumphant and jaunty air, as if the question was wholly unanswerable, "Pray, what have you done for India? What traces would you leave behind you in India, if you were deprived of your Empire to-morrow?"

I don't know what traces we might leave behind us, if India ceased to be ours "to-morrow," and if we were deprived of the country by force, amidst mutiny and rebellion, and battle and violence, because the good we have accomplished, not showing itself in marble and brass, in mighty edifices, or works like the Mahomoodee canal, which is said to have cost the lives of some fifty or sixty thousand forced labourers—the good, I say, which we have accomplished, not being immediately tangible to sight and touch, would, probably, perish with our rule. But if, in the year 1841, we had tranquilly handed over our dominion to the Crown of Great Britain and Ireland, or relinquished it in benevolence and good will, to the people of India, I should then have said, and have said with pride, "We leave traces of our rule more marvellous, more beautiful, than all the pyramids or Taj Mehals in the world—more glorious than the glories of Akbar or Shahjehan, were those a thousand times more unsullied than they are." We found war, murder, misrule, confusion and desolation, rampant in every part of India. We leave peace, security, justice, order, and abundance.

We found the villager at his plough, armed to the teeth,

uncertain, despite of his warlike gear, whether he should ever be able to garner the fruits of his labour. His village was near, he dared not go far a-field—walled, moated, and prepared for defence. From its ramparts, if the foe (or friend) had no leisure or disposition to storm them, he might see "fire, famine, and slaughter," skurry over the smoking fields and amongst the felled fruit-trees, in the shape of hordes of furious horsemen, who spared no man or thing that crossed their merciless path, except for "chout."

In 1841, the peasant could guide his plough as securely in the British Indian dominions, as he could in Dorsetshire. The walls of hundreds of villages had fallen into decay, or remained unrepaired, the moats were filled up, and there was no more necessity for maintaining such defences at Nya Gong or Indraputan than there is for maintaining them at Ivy Bridge or Roehampton.

In 1841—mind, I cling to this date—first, because I had no personal knowledge of India after that period, and, secondly, because the government of the Court of Directors seemed to wane, and that of the Board of Control appeared to become more in the ascendant, about the time that an English ministry drove on the Affghan war against the feelings of the Court, and in opposition to the opinions of some of the ablest and wisest statesmen who upheld in India the Empire of the middle classes.

In 1841 then, if, in peaceably relinquishing our rule, or handing it over to the House of Commons, we had been asked, "What traces will you leave in India?" I should have continued my reply in this wise:—

When we went to lay the foundations of our Sovereignty with those hardy workmen—Clive, and Lawrence, and Popham, and Coote—we found that a Mogul noble, with his suite, might arrive at a village about nightfall, and no forage being ready for his numerous horses, he would shout, with many most objectionable and untranslatable objurgations, "Where is the dog of a Zemindar, to whom this miserable rat-hole belongs?" The wealthy, but trembling Hindoo, having first hidden his six

yards of pearl necklaces, lumpy with emeralds at short intervals, is brought before the Nawaub Sahib. "No words, Kaffir, I ordered forage, where is it? Give him a piece of cow; give cow to his family and dependents; give cow to everybody. Ah, messenger of Allah! who are we, that this dog, and son of a dog, should laugh at our beards?" The cow was duly administered, and those beef-fed unfortunates were no longer Brahmins, the equals of the gods, as they had been six hours earlier; they were the impure of impures; doomed to a privation of all social and brotherly communion in this life, and, hereafter, to countless ages of transmigration, through the bodies of dogs, rats, pigs, vultures, scorpions, and other unclean and abhorrent creatures.

Such was the fate, shortly prior to Plassy, of the not very remote ancestor of an amiable and accomplished friend of mine, a native of Bengal—a gentleman, in every sense of the word, and a man of commanding talents—but that fierce Mogul had deprived his family of their caste. My friend was a man of noble benevolence in his own country, and courted by the very best society in this; but, in despite of his wealth, his charity, his influence, and accomplishments, the lowest and most beggarly Brahmin in his heart spat upon him, and scorned him with a scorn not to be described.

In 1841, the highest civil or military functionary in India would no more have dared to commit such an outrage as that to which the Mogul chief subjected the Zemindar, than a colonel of Her Majesty's guards dares to tie up the Right Honourable The Lord Mayor to the triangles, and give him a hundred lashes at the bottom of Ludgate Hill.

Nor am I quoting a mere solitary instance of insolent oppression. The Hindoo women went about unveiled, as I have myself seen them in a pure Hindoo state, until the licentious tyranny of the Moguls forced all, but the very poorest, to conceal their faces when abroad, and at home to retire to the very recesses of their dwellings, taking advantage of the Mahommedans' scruples respecting the Zenaneh. The atrocities of Sooraj ool Dowlah, who had pregnant women dragged

into his infernal shambles, and there sought, at the expense of his victims' lives, to trace the progress of gestation, are remembered in Bengal even to this day, but are too horrible for more than a passing allusion.

About the commencement of the present century, when we found time to breathe after years of trying but glorious conflict, a fearful pest pervaded the great Indian peninsula from Cape Comorin to the banks of the Sutlej. The power and energy of the noble Akbar, the wealth of his splendid son, the astute and merciless policy of the terrible Aurungzib, had proved equally powerless to effect its diminution. Thousands of travellers departed annually from, or started to return to, their homes, and then were heard of no more. Their bones whitened no highway; no charitable Brahmin had received them sick into his village, only to die. The waters of the Indian streams flowed not over their bodies, nor had the wild beasts borne them to their jungle lairs. Where are the dead? How did they perish? Ask that singularly benevolent-looking old gentleman, with a pleasant smile and grey beard, who is flirting a pocket-handkerchief in the easiest and most careless manner imaginable in front of yonder temple of Kali—he is a Thug. It is he who defied the Great Mogul and his lieutenants in all the pride of their strength, and full power of their dominion. It is that worthy gentleman who will show you the very spot where, a few feet beneath the carefully-restored, well-smoothed turf, lie not only the bones of his human victims—sacrifices to the terrible goddess with the necklace of skulls—but the bones of their very dogs and horses, that not one living evidence of the fearful holocaust should remain on the earth. But a more mighty goddess than Kali took up the task, which Sultans and Rajahs had abandoned in despair. Britannia stretched forth her strong and resolute hand; she grasped the work after her fashion, determined that it should be done; and the once awful, omnipresent, omnimurdering Thug lies bound at her feet, like a tamed wolf; his claws drawn, his heart cowed, and his spirit broken. In 1741—nay, in 1801, the Thug had, for centuries, been a power in India—bloody, appalling, terrible. In 1841 he was, and now,

he is in reality—what he once only pretended to be—the peaceful dweller in quiet villages, thinking of the once fearful "romaul," as a history of bygone days, and, in all probability, as inoffensive and industrious a "Ryut" as any in the British dominions. Ghosts of the thousands who perished on lonely roads, in dusky topes of thick-leaved trees, by the banks of solitary rivers, in the shadow of deep ravines!—in avenging your murders, in fettering your murderer's body and spirit, so that their "occupation's gone,"—have we, *indeed*, left no traces of our rule?

Did you, kind reader, if I happen to have one, ever hear of a "WULSA?" When we, the Middle Classes, first discovered that there was an Empire to be won in far-off Hindostan, a "Wulsa" was a proceeding and a word in as common use in that happy country, especially to the south of the Chumbul, as the word "removal" is in England, or the word "demenagement" in France; and what a removal! what a demenagement! It was the flight of a whole population of an entire village or small town—man, woman, and child, young and old, with their cattle, with all the goods they could save from their abandoned habitations—an exodus, having for its goal the inaccessible jungle, or the caves of the mountains; and for its cause, the approach of an armed force: so common was this blessed state of things, that a word signifying its recurrence, became familiar and naturalized in the language through the south, central, and great part of North Western India; and as the Nuqru of the Mahrattah, the Rohillah horn, or the "Allah Akbar" of the fierce Arab and Persian mercenaries, no matter in whose pay, was heard from afar, the miserable people, threatened with their ferocious advent, made a "WULSA;" leaving their homes, and all that they were unable to transport, as a prey to the Durrahs of Hurry Punt the Mahrattah, or to the matchlockmen of Gholaum Mahommed the Affghann. What, as Col. Wilks truly observes, must have been the state of a country when such an addition as the word "Wulsa," with all its terrible significance, was permanently made to its language?

The word is now merely a philological curiosity, for I need scarcely assure the most ignorant or most prejudiced of my countrymen, that the "Wulsa" and the British rule have long been incompatible.

In 1741, society in India was in the agonies of dissolution. So appalling was the condition of the country, that if some strong, almost irresistible power, had not been appointed to arrest its downward progress, that great and rich peninsula would probably at this day have been as little removed from barbarism, and a never-ceasing anarchy, as Abyssinia. In the whole civilized world there was no country where life and property were held by tenures so precarious. There was one law, if one could call it law, for the rich and powerful, and another for the poor and lowly. The law for the wealthy or potent was, that they should do what seemed right in their own eyes,—oppress, torture, murder, abduct, plunder, if such seemed to promise them pleasure or advantage, and if they had the strength as well as the disposition to carry those pleasantries into practice. There was another law for the poor man, namely, that if he could not circumvent, or cheat, the great or petty tyrant who chose to grind him to the earth, he must submit to be ground with the best grace, and all the patience he could command.

Every tolerably comfortable man, or man blessed with a passable share of this world's goods, was squeezed according to his squeezability. The small landholder by the large proprietor; the large proprietor by the court parasite; the court parasite by the prime minister; and the prime minister, either by the sovereign, if he had energy, or by the sovereign's favourite, if he had not. There was a high maxim of state in Bengal, that the Zemindar was a sponge to lick up and absorb as much as he could draw from the Ryut, and that when he was in a fit state to be squeezed and wrung out he was to be wrung out accordingly for the benefit of the Padishah. As for the Ryut, he was plundered by all and sundry, with the addition of Thugs strangling him on the road, Dacoits at home filling his eyes with red pepper, Mahrattas collecting chout, and

Arab mercenaries carrying off his daughter. He was a sort of human midge,—a prey alike to birds, fishes, and spiders. If he escaped from the ever craving maws of the more violent, he was sure to fall a prey into the nets of the more cunning.

In place of this frightful Mælstrom,—this chaos of utter confusion and disorganisation, we have introduced system, regularity, open courts, upright judges, and written laws. Those laws may be well or ill framed, wise or foolish; they may not always be ably, however honestly, administered; but by them, and they are printed in the vernacular as well as English, every man may determine for himself what are his rights, and find how to secure redress if he is wronged. Above all, we have enforced equality in the eye of the law. By our code, and in our courts, no distinction is made between the highest noble and the poorest peasant,—between the fierce soldier and the trembling bunnea, — between the wealthy banker and his squalid debtor. "Hinc illæ lachrymæ."—It is *therefore* that we are hated by the princes and nobles, by the powerful landholders, the wealthy usurers, and the military classes of India, with the bitterness which beasts of prey must feel when the morsel they are mangling is snatched from their ravenous jaws.

While you, my brethren, have been wrangling here about education, and, to speak without flattery, made yourselves, with respect to that important matter the laughing stock of all Europe, the East India Company have erected colleges, and spread innumerable schools (they will become few enough soon) throughout the length and breadth of their rule. Nay, I once saw accomplished in Bengal a thing so strange, so wonderful, that I scarcely dare to narrate it, lest in this land of sectarian and party hate, of religious and political rancour, it should seem fabulous.

A vast sum of money had been left for the purpose of founding a great seminary in Calcutta for the gratuitous education of poor children. Circumstances, needless to relate, caused it to be ruled that the testator intended to provide for the education of poor children whose parents were of every denomi-

nation of Christians. Three men, neither Tories, or Whigs, or Radicals, but honest, God-fearing men, were nominated to draw up regulations for the management of the school. One was a Church of England Protestant, one was a Roman Catholic, and the third a Presbyterian. Two of the three were high ecclesiastics, and of much esteem in their respective churches, and they all belonged to a sect very much talked of, but very seldom encountered in these happy islands,—the sect of practical Christians. Well, those three christian gentlemen, earnestly striving after the right in the administration of a school of mixed christian creeds, did succeed in selecting a form of prayer, and framing some brief sentences of religious exhortation, founded upon, and comprehending, those glorious promises, those facts and rules of our faith in which all Christians, of whatever denomination, concur. That form and counsel were for the use and benefit of the school children collectively, leaving the nicer shades of doctrine and discipline, which distinguish the various christian communities, to be inculcated by the clergymen of that communion in which the children had been born.

If by denominating a Presbyterian, and a Roman Catholic, practical Christians, I have offended any member of the Church of England, justly incensed against Calvin and the Pope, I pray him to excuse me; or if, by calling a follower of John Knox, and a follower of Martin Luther, Christians, I have offended any gentleman of the Church of Rome, I also of him crave pardon; but the fact was, as I have stated it above, and I really wish that with your astonishing Government of Great Britain, which I hold to be next to that of China in all the excellencies of "how not to do it," and "circumlocution," you would contrive to take a hint from the way we have managed such matters in the Empire of the Middle Classes, and accomplish something of the same kind at home.

While the East India Company's Government were sowing sound and profitable education broadcast over their vast territory, and the English Government and people were ingeniously finding out the way "how not to do it," there was established in

the Empire of the Middle Classes another thing which ought to excite the present admiration of all free-born men, as it will excite the admiration and the wonder of future generations, when they shall read the marvellous career of the East India Company, and judge their history with minds free from bias or prejudice.

The men of the Middle Classes in India, the servants of Government being amongst the most active promoters of the movement, won the freedom of the Indian Press. The Home Government of the Middle Classes acquiesced (with their tremendous responsibilities, and, considering the nature of their rule, they could do no more)—The Home Government acquiesced in its liberation, and the press, throughout the vast empire in the East, was free, and, when a passing cloud shall have vanished, will be free again.

We have, I repeat, been reproached with having done nothing, the memory whereof would survive the extinction of our rule in India. Why, what are Taj Mehals, and Jumma Musjeeds, the palaces and tombs of marble and Pietro Duro, to the proudest monument of the highest civilization—an unfettered press?

For the first time since the day when the ark rested on Ararat,—for the first time in the vast regions of Asia, man has dared to discuss the acts of his rulers without being driven to clothe his thoughts in apologues, wherein the elephant stands for the sovereign, the lion is his commander-in-chief, the jackall his prime minister, the fox his treasurer, and all other brutes the people at large. While Demosthenes harangued the Athenians, while the senate of awful Rome defied Hannibal, or crushed Catiline; while the free towns of Italy glowed with all the glories of art, and the splendours of commerce; while the "Ricos hombres" of Spain said to their sovereign,—"Senor Don Alphonso, we took thee for our king to rule us, if you rule according to the law; if not, not!" while the Barons and the Franklins of England won liberty from the Crown:—for all those long, long ages the people of Asia grovelled, and still grovelled in the dust before their satraps and sultauns; or if they dared to

remonstrate against unbearable tyranny, the remonstrance was entirely of an abstract nature, and pushed no further than making birds and brutes the exponents of their griefs and wrongs, as in the fables of Pilpay, and that most tiresome of all apologues, the "Anwaree Soheili,"—for the first time, I repeat, in the history of Asia, "men having to advise the public might speak out."

If it was an error, it was a noble one; if it was a mistake, it was a glorious mistake; and I claim that error, if it has been one, I claim that mistake for the Government of the Middle Classes with more pride than I should claim to weave fifty new victories into the imperishable wreath of warlike glory which they have won.

When I went to Bengal not longer ago than the days when the first gentleman in Europe, of whom Mr. Thackeray could discover a beautifully cut coat, waistcoat and pantaloons, but not the man; when that gracious gentleman was, I say, Regent of these realms, the Pindarrys carried fire and sword throughout nearly the whole of India, not under direct British rule. "Chout," that is to say, the fourth part of your worldly goods, or death was the agreeable alternative offered, generally every cold season, by those ubiquitous marauders. Before that terrible cavalry went panic and horror; behind them they left massacre and famine, not for a few short leagues, but over vast tracts of country. The wail of millions, the voice of humanity, alike called upon the Government of the East India Company to sweep those monsters of rapine and cruelty from the face of the earth. A great statesman, a great soldier, a truly great man, the tithe of whose worth was never recognized by any of the miserable, self-seeking factions who are allowed to govern Great Britain—the Marquis of Hastings, vigorously, gloriously, and with consummate soldiership, guided the storm which burst on the heads of those detestable brigands, their aiders and abettors; and from the Sutlej to the Anemalee mountains, from the India Ocean to the mouths of the Berhampooter, the very name of Pindarry is only remembered as we remember the great plague or the fire of London.

Nor have we saved the peaceable millions of India from this great scourge alone. The cruel Bhirman in the East, the Nipaulese further north, the Affghaun, and the Seikh, were all prepared to rush upon the prostrate and powerless giant, and rend away what portion of spoil their respective strength might enable them to conquer. All the neighbours of rich India, in her commatose condition, were manifestly of the opinion which Sir Evan Dhu, of Lochiel, entertained concerning the Saxon Lowlands, that it was a place "where all men took their prey," and, generally speaking, both friends and foes considered the whole country as certain African tribes consider a caravan—a "dum fong long," or thing to be devoured. Our shield was spread over the prostrate land; the Bhirman was humbled; the Seikh subdued; the Nipaulese swept back into the depths of their mountains; the Affghauns taught to dread a foe whom no disasters could intimidate. India was saved at once from domestic anarchy, no less than from the savage spoliation of ferocious and barbarous foreign conquerors. For the first time for more than a century there was through the length and breadth of that vast country, PEACE, security, safety for life and property—a blessed calm, such as the oldest man alive could not remember. Well may the rebellious sepoy Havildar have said, in his memorial to the mock Emperor of Delhi, that they could not improve upon the system of British rule—"the best the country had ever felt." Well may the mutinous army and mutinous nobles in their recent proclamations have urged no word of reproach against our Government, our courts of law, our justice, our fiscal system, or our general administration. They dared not to bring charges of tyranny or mismanagement, or want of integrity in our functionaries, which every man could refute from his own experience; they could only put forth that miserable trash about making them Christians by fraud or force, to give some colour to their nefarious proceedings.

I say nothing of the abolition of those exhilarating acts of faith by which hundreds of children were annually consigned to the sharks and alligators at Saugor, while hundreds of widows devoted themselves to the suttee fires all over Bengal, Behar,

and Orissa. Nevertheless, it was effected by the Government of the East India Company. The powerful princes of the House of Timoor no doubt viewed those infernal fruits of the idol worship which they hated with infinite abhorrence, but they did not dare to attempt their suppression; to dare and to do was reserved for the Empire of the Middle Classes.

Two blacks do not make one white; wrong does not justify wrong; but we are told by words, in which there can be no error, to take the beam out of our own eye before we seek the mote in the eye of our neighbour. Now, when the press and the platform of England ask us in a tone of virtuous indignation, "What have you done for India?" we may, perhaps, be permitted meekly to ask in return, What have you done for Ireland?—a country conquered and held by England under circumstances not altogether dissimilar. England, not through a government of the Middle Class, but through a government of the three estates of the realm, ruled conquered Ireland as it thought fit for six centuries; but deduct four of confusion and unavoidable misrule, and say, that from about the restoration of the second Charles until the coronation of Queen Victoria the English Government of Ireland was more or less systematic and orderly; carried on in a Christian, or, at all events, a Protestant spirit, and having the welfare of the people for its object. Now compare the state of Ireland, close to your own doors remember, after you had ruled it for about a hundred and fifty years, or from the time of Charles the Second up to the end of the last century, and the state of India after we had been *paramount* in that country not quite fifty years.

The East India Company, mind, had been beset during that period by enormous difficulties, constantly engaged in wars, not of their own seeking, and not unfrequently hampered by the shifting factions, called Governments, at home. Still have the goodness to compare the state of Ireland in 1798 with that of India in 1848. Take the worst, by which I mean the most exaggerated account of our courts in India, and compare them with the Orange tribunals in Ireland with a party judge on the bench, and a party jury in the jury-box, things familiar enough

up to a date within the memory of elderly men. Take the condition of the Irish peasant, his hut, his attire, his means of subsistence, his ignorance, his beggary, up to the time in question—aye, and long after. Why, if I were to attempt to elevate him to the condition of the Hindoo Ryut, as soon as peace and a strong government secured to him the fruits of his labours, the gods of Swerga would burst into a laughter as loud as that of their brethren of Olympus. As for torture in India, of which I may have to say more, there was, in the year 1798 and thereabouts, a pleasant quantity and agreeable variety in Ireland, not practised clandestinely by misbelieving heathens, and sons of Mahoun, carefully concealing it from their European superiors, but inflicted under orders, and sometimes under the direct supervision of public functionaries calling themselves Christians and Englishmen, glittering with gorgets, and epaulettes, and plumes, and all manner of beautiful paraphernalia. There was a man about seven feet high, called the walking gibbet; by an ingenious process a noose was slipped over the suspected Vinegar Hill man's neck, and the end of the rope over the giant's shoulder; in an instant the supposed pikeman was hoisted with his feet off the ground, and let down again every twenty seconds or half a minute, to take breath, and be asked if he would make a clean breast. Then there was the Town Major and the "cat." A friend of mine, an Irish artist of some eminence, was within half an hour of the triangle and cat-of-nine-tails at the Riding House Dublin, because he happened to bear the name of a croppy schoolmaster at Cork, who wrote short-hand, in which Mr. C. was also an adept. The humane object was, to flog him until he confessed—what, he never had the good fortune to learn.

Now, all this, and much more, in the shape of agrarian outrage, privy conspiracy and rebellion, barbarism, want, and ignorance, was, after you had held Ireland for five or six centuries, and for one-and-a-half, or thereabouts, ruled it more or less constitutionally, after the King, Lords, and Commons method. It was an Island but little separated from your own, and, so to speak, under your very noses; where a vast proportion of the peo-

ple spoke your own tongue, and where those of your own faith were amongst the most hardy and bravest of mankind; where you had hundreds of thousands of energetic, sagacious, Scotch and English settlers to aid you in the work of good government and civilization; and yet, with all those prodigious advantages, what a precious business you made of ruling *your* conquered country? You may urge the difficulties imposed by a difference of religion between the rulers and the ruled; but at least, you all were, or pretended to be, Christians. But admit that the fervors of Catholicism, and the vehemence of Protestantism, threw great obstacles in the way of good government in Ireland, what were those to the greater, which beset the progress of the East India Company and its servants in India? The fierce faith of the Mussulman—the cold, unapproachable bigotry of the Hindoo—all to be dominated and kept within the bounds of the public good, by the aid of no greater power than a mere handful of despised Nazareens and unclean Feringhees.

But, you may say, "nous avons changé tout cela;" good! be it admitted; you have done so by the aid of a famine. Well, give us, the government of the Middle Classes, another century (we don't want the famine), and then revile us as much as you please, if we shall not well and nobly have accomplished *our* mission; but to expect us to do in a hundred years, in India, what you have been six hundred in accomplishing in Ireland, is somewhat hard measure.

Do not imagine, from all this, that I uphold the Government of the East India Company—The Empire of the Middle Classes—as at all approaching to a perfect or model Government; it is full of imperfections; but, with all its errors and shortcomings, I maintain that it is the most wonderful and admirable Government of a conquered country the world has ever witnessed. Well-intentioned, humane, moderate, earnestly desirous of the people's good;—with not one sinecure on its immense establishments;—with Courts where the poorest subject may, with no leave, but his own will, institute a suit against the Sovereign, and generally gain it, as Government knows to

its cost; for, if the judge has any apprehension it is, lest he should be biased, or, appear to be biased, in favour of the State —the true feelings of an English gentleman, but, rather unfavourable to the pleadings of the Government Vakeel.

I maintain that our Empire, the settled portion, has for years past been better, been more liberally governed, than any country in Europe, excepting Great Britain, France, and Prussia. A native of the country might do what he pleased, go where he pleased, and say what he pleased, so that he injured not his neighbours. There was universal toleration and protection for all religions—there was no conscription—no press-gang. The taxes were fixed; not heavy, nor inequitable. There was no privileged class exempted from impost; there was no favoured class to profit by a Corn Law. There were no passports — mind, in a conquered country no passports! and, there was also, in that conquered country—a Free Press. This last, at least showed, that our intention was to rule well, whether we succeeded or not. There was no Court, no unemployed placemen; no poor and idle aristocracy, living upon the toil of the people; there was—but let another voice than mine speak in graver accents, words infinitely more worthy of attention.

The present Bishop of Calcutta, Bishop Wilson, is known wherever piety, singleheartedness, and all the virtues of a true Christian divine are held in honour. He has resided more than twenty years in India. He has visited, more than once nearly every part of that immense territory, and been in communication with high and low of all creeds. He, a pilgrim of God, whose staff even I am unworthy to touch, is too sincere to colour, too honest to flatter; — he values nothing that the greatest Government on earth can bestow; for yet, a little time, and his, by the blessing of God, will be that glorious reward, beyond all price, such as *this* world cannot offer.

In his sermon, preached at Calcutta on the recent day of humiliation, Bishop Wilson expresses himself thus: — "Things were better with them than they were formerly—all had been moving on in the right direction for more than fifty years past. Never was there a more just or beneficent Government than

that of the British power in India. Peace and security for property have prevailed—commerce, and all the Western improvements in medicine and the arts have been encouraged—every man stood equal before the laws—the administration of justice was pure—the taxes were of moderate weight. Then, as to Christianity, ministers of every name and class—missionaries from all the different societies—were protected and honoured—churches had been raised, and native converts had been made in large numbers. Charitable designs, to meet new forms of destitution, were liberally supported. Christian education, in all their missions, and national education, not excluding Christianity, though not directly teaching it, was spreading throughout the country. His Lordship concluded, by exhorting his hearers to cast themselves upon the Almighty in their present necessity, to live better lives for the future, and to pray earnestly for the restoration of peace and tranquillity to their country."*

Years hence, other hearers of other Bishops may pray for the restoration of that rule under which all that the good Bishop has so truly enunciated was effected, or set on foot —The Rule of the Directors of the East India Company—the most fitting Rulers for THE EMPIRE OF THE MIDDLE CLASSES.

* Extract from a Calcutta Journal.

J. & W. RIDER, Printers, 14, Bartholomew Close, London.

The Cheapest and Best Newspaper Published in London, for Despatch to the East.

THACKER'S OVERLAND NEWS

FOR INDIA AND THE COLONIES.

Published on the 2nd, 9th, 17th, and 25th of each Month, in time for despatch, *viâ* Marseilles. Price 5*d.*, with postage to India, 8*d.* Subscription, including Indian postage, 32*s.* (Rs. 16) per Annum, in advance.

This Newspaper presents a complete and comprehensive epitome of the British and Continental Intelligence of the week, with special reference to those subjects connected with India, &c. Its publication in a weekly instead of a fortnightly form, to meet the requirements of the new Mail Arrangements, now renders it as eligible a paper for Anglo-Indians resident at home, as abroad.

LONDON: W. THACKER AND CO., 87, Newgate Street, and E. MARLBOROUGH AND CO., Ave Maria Lane, and all News Agents.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW, published Quarterly. Price 7*s.* 6*d.*

Contents of No. LVII. for September, 1857.—1. Recent Anglo-Indian Poetry. 2. Indian Jail Industry. 3. Bayard Taylor's India, China, and Japan. 4. The Inquisition of Goa. 5. The Defence of the Country (India). 6. Life in the Rice Fields. 7. Sir John Malcolm. 8. The Principles of Historic Evidence. 9. Miscellaneous.

The recent back Numbers are also obtainable.

PRINCE GHOLAM MOHAMED'S HISTORY OF HYDER ALI AND TIPPOO SULTAUN, a valuable Narrative of Indian and Mohammedan Politics and Warfare, of especial Interest, at the present time. Royal 8vo. *Cloth.* 14*s.*

THE ALIF LAILA; or, THOUSAND AND ONE NIGHTS. The original Arabic Edition. Edited by Sir. W. H. MACNAGHTEN. 4 vols. Royal 8vo. 4*l.* 4*s.*

IRREGULAR CAVALRY. Major Trower's Hints on the Conformation, Management, and Use, of the Irregular Cavalry of India. Post 8vo. 5*s.*

A VOLUNTEER'S INDIAN SCRAMBLE; comprising the War with Moolraj, Siege of Mooltan, &c. By Lieut. HUGO JAMES (Bengal Army). 2 vols. Post 8vo. 18*s.*

CALCUTTA FRUITS, a LITHOGRAPH from the large Oil Painting by Lieut.-Col. H. B. HENDERSON (Bengal Army), which attracted so much attention when exhibited at the Crystal Palace. The copy has been most successfully executed by French Artists, and will form an interesting memento to all who are in any way connected with India.

Price, plain, 20*s.* Coloured, 30*s.*

London: W. THACKER & Co., 87, Newgate Street.
Calcutta: THACKER, SPINK, & Co. Bombay: THACKER & Co.

REPORT

SUBMITTED TO GOVERNMENT

BY

JOHN VIBART ESQUIRE,

REVENUE COMMISSIONER,

Dated 24th February 1842.

CONTAINING A GENERAL ACCOUNT

OF

MEASURES ADOPTED, OR CONTEMPLATED,

FOR THE

IMPROVEMENT OF THE REVENUE ADMINISTRATION,

IN THE

BOMBAY PRESIDENCY,

From December 1838, *to February* 1840.

No. 311 OF 1842.

TERRITORIAL DEPARTMENT,

REVENUE.

To,

L. R. REID ESQUIRE,

Chief Secretary to Government,

BOMBAY.

SIR,

Under the impression that benefit may result from my placing on record, as was done by my predecessor, a general account of the measures which have been adopted, or contemplated, for the improvement of the revenue administration, since I took charge of this department, I have the honor to submit the following remarks.

Vide his letter, No. 2610, of 23rd Novr. 1838.

AHMEDABAD.

Land Tax.

2nd. Little progress has been made in carrying thro' the measures of improvement, the necessity for which was pointed by my predecessor. Schemes of various kinds have been submitted by the Collector, who doubtless thought them well calculated to improve his charge, but little has been done to give effect to the wishes of Government, in the manner indicated in the instructions which have been issued to him. A very few villages have been surveyed, and the assessment of some revised ; but I have not always been able to recommend the Collector's proceedings for approval, and, in a general point of view, what my predecessor said three years ago, is true now.

Introduction of a Beegotee Assessment, in lieu of Hull Vera, Baghbutee, &c.

3rd. In Veerungaum, the late Collector had, when he left, nearly completed the settlement of a Beegotee in those villages where the revenue had previously been levied by a tax on the plough, or by taking a share of the produce ; in this proposed settlement of Mr. Jackson's, Sir R. Arbuthnot pointed out many defects, and it must be confessed, that the settlement was far from being as perfect as could be wished ; still it was a great improvement on the former system, and having gone thro' some of the settlements on the spot, I came to the conclusion, that there was nothing to prevent their being acted on, and subsequently improved in various particulars where alteration was requisite. Government concurred in these views, and the Collector was ordered to carry them into

effect. Mr. Jackson's Beegotee has since, I believe, formed the basis of the assessment, but the Collector has not reported what progress he has made in effecting the required alterations.

4th. Little progress has been made in Puranteje since my predecessor left. Indeed, the Collector appears to incline to an opinion, that where a Beegotee has been introduced, to revert to the old plough-tax. As, however, such a course would be no less opposed to every principle of good revenue management, than to the strict and repeated orders of the home authorities and this Government, he should be directed to proceed with the work of substituting a Beegotee, where the plough-tax is still the mode of assessment. I have no doubt, but that the difficulties pointed out by the Collector, might be easily surmounted, if he were to set about the task in earnest.

5th. The substitution of a fixed Beegotee, in the place of a Bhagbutaee, or division of the crop, was beset by fewer obstacles—yet but little has been done—tho' the importance of the work has been frequently pressed on the notice of the Collector, who, with regard to this and similar revisions of assessment, has been directed, if he needed advice or assistance, to apply to the Collector of Kaira, by whom the introduction of the requisite alterations (which appears to me in itself a sufficiently simple matter) has been long since effected in his own charge, to the satisfaction of Government.

6th. I own, I was not a little surprised to find, as I have noticed, in handing up the Ahmedabad annual report for 1840-41, that the Collector had confirmed the proceedings of some of the Punchayets employed in the revision, tho' he deemed them erroneous, and had been particularly told, that the decisions of such a body were only to be regarded as preliminaries, which he was to confirm or alter according to his own judgment;—and I was lately still more astonished to learn, from the Collector's reply to a petition which had been referred to him for his report, that he had set aside a Nirwa settlement, introduced into a village of Duskrohie by Mr. Williamson some years ago, in lieu of a Baghbutaee, and that he had reverted to the latter objectionable mode of assessment, which he had been told to supersede in every other place where it still continued in force.

7th. I fear unless the Collector addresses himself to the task of revision with a more anxious desire to be guided by the instructions of Government and this department, than he has hitherto manifested, it will be long ere

the desired alterations in the assessment of this very improvable province are effected.

8th. The Duskrohie Purgunnah has been divided, as recommended by my predecessor; but little, I fear, has been done to carry out his suggestions, with regard to the assessment, or to the extension of irrigation, in this and other districts. Para. 5th.

9th. I cannot say that I think the small extent to which the revision of the assessment has proceeded, is owing either to a want of sufficiently definite instructions, or to the importance of the object not having been clearly pointed out to the Collector.

10th. The last decennial settlement with the Thakore of Bhownuggur had just expired when my predecessor left. The Collector stated several objections to a renewal of the lease, and represented the Thakore himself as averse to the measure, when proposed on reasonable terms. Government directed me to visit the Talooka, and endeavour to settle with the Thakore, which proved a task of no difficulty, as the terms which Government directed should be offered were gladly accepted by the Thakore, and a lease of thirty years granted, with the sanction of Government. Thakore of Bhownuggur.

11th. I quite agree in the opinion expressed by my predecessor, in his 8th para. as to the general good management and prosperous condition of the Thakore's districts; and with regard to this, and other Chieftains of the same class, I would beg to point out the necessity of great temper, forbearance, and discretion, on the part of the Collector, in his dealings with them, on behalf of Government. They are seldom well acquainted either with the objects or the principles of our Government; from their habits they have generally little intercourse with European Officers; the creditors of the Chiefs, who are generally in debt, and the interested native subordinates of both the Collector and the Talookdars, too frequently take advantage of these circumstances, to advance their own corrupt ends; on the one hand the fears of the Talookdar, as to the designs of Government, are excited, and on the other, some cause is given for them by measures of harshness, to which the Collector is incited by insinuations of the refractory disposition of the Chieftain, who is, I fear, often a heavy loser, both by the sums he is induced by his fears to spend in bribery, and by measures of severity on the part of Government, for which there would have been no cause, had a perfect under-

standing of one another's views, existed between him and the Collector.

12th. I offer these remarks with some confidence from the length of time during which I have been acquainted with the district in question, and from my conviction of the immediate extent of mischief, which may arise from misunderstandings caused by the want of a little discretion and forbearance on the part of the Government Officers.

KAIRA.

13th. In this district, when my predecessor wrote, there was little left to be done; and the Collector has pursued the course best adapted for the improvement of his charge, by strictly following in the steps of his predecessors, and steadily carrying out such plans of improvement as had been commenced by them, or were directed by Government. In some of the remoter parts, where the assessment was levied by a plough-tax, by receiving a share of the produce, or by a cess on the Khata or ryot's holding a Beegotee assessment, and occasionally Khatabundy settlements, have been introduced, and the latter have been renewed in many places where they had expired.

Assessment.

14th. The improvement which has so long characterized this well-settled district is progressive, and will, I have no doubt, continue so under a Collector who is content to maintain and follow up what has been begun, rather than attempt to introduce new plans of his own.

15th. As pointed out by my predecessor, the Collector should constantly attend to the assessment, and whenever he finds that, from any of the numerous causes affecting it, the demands of Government begin to press heavily on the cultivators, they should be relaxed, and, next to the moderation of the assessment, its permanency, and non-liability to fluctuation, should be chiefly attended to.

16th. I fully concur in the observations made by my predecessor, relative to the advantages which will follow any systematic plan, for the repair of town walls in this part of Guzerat.

Town Walls, para. 13.

BROACH.

17th. This district has, I fear, retrogated during the last three years, and it is not difficult to discover the two main causes of its having done so. Unusually high prices of its great staple, Cotton, had previously given a temporary and fictitious appearance of prosperity, and bad seasons and low prices have conspired to increase the subsequent depression; the mischief has been greatly aggra-

vated by the absence of such European agency as might have done something to counteract the evil. No blame, in my opinion, can attach to the Sub-collector, as, with the limited European agency at his disposal, (there being generally but one Assistant in the Sub-collectorate,) it was almost physically impossible that he should prevent the current business from falling into arrears, and he had little leisure left to conduct enquiries with a view to the settlement of outstanding balances, or to a revision of the assessment, which would have occupied a large portion of his time for weeks together.

18th. Something might, I think, have been done, if the Principal Collector had made longer visits to the Sub-collectorate. It should be recollected, however, that during the three years which have elapsed since I left Surat to take charge of this department, three Officers have held the office of Principal Collector, and it must of course be some time before an Officer, new to the district, can devote much time to such enquiries as were called for in the Broach Sub-collectorate.

19th. The experience of the last three years, has shown, that there were good grounds for my predecessor's anticipations of a permanent fall in the prices of Cotton. There appears, at present, little chance of a return to the high price of 1835-36; and where a Beegotee has been fixed, the effect of the assessment should be narrowly watched by the local officers; and if it is found that, in the present state of the market, it becomes necessary to give remissions, or to allow uncollected balances to lie over, the rates should be reduced at once. Assessment, para. 15.

20th. No obstacle, in my opinion, now exists to the introduction of a Beegotee, throughout the unrevised districts, but a want of European agency. There ought to be, at least, two, and, if possible, three Assistants, under the Sub-collector, till the revision is completed; and till then, it is vain to expect satisfactory results from the revenue management of the Sub-collectorate.

21st. The same cause which delays the introduction of a Beegotee, has prevented the execution of the almost equally necessary task, of settling the heavy outstanding balances; a considerable portion of which, it will, I apprehend, be ultimately found necessary to remit. They appear to have increased from Rupees 4,84,848 in 1838, to Rupees 6,10,022 in 1841. Outstanding Balances.

SURAT.

22nd. As regards the principal division of Surat, I have not much to add to what was said by my predeces-

sor; changes of the Officer in charge of the Principal Collectorate, and the limited extent of European agency at his disposal, have prevented as much being done, as carry on, and complete the revision of the assessment, [illegible] could have been wished; the seasons too, and the prices of produce, have not been favorable to such operations. Something, however, has been done in the Southern Talookas, by Messrs. Sims and Inverarity, whose proceedings have been submitted to, and approved by Government; the Toolwar assessment, according to the crop, has been in every Purgunnah, I believe, superseded by a Beegotee. Khatabundy and Hoondabundy settlements have been extended and renewed, where the term for which they were originally made had expired. The re-survey of the Surbhon Purgunnah has been completed, and similar operations are now being carried on in the Chicklee Purgunnah. The work proceeds satisfactorily, but slowly, owing to the small extent of establishment; its results furnish a mass of useful records, connected with the assessment, which are of great value in several points of view; and owing to the extent of land, fraudulently enjoyed rent-free, which is from time to time brought under assessment, the addition it makes to the Government revenue, has more than covered its expense.

CANDESH.

Assessment according to the crop in Baglan, &c. para. 22nd.

23rd. On leaving the department, my predecessor expressed his conviction, that the task of carrying out the orders of the Hon'ble Court, for substituting fixed Beegotee rates, in place of the rates varying according to the crop, on land irrigated from water-courses in the Western Talookas, was not beset with the difficulties, which the two immediate predecessors of the present Collector, had supposed to exist. With a view of satisfying myself on this point, I visited Baglan, in the course of my first tour, and being convinced, from what I saw, of the justice of Mr. Williamson's opinion, I made arrangements, after communication with Mr. Dallas, the Assistant in charge, for carrying out the orders of the Hon'ble Court; and chiefly owing to the zealous exertions of Mr. Dallas, the task has been subsequently completed with regard to almost all land which was so assessed in the Baglan, Pimpulnair, and Mallegaon Talookas. The rates fixed may hereafter require some modification as regards their amount; but the principle inculcated by the Court has been fully carried out, and considerable praise is, I think, due to Mr. Dallas, for the mode in which he has effected this, besides conducting, in a very creditable manner, the current duties of a very extensive charge.

24th. Since para. 23rd of my predecessor's letter was written, Government have sanctioned considerable sums for the repair of the dams, from which the "Patusthull" lands, paying so large a revenue to Government in these districts, are irrigated. No report has been received of the completion of the works which, more than almost any other, are calculated to improve the resources of the people, and add to the revenue of Government.

Dams for irrigation.

25th. Except a few occasional and partial revisions and reductions of the assessment, made by the Collector and his Assistants, in the course of the annual revenue settlements, little has been done to give effect to the views of my predecessor, as expressed in his 24th at 27th paras. There is, I fear, little immediate prospect of a regular survey and assessment being commenced in this province. It can hardly be doubted, that its effect would be a considerable addition to the public revenue, and much benefit to the cultivators, by settling and defining private rights, and putting a limit to the demands of our native subordinate officers. I quite concur with Mr. Williamson, that, "unless fit agents are available for the work, it had better not be undertaken," but I think that, even without a regular survey, very great improvement might be effected by the Collector and his Assistants.

Jeerayet and Mothusthull Bagayet assessment.

Para. 26th.

26th. The great natural resources of this province, the smallness of the population compared to the quantity of fertile land, the large proportion of the latter which is waste, and numerous other circumstances which I need not here particularize, have enabled Candesh to go on improving under a system of management, the evils of which would, I think, have soon forced themselves into notice, in a province less favorably situated. The smallness of the pay of our native agents, compared with the powers with which they are invested, is, I believe, admitted to be a characteristic defect of our Indian administration; and in few provinces with which I am acquainted, is it more marked than in Candesh, where, as I lately observed to Government, the revenue and police administration of the country is, in a great measure, left in the hands of Carcoons, on Rupees 13¼ per month, over whom the Mamlutdar, from the extent of his charge, and their remoteness from him, can seldom exercise much control. I have no doubt, but that very great advantages, in every point of view, would be found to result, from placing the district establishments on a more efficient footing, as regards both number and pay. The state of our finances may, for the present, prevent any steps being taken in compliance with this suggestion,

Inadequacy of subordinate, native agency.

Para. 8th of No. 153 of the 25th January.

but I trust, that the subject will not be lost sight of, at some more favorable future period; mean time, if the suggestion of Mr. Dallas, submitted in my letter above referred to, were complied with, I feel little doubt, but that the necessary additional expense would soon be more than made up for, by an increase of revenue, and afford encouragement for the adoption of similar measures in other localities.

Indigo.

27th. Indigo, of very good quality, has been manufactured, during the last 2 or 3 years, in Candesh, and Government have afforded every encouragement to the Individuals who have embarked in the experiment. It still however, remains to be seen, whether it can be produced sufficiently cheap, to compete with that of other provinces, and at the same time remunerate the producer.

28th. Several undertakings, connected with agricultural improvements, of various kinds, have been embarked in, by the sons of Captain Ottley, and others; but sufficient time has not as yet elapsed to judge of their results.

NUGGUR.

Balances.

29th. A good deal has been done, within the last three years, to reduce the amount of outstanding balances. There has also been a marked improvement in the punctuality with which the current revenue has been realized, as may be seen by a reference to the Annual Jummabundy Reports of the Collector, who, on these two points, deserves much credit for what has been effected.

Land Assessment.

30th. I own, however, I have been disappointed to find that little has been done in the principal division, to improve the land assessment, with the exception of the revision of a few villages, chiefly effected by the 1st Assistant; as, on this point, a separate correspondence has taken place with Government. I will here only observe, that Government has, I think, a right to expect, that much more should have been done for the improvement of the assessment, and the revenue management generally, whether we look, on the one hand, to the urgent necessity which exists for placing the land-tax in this province, on a more satisfactory footing; to the great extent of the remissions which it is found necessary to grant annually; to the abject state of poverty in which the great bulk of the cultivators are plunged; or, on the other hand, to the measures which have been adopted to enable the Collector to devote more time to his revenue duties, and

to the advantages which he ought to possess for making a revision, owing to his long residence in the province.

31st. The system of collecting the revenue, calls also, I think, for reform, in several particulars; and the management, generally, has not improved in the same ratio here, as in the rest of the Deccan.

NASSICK.

Survey and Assessment of the open country.

32nd. In the Sub-collectorate, a grea deal has been effected, chiefly owing to the exertions of Mr.Goldsmid, assisted by Mr. Tytler and Lieutenant Davidson, and warmly supported, on all occasions, by the Sub-collectors, the late Mr. Chambers and Mr. Reeves. I need not here enter into any particulars regarding the survey, which have been, from time to time, very fully reported to Government. It has been commenced on a plan, which, if steadily carried out, cannot fail to secure to these districts the advantages of a certain, moderate, and well-defined land assessment. One Talooka (Chandore) only, has as yet been completed, and sufficient time has hardly elapsed to permit of a judgment being formed of its results. As far as can be seen, however, they are to the full as satisfactory as those which have attended to the survey in the Poona and Sholapoor Collectorates. The survey is now in progress in Wundindoree, under the able superintendence of Lieutenant Davidson, and I look to its ultimate extension throughout the Sub-Collectorate and adjoining districts of the principal division with very great confidence, that it will prove a measure of greater benefit to the revenue of Government, than any that has been adopted since the country came into our possession.

Dang Assessment.

33rd. The same remarks will apply to the kindred measure of a revision of the assessment in the Dang, or hill country, begun by Mr .Goldsmid, and now proceeding under Mr. Tytler's superintendence; the mode in which it is conducted, as detailed in the voluminous reports from these Officers, lately submitted to Government, is very different from the survey of the Desh or open country; but after a particular enquiry into its details on the spot, I can say with confidence, that it is equally well adapted to the entirely different circumstances of the district, and that equal benefit may safely be expected from it.

Insufficiency of Native Establishments.

34th. A good deal has been done of late years, to place our native establishments on a more efficient footing, but I am of opinion, that a great deal yet remains to be effected; and, in this impression, I am strengthened by the opinion of the Sub Collector, Mr. Reeves. An

instance, of the benefit which may be expected from such measures, was brought to Government's notice in the last annual report for the Sub Collectorate. The Kownaee Talooka was formed chiefly with a view to secure more efficient agency, while the revision of assessment was in progress, and Mr. Tytler showed that the increase of revenue, which seems clearly attributable to the improved superintendence, had already more than compensated for the additional expense, and I am of opinion, that similar results would be found to follow similar measures in many remote districts, where the suprintendence of our weak stipendiary establishments is little more than nominal, and the Government revenue forms, I fear, but a small portion of what is exacted from the cultivators.

POONA.

35th. I have little to add to what was said by my predecessor in his 33rd and 34th paras. when speaking of this collectorate; the measures he commenced with so much judgment have been followed out, though, owing partly to the limited extent of, and frequent changes in, the European agency, the progress made has not always been as great as could be wished.

Survey.

36th. The survey, in particular, has suffered by the absence of some of the most efficient Assistants to the Superintendent, whose regiments have proceeded on foreign service, but by the perseverance, judgment, and ability of the late Superintendent, Lieutenant Wingate, great progress has been made; the survey and assessment of four Talookas is completed, and that of two more is considerably advanced, and I need only refer to the Collector's annual report, and to the annual and other reports by the Superintendent, which have been submitted to Government during the last three years, to prove that the work has more than realized the expectations formed of it, and that every season adds to the evidence of its utility.

Outstanding Balances.

37th. Considerable progress has been made in clearing off the heavy balances which had for years been accumulating on the books of this collectorate, and the experience of several far from favourable seasons in six Talookas here and in Sholapoor, shows, that when the new assessment is introduced, it will be the fault of the local officers, if any balance is ever allowed to remain for a single year on the books.

Want of Assistants.

38th. In this, and all other measures of improvement in the general management of the collectorate, much

more progress would doubtless have been made, but for the paucity of Assistants to the Collector. Since I have had charge of this department, there has seldom been more than one or two at a time available for employment in the districts. The ordinary duties of the Hoozoor have generally been conducted by an Assistant of some standing, whose time might have been much more usefully employed in the districts, than in discharging duties which, however necessary, are matters of mere routine and detail, and Mr. Rose, a most efficient Assistant, whose charge is perhaps the most important in the collectorate, has been employed in the city of Poona on enquiries of a political and magisterial nature, during the greater part of the dry seasons of the last three years.

39th. The size of the city of Poona, and importance of the stations in many points of view, would, I think, justify the appointment of an extra Assistant of some standing and experience, to take charge of the more important Hoozoor duties of the Collector and Magistrate, in addition to the junior Assistant, who, as at present, might conduct the less important routine duties till he had acquired experience sufficient to be put in charge of districts. There would be more than sufficient employment for both, and if such an arrangement were effected, it would be no longer necessary either to employ an experienced Assistant on duties of comparatively little importance, or leave an Assistant of only a few month's standing in sole charge of the most important Hoozoor station in the Presidency.

Manufacture of Sugar, production of Silk and Wool, and other Agricultural improvements.

40th. Government may, I think, look forward with confidence, to results of the greatest importance, to the agricultural improvement of the Deccan, ensuing from the labors of Mr. Mutti, and of Mr. Dickenson, Superintendent of the Joint Stock Sugar Works at Hewra; and from what I have seen of their operations, I have no doubt, but that a steady adherence on their part, and that of Government, to the course which has been pursued for the last two or three years, will lead to Sugar and Silk becoming staple productions of the Deccan. The same may be said of the experiment for improving the country Wool, the results of which, as far as they have gone, have realized all reasonable expectations, and which should be steadily persevered in for some years to come. Mr. Webb, who has been in charge of the Government flocks, deserves much credit for what has been already effected.

41st. As regards Mr. Mutti, I would beg to make a few observations; he has, by trials in the Deccan, in Bombay, and Guzerat, demonstrated, to the satisfaction of every competent judge, the following facts, that the Mulberry grows faster and better, and that the Silk Worm is reared with less trouble, thrives more, is liable to fewer accidents and diseases, and produces its Cocoon in fewer days than in Europe. That the natives can wind silk equal to Italian; that they are willing to engage in, and able to perform, every one of the processes required for the production of the finest silk which can be made here cheaper than in Europe; and that, if apathy and mismanagement interpose no obstacle, England may be supplied, from a dependance of her own with the best descriptions of silk, and this country may gain a staple of produce of greater exportable value than any it now possesses, the demand of which is, practically speaking, unlimited, and the production of which is not liable to be affected by the uncertainty of the season.

42nd. These facts he has proved by experiments which are open to be examined by all the world, and by calculations which any one may verify. In so doing, he has had to contend with obstacles, a little of which would have discouraged any one else; and, by an energy and perseverance which I have never seen equalled, he has, at last, surmounted them. I am not aware of any self-interested motive which could have induced him to this course; his salary has been a bare pittance, and he has not only neglected his own comfort and profit at the time, but sacrificed the twelve best years of his life, and that health, which might have enabled him, by a different direction of his energies and abilities, to make a comfortable provision for himself in some other walk of life.

43rd. The benefit he has conferred on the Government, and people of this country, is undeniable; its possible extent can hardly be over-estimated, and it has been attained by a degree of self-sacrifice to which I know no parallel. Mr. Mutti's health is now, and has long been, in a very precarious state, and under these circumstances Government will, I trust, pardon my expressing a hope, that, on Mr. Mutti's becoming incapacitated for further exertions in this country, they would bring his case to the special notice of the Hon'ble Court, in the hope, that they will make, for the remainder of his life, that provision which his exertions for the benefit of their dominions has prevented his laying up for himself.

44th. On every question connected with the agricultural improvement of the country, Government has derived the greatest benefit from the extensive knowledge and great zeal of Dr. Gibson, Superintendent of the Government Gardens. I need not enumerate the numerous valuable reports, and practically useful suggestions by him, which I have had the honor at various times to submit to Government, and will here only express my conviction, that there are few appointments in the Government service, by which, in proportion to the expense, so much practical good is effected, as by Dr. Gibson's.

SHOLAPOOR.

Survey.

45th. A great part of what I have said of Poona, will apply to Sholapoor; the new survey has been introduced as the basis of the assessment into four Talookas, and is in progress in two more. I need not here recapitulate what I have at various times had the honor to state, recan lative to its great utility, and will merely say, that I trust it may ultimately be extended throughout the Deccan and Concan. The experience of the last four years has shown, that this may be done not only without expense, but with the certainty of Government's reaping the reward of moderation in its demands, in the shape of a very considerable increase of revenue, and in addition to all the other more direct benefits which were expected from it.

Survey in the Districts South of the Bheema.

46th. The scene of survey operations in the districts south of the Bheema, is every way different from what it has been in the districts previously surveyed. In the latter, the enquiries and exertions of several able and active Officers had not only placed on record a great deal of very exact information as to the resources of the country and rights of Government, but had diffused among both the cultivators and our native subordinates, a knowledge of the principles by which Government wished to regulate its proceedings and of the laws which had been enacted for the revenue and police administration of the country. As far as I can judge, this has been very imperfectly done in the districts south of the Bheema, and I would respectfully beg to point out the necessity of extending to them the more strict and minute system of administration, which has been for some years acted on with such marked beneficial effects in several other parts of the Deccan. To this end, the agency of an active and experienced Assistant or two is requisite, and I trust Government may be able to furnish it, as I look on the success of the survey in these districts, as in a great

measure dependant on the introduction of an improved system of management.

Outstanding Balances.

47th. The outstanding balances, which were formerly so heavy in this collectorate, have been, for the most part, enquired into, and those, which were irrecoverable, written off. This has been effected chiefly through the zealous exertions of the Assistants, Mr. Suart, and Lieutenant Wingate.

Khatabundy settlements.

48th. I may remark, that in the surveyed districts, still greater permanence might, I think, be given to the good which has been effected by the introduction of Khatabundy settlements similar to those which have been long in use in the best settled districts of Guzerat.

Accounts.

49th. The village and district accounts in the Deccan, are now generally kept with very creditable correctness, and to judge from the reports of former enquiries, and the statements of Officers, who, after a lapse of some years, have revisited the districts in question, the improvement which has taken place is very striking, specially in the surveyed districts, where the permanence as regards amount, the absence of outstanding balances, and the simplicity of the various arrangements connected with the assessment and collection of the revenue, have very considerably circumscribed the field for frauds, but it cannot be expected, that modes of peculation, which have been habitual for generations, and which, till lately, were connived at by the Government itself, should be at once corrected by a few years of somewhat stricter superintendence; and constant attention to the subject on the part of the local officers will, for some time, be indispensably necessary to prevent the accounts from lapsing into their former state of confusion.

TANNA.

Revision of Assessment.

50th. Comparatively little has been effected for the improvement of this collectorate, which has suffered, even more than is usual, from constant changes in the officers in charge; of the revisions of the assessment effected by Mr. Davies, those in Nusrapoor and Panwell appear to have effected considerable good by rendering the land tax lighter, and simplifying the unnecessary complexity of system caused by the number of different rates, but the measures recommended by my predecessor, for effecting such alterations as would have rendered the revised assessment a measure of permanent benefit to these districts, have not been carried out;

In Sanksee the rates have been revised, but tho' they have been acted on for some seasons past, it is still a question how far it will be expedient for Government to confirm them.

51st. That a revision and simplification of the assessment in the districts was urgently called for, cannot be doubted; but it appears to me that, considering the small extent of waste land, and the complexity of tenure caused by the number of parties interested in the land, the revision to be of any permanent use in Panwell, Nusrapoor, or Sanksee, should have been conducted in a less summary manner. These observations do not apply to Moorbar, where the introduction of a Beegotee was effected by the late 1st Assistant Mr. Coles, whose settlement appears to have been carefully made, and to have answered as well as could be expected.

52nd. My attention has been very forcibly attracted of late, by the number of petitions which I have received from the holders of land in the Northern Talookas, and to the utter want which, on enquiry, I found to exist of any certain information regarding the extent, ownership, or assessment of the land in those Mehals where there is no Beegownee settlement. It is not too much to say that, practically, there is, on the one hand, no limit to the extent to which land may be fraudulently added to the holding of a cultivator, to whom it does not by right belong, nor, on the other, to the amount of assessment which may be demanded; the consequence is, that when the cultivator and the subordinate Government officers combine, large quantities of Government land are cultivated, but not paid for, and when there is no such combination, the cultivator is subjected to exactions, limited only by his means of paying, and the most active Collector would be totally unable to ascertain (from the Government records) the truth, and do justice in either case.

53rd. Government is aware, that these facts were long ago pointed out by my predecessor, and a commencement of a survey was made under his orders in Sunjan; it was not, however, proceeded with, owing to the want of European superintendence. I am convinced, however, that there is hardly any part of the Presidency, where a survey would be productive of greater benefits, or lead more immediately to an increase of revenue. There cannot be a doubt, but that the thin population, and miserable state of cultivation in the Sunjan, Kolwan, Mahim, and (with the exception of the island itself) Bassein Talooks, is, in a great measure, owing to the wretched revenue

system; nor that the introduction of a definite Beegotee would lead to a great extension of cultivation; and when the comparatively high value of the land is considered, the extent of the immediate benefit which would accrue to Government may be easily estimated. In the Deccan, for instance, a Beega of waste land brought under cultivation adds but a few annas to the revenue of the district, while two rupees would, on an average, be a low estimate for the assessment on rice land in the districts to which I am alluding.

54th. It does not appear to me, that the measures now recommended would be difficult of execution. It is true that our late experience of revisions of assessment, conducted by the officer in charge of the district, is not encouraging; but, in the first place, there can be no doubt that a stricter adherence to the instructions of Government, and the Revenue Commissioner, would have produced far better results in the lately revised districts than those we have witnessed; and in the second place, there appears to me to be a very great difference between a revision of assessment in a district where a Begotee has been long in force, and in one where there is not in existence even a *pretence* to a record of the extent of the land or the rates of assessment, and where the first attempt to introduce a better system, must necessarily be of a very rough and general nature, to be subsequently improved on, as greater certainty and order are attained.

55th. The suggestion contained in my predecessor's 38th para. has been acted on, and the Talookas of Callian, Panwell, and Bassein, have been each divided into 2, and the Mamlutdar's charges have been thereby reduced to a manageable extent.

Size of the Collectorate.

56th. There can, I think, be little doubt, that this collectorate is too large for one Collector to do justice to, unless he has a greater number of Assistants than Government have lately, or are likely for some time to be able to place at his disposal.

Outstanding Balances.

57th. Considerable progress has been made in clearing off the heavy outstanding balances of this collectorate, and in the districts where the assessment has been reduced: their accumulation of late years has been almost entirely prevented.

RUTNAGHERRY.

Para. 60.

58th. This is the only collectorate which I have not visited; from all I can learn, I am very strongly inclined to concur in the opinion expressed by my predecessor, relative to the necessity which exists for the re-survey of

the Rutnagherry and Viziadroog Talookas. From the characters of the land-holders, however, the execution of such a measure should be entrusted to none but a very experienced and vigilant officer, who must be able to devote his whole time and attention to the task; and every precaution should be taken to guard against frauds, which would probably be attempted with a boldness and method unknown to the more simple and uneducated cultivators of other districts. Resurvey Rutnagherry Viziadrooog.

59th. Something, it is true, has been done to lessen the pressure of the assessment, particularly by the remission of some of the assessed taxes; but the burden is still very unequally distributed, and unless I am greatly deceived, further relief is urgently required in parts. I do not anticipate that any sacrifice of revenue would, on the whole, be ultimately found necessary, as in some localities the present assessment might be justly raised.

60th. I have alluded, in speaking of the different collectorates, to the reduction which has been effected in the amount of outstanding balances. It will be recollected, that a great deal had been effected under my predecessor's instructions, before he left. The following will shew the progress which has since been made: Outstanding Balances.

Amount of balances for former years, standing on the books on the 31st of July.

	1838.		1841.
Poonah..... Rs	6,90,164	..... Rs	3,65,443.
Khandesh... ,,	5,19,965	..... ,,	71,343.
Sholapoor.. ,,	4,26,532	..... ,,	1,50,758.
Tanna..... ,,	7,00,475	..... ,,	3,73,262.
Ahmednuggur. ,,	3,00,331	..... ,,	69,447.
Rutnagherry.. ,,	3,57,192	..... ,,	2,37,550.
Kaira..... ,,	3,97,808	..... ,,	27,762.
Ahmedabad.. ,,	4,73,975	..... ,,	1,48,276.
Surat..... ,,	38,254	..... ,,	39,904.
Broach.... ,,	4,84,848	..... ,,	6,10,022.
Total Rupees	43,89,544	Rupees	20,93,767.

61st. Of the general measures which have of late years been adopted for the improvement of the country the abolition of the transit duties is by far the most important, and one of which it is impossible to over-estimate the beneficial effects. The salt excise duty has more than answered the expectation formed of it, and the revenue from it nearly equals the amount of transit duties which have been given up. Abolition of Transit duties. Salt Excise.

Compensation to those who have suffered loss of income from the abolition of Transit duties.

62nd. The settlement of compensation to those who have suffered a loss of income by the above measure, is far advanced towards completion. The claims in the Kaira, Nuggur, and Candesh collectorates have been submitted to Government, and the amount of compensation has been fixed; those for Sholapoor are now before Government. Those for Goozarat and the Concans have been submitted by the Collector of Customs, but were returned for revision, and from a late reference to me by Government, I infer that they have been amended and returned by the Collector to Government direct; no statement of such claims has yet been received from Poonah.

Allowances of Village Officers.

63d. The long pending questions of increase to the allowances of village officers, and of an alteration in the mode of taxing fishermen, are now, I believe, before the Government of India; a considerable deal of correspondence regarding them has taken place since my predecessor left, and I trust that the additional information supplied, and the alterations introduced, may enable Government shortly to give their sanction to the measures proposed. The same may be said of plans for a revision of the Mohturfa taxes and townduties; no answer, I believe, having as yet been received to the propositions founded on the voluminous report of Messrs. Borradaile and Langford.

Taxes on Fishermen.

Mohturfa and Town Duties.

Accounts.

64th. A plan for having one uniform and simple system of account, has for some time been under preparation by this department; it is far advanced towards completion, and will, I trust, be furnished before the end of the current season.

Customs.

65th. The new Custom Act has now been in operation for 4 years, and as far as the department of Continental Customs goes, appears to have answered admirably.

Frauds in do.

66th. I trust that the exertions of the present active Collector, may put an effectual stop to the system of frauds, which late enquiries have shown had continued for a length of time and prevailed in this department, to an extent which has, I trust, few parrallels in other branches of the revenue.

Customs at the Salsette Ferries.

67th. Some measures, I think, must soon be adopted, with reference to the ferries between the island of Salsette and the mainland; at present, a large extent of the trade which used to pass direct from the continental ports to Bombay, is carried on by the circuitous route of these ferries, and it appears to me, that it will be necessary either to impose duties on the transit of goods over them, or to remit those which are now levied on the coasting trade between the continent and Bombay.

68th. It was my wish, when I took charge of the department, and has been my endeavour since, to carry on the system of my able and experienced predecessor, from a strong conviction of the justice of the general principles by which he was guided; and from what I have seen since I have been in charge, I am certain, I could not have laid down to myself, nor recommended to my successor, a better rule.

69th. As remarked by him, the chief points of importance in maintaining the present system of (I trust) progressive improvment, are, to "keep the Assistants actively employed in charge of districts; that the Revenue Commissioner should visit those provinces where "the management is least perfect, and complaints most "numerous; and that the salaries of our native servants "should be put on a footing to attract to the line persons "of respectability and talent"—to these I would add a careful, steady prosecution of the surveys now in progress, and their ultimate extension to all provinces where no such measures has hitherto been introduced, and generally, the prosecution and completion of what has been commenced, rather than experiments of new and untried plans of improvement. Para. 13.

I have the honor to be, &c.
(Signed) J. VIBART,
Revenue Commissioner.

Bombay, Rev. Comrs'. Office, 24th February, 1842.

(True copies,)
L. R. REID,
Chief Secretary.

MEMORANDUM

OF

CIRCUMSTANCES CONNECTED WITH

THE REMOVAL

OF

THE JUDGES OF THE SUDDER COURT

AT BOMBAY.

Bombay:
PRINTED AT THE BOMBAY GAZETTE PRESS.
1853.

MEMORANDUM, &c.

BOMBAY, *December* 3*rd*, 1853.

Of the four gentlemen, Mr. Bell, Mr. Warden, Mr. LeGeyt, and Mr. Grant, whose misfortune it was to occupy the Sudder Bench when the removal of Mr. LeGeyt and Mr. Grant took place, the first is deceased. A short time before his death, he caused to be conveyed to Mr. Warden the expression of his regret that any misunderstanding had occurred between them, which induced Mr. Warden to propose that he should visit his dying friend, and they parted, a very few days before Mr. Bell's death, with the renewal of those feelings that had subsisted for more than thirty years; and, respect for the memory of the departed and for the feelings of the survivor, who was with us at Bombay till Monday last, induced a desire to maintain, even in the midst of misrepresentation unusually great and animadversions unusually acrimonious, an unbroken silence—trusting to a well-established public and private character to repel unworthy imputations.

But it has been, within the last few days, accidentally discovered, that "confidence has been violated,"* by the "hawking about" without the consent, without even the knowledge of the writers, of "private letters; in which, with one or two exceptions, "there is nothing which removes them from the class of confiden-"tial communications—the matters to which they relate being "sometimes of the most private character:" the announcement of domestic joy—the allusions to domestic sorrow—the confessions of domestic infirmities—the reference to dependent relatives—and

* See *Friend of India.*

the thoughtless observations of totally disinterested parties, being violated and cast out with an exhibition of shamelessness and heartlessness to which no parallel can be found, and from which the conductors of the public Press, as a body, shrink with instinctive repugnance; and the boundary appears, therefore, to be reached at which respect for the departed, and solicitude for the fallen, must alike yield to the requirements of public reputation and private honor; and it must be shewn that Mr. Warden did all that was due to the public, the Government, and his colleagues—though far less than was due to himself.

On the retirement of Sir John Grey, the Commander-in-Chief, in March 1852, Mr. Warden sat in Council three months, during which short interval, he twice, as occasion occurred, expressed an opinion on the character of the Court, a seat on the Bench of which he had just vacated. His first Minute is on the records of the Government, and the second, which by the arrangement of business was not recorded at the time it was written, but which is referred to in a Minute of Mr. Warden's published in the Baroda Blue Book, was placed before the President of the Council.

If the undisguised sentiments expressed in these minutes might be published (which they may not), it would be placed beyond debate that Mr. Warden did "come forward and calmly state his belief (and its reasons")* that the judicial administration of the Bombay Presidency in general, and the Sudder Court in particular, had lost the confidence of the public; remarking that "much "as Her Majesty's Supreme Court of Judicature was dreaded by "the Natives when it was first introduced into India, there was no "doubt that" (for the reasons he mentioned) "there was no in-"stitution with which the Natives of Bombay would not rather "part than this Supreme Court—the Sudder Court being" (for reasons also detailed) "considered in the Mofussil *as unstable as water.*"

* *Friend of India.*

He did not and could not "demand the removal" of his brother Judges, for they had done none of those things to which the word "guilt" can be applied; but suggested that they should be enjoined to be more circumspect, and to imitate the pattern of Her Majesty's Judges, whose Court, introduced under every possible disadvantage, had become the most valued institution in India.

Their indebtedness was notorious, but Government had not considered such a disqualification for the Judicial office—and on this, therefore, it would have been impertinent to speak, till *the effects* of this indebtedness declared themselves, as they did in February last; and then, Mr. Warden stated broadly, in a demi-official letter to the Chief Judge, *his* views of the disqualifying effects of pecuniary dependence—guarding himself at the same time against the risk of misapprehension by what he addressed to the other Judges.

The premises, therefore, on which it is assumed, on the one hand, that Mr. Warden left the head of the Government in ignorance of what it was his duty to communicate; and, on the other, that he should have demanded the "removal" of his colleagues, have no existence whatever.

While on the one hand there is nothing which would have justified Mr. Warden's coming forward as the public prosecutor of his colleagues, there is, on the other hand, nothing in his communications to his three brother Judges which would lead them to suppose, while he expressed the regret he naturally felt at the trouble that had fallen on old comrades, that he abandoned the sentiments *which had but recently been expressed to one of them by the Government of which he was a Member:* and that the head of the Government had not forgotten Mr. Warden's opinion in respect to the general character of the Suddur Court is proved by the frank acknowledgment of His Lordship in a letter to Mr. Warden which will be presently set out: "I never for a moment "doubted that the necessity for the changes I have lately made "in the Suddur Court would have been fully apparent to you."

But Lord Falkland could not be aware that Mr. Warden considered the crisis which he had long foreseen, and which in his opinion rendered his remaining in the Court incompatible with due regard to his reputation and his interests, had, in February last, occurred; and it was to this conjuncture Mr. Warden had then to address himself.

On the appearance of the articles in the *Bombay Gazette* newspaper which caused the removal of the Judges, Mr. Warden received a letter from Mr. Grant (which has *not* been printed and "hawked about," but the purport of which can fortunately be gathered from the answer) intimating that he had heard the Government intended to enquire into the matter in the *Gazette*; and, as Mr. Warden's position rendered it probable he would be consulted, expressing a hope he would interest himself in the matter.

Mr. Warden answered, that he hoped to see the Chief Judge on the subject, but his (Mr. Warden's) impression at the moment, as regarded the reported enquiry, was, that the Governor would not embark in any thing so harassing, as Mr. Warden did not see what further enquiry there could be beyond asking him if he considered Mr. Grant corrupt or partial, and asking Mr. Grant whether he was in debt, and thereon providing for him elsewhere than in a Court of Justice, there being no doubt the Government would give Mr. Grant the option under any circumstances of leaving the Court.

Mr. Warden added to this sketch of Mr. Grant's position, *an account*, in this the very outset, *of what he felt to be his own*, which had prompted one friend to advise his calling on the Government to protect the Court and vindicate its character; but that as another friend said it would be a mere fiction to affect to consider he was aimed at by the newspapers, and that he need only keep matters square at home, Mr. Warden had determined to send the newspaper articles to an influential person in England (the Mail to England was on the eve of departure) who is a

" Chief Judge, on this painful subject, I wish to tell you how I friend of Mr. Grant's as well as of Mr. Warden's, with a short preface of the circumstances that had occurred ; and proposed that he should be authorized (which he afterwards was) to send in confidence Mr. Grant's letter also. The remainder of Mr. Warden's answer relates to a strictly private affair of Mr. Grant's, and need not be given.

Mr. Warden did see the Chief Judge, and conveyed to him the expression of Mr. Grant's wishes.

In a few days after this, nothing having meanwhile transpired on the subject, *the whole aspect of the affair was changed.* Government took up the matter in the manner with which every one is familiar, and Mr. LeGeyt and Mr. Grant wrote the answers which have been placed before the world. *When Mr. Warden read those answers,* he saw it would be idle to think any longer of calling on the Government to protect the Court and vindicate its character, as he felt satisfied the Editor could never be successfully prosecuted, which was the only effective means of protecting the Court and vindicating its character ; that the Editor would consequently be emboldened by success; and that Mr. Warden must therefore either resign his seat, or be prepared to put up with all that the Editor might inflict on the Court.

Time has proved how accurate was this judgment. The ex-Judges have not even entered the arena of a Court of Justice with the Editor of the *Gazette.*

As, however, Mr. Warden's resignation would have at once turned the scale against his brother Judges, and he was desirous to avoid being, even apparently, the means of injuring them, who were his friends, for whom he felt a sympathy as sincere, in respect to the position in which they were placed, as his conviction was deep, that that position must lead to their separation ; but as on the other hand, in the event of any doubt as to the course to be followed, his intended resignation would have been an important circumstance in the discussion, the total concealment of which, till

the Government had decided that the Court should not be changed, would have laid him under the imputation of acting unhandsomely by the Government in concealing from it what it was essential, in the event of hesitation in its Councils, that it should know, he addressed the following letter to Mr. Bell, retaining a copy of it, as is his habit in respect to demi-official letters.

Mr. Bell was the Chief Judge of the Suddur Court (an office created for emergencies, of which the one then arrived at was the most critical that had happened to a Suddur Court since the establishment of Suddurs); he had sat in that Court for upwards of ten years, and was as cognizant as Mr. Warden himself could be of that which he must have explained to any one else; and Mr. Bell, as Member of the Government, would also know whether the circumstance, to meet which the resignation was intended, had occurred or not, seeing that otherwise the letter would be but an announcement of what the writer intended, under a contingency that could never occur, and serve no purpose, but that of gratuitous injury.

" Private.

" February 16th, 1853.

" My Dear Bell,

" I have long believed that the reputation of the Suddur " throughout the Presidency is very bad, and formed my own " opinion as to the cause of it, but when this was sent forth in " print, beyond the circle which has the means of separating the " sheep from the goats, and my own personal reputation was en- " dangered, I ought to have sought the honor of a private " interview with Lord Falkland; but as I adopted the more res- " pectful mode of leaving him to take the lead, and the question " is now under his consideration, although I should like much " to see his Lordship, I feel that my interposition might be im- " pertinent; but as I also feel that I should do nothing without " apprising him of it, and as I have communicated with you, as the

" find myself situated; and how, under a certain contingency,
" I purpose to extricate myself from my embarrassment. When
" I resigned my seat in 1846, on the Poona Bench, which I had
" occupied—first and last—6½ years, I did so not only with ex-
" pressions of regret from the Governor I was serving, who asked
" me to abandon my plan and accept a seat on the Suddur Bench,
" but with words and actions from the inhabitants of a large city,
" betokening the same sense of my having faithfully fulfilled my
" trust.

" Without wishing to be uncharitable towards those who are
" in debt—a state that may arise from misfortune, or from genero-
" sity outstripping discretion—I consider that a person laboring
" under this misfortune, should be prepared at any time to forego
" the honor of being a Judge; and therefore although I have been
" twice to England and twice to the Cape, and had eight children,
" I have always preserved my independence, so that I could look
" any one in the face, be he who he might, who appeared at the bar
" of my Court.

" When I returned from England, Lord Falkland placed me
" where Sir George Arthur asked me to go. I have since re-
" ceived an additional token of his confidence in being placed
" at the head of the Board of Education; and of that of the
" Home Government, in being appointed, without solicitation, a
" Provisional Member of this Government.

" Having been advised by my Medical man to take leave dur-
" ing the hot weather and monsoon, I had intended, before this
" exposé, to recede by that means from the Suddur, where I have
" been sensible that I have for some time been losing credit
" as well as health; but such a mode of escape would now be
" liable to misconstruction, and I have come to the determination,
" if the Government do not consider it advisable to appoint me
" colleagues who, by their independence as well as their ability,
" can restore to the Court its good name, respectfully to submit to
" the Government my resignation of my seat.

"It may not be necessary to make use of this letter, but should "you deem it advisable and respectful that my intention should "be conveyed to the Governor and your colleagues, I hope "you will do me the favor of doing so; but I should not wish "this letter to be seen even by Secretaries. I am painfully situ- "ated; my colleagues are my friends and contemporaries, and "one is my distant connexion by marriage; the pecuniary sacri- "fice is great, but I cannot peril my seat in Council, and, what "is more valuable still, the good name my family has had for "upwards of half a century throughout this Presidency.

"Believe me, &c.

"JOHN WARDEN."

At this most critical point, *i. e.* four days only after the despatch of the foregoing letter, and while the Chief Judge was still deliberating on the course he should follow, domestic circumstances of an urgent character forced Mr. Warden to retire from the Court at a moment's notice, and rendered his resignation an act of supererogation; and hearing a few days afterwards from the Register, that the Chief Judge was still deliberating as to the course he should follow, he wrote to the Register that he might inform the Chief Judge, that as Mr. Warden had by that time vacated his seat on the Bench with an "*unalterable determination*" never to resume it, the Chief Judge might, if he liked, destroy his letter of resignation. Whether the Chief Judge acted on this discretion or not, is not known, as all Mr. Warden afterwards heard on the matter—and that a month afterwards—was, that the Chief Judge had made use of his letter by mentioning it to his Civil colleague.

That the Chief Judge "*returned*" Mr. Warden's letter, as has been so industriously circulated, is a pure fiction. Mr. Warden did not receive any answer, and all necessity for further action by him had ceased.

He now withdrew from all official occupation into the strictest domestic seclusion, and retired to the Hills, feeling satisfied

that he had done his duty to the Government he served and to the public, in plainly stating, when one of the Members of Government, his opinion of the character of the Sudder Court; and that he had likewise done all which the warmest friendship could demand in behalf of his colleagues, by withholding the make-weight against them, which the fact of his contemplated resignation would have constituted; and he had no motive, either of duty or of interest, for moving further in the matter, having left the Chief Judge and fourth Member of the Government, as well as the Head of the Government, in full possession of his opinion of the Sudder Court.

The Judges were subsequently dismissed without the make-weight against them of the knowledge of Mr. Warden's intended resignation.

He had now been ten days in retirement, and was on the eve of quitting Bombay, when a friend, on whose judgment he relied, advised him "by all means" to write to his colleagues. He felt all the difficulty of the task. Better to be silent than not to speak words of kindness; but how to reconcile these to the sufferers with the announcement of what a sense of duty had exacted? He was not, however, in a mind to reject the advice that he should be kind to others in distress, and those, old friends and comrades; and he wrote them the following notes, expressive of a sympathy, which all right-thinking people know may co-exist with the strongest conviction of the propriety of the public measure which called it forth, and which is well known to have been shared by him whose stern duty it was to execute that measure.

"March 5th, 1853,*

"Prospect Lodge.

"My dear LeGeyt,

"I have to-day received from Larken a confirmation of what "I yesterday read in the papers, and you will believe that I "cannot hear of the pain I know you must suffer, friends and

* It is only within the last few days that Mr. Warden has obtained the copy.

"intimates as we have been all our lives, without feeling the "deepest sympathy for you; but you have the consolation of "knowing, that your public and private integrity are alike un- "assailable.

"You know how painfully I have found myself situated; "those most interested in me have urged me for a long time to "resign, and a connexion has lately written to me that if I had "been the Duke of Wellington I could not have escaped damage; "although this was a serious consideration, with the Chairman of "the Directors unfriendly to me already, I had hoped to get away "to Egypt before the crisis, which I saw must come sooner or "later, occurred; but as it found me still here, I wrote to Bell, "with permission, if he thought fit, to shew my letter to Lord "Falkland, that I should resign; he, however, told Larken* that "he would rather not speak to Lord Falkland, and as God had, "by this time, so ordered events, that I was extricated from the "Sudder, I told him, through Larken, to destroy my letter.

"Not one word has passed, as Larken tells me you thought, "between Lord Falkland and me, and, after my misfortune, I "wrote to Larken a note, which he I fancy sent to Bell, that "it was matter of moonshine to me what the Government did, "as I had determined never to return to the Sudder.

"I regret very much you did not take the resolution of going "to the Sungum, when Brown went home, as you would have "been spared all your present sufferings.

"Believe me, &c.,

"JOHN WARDEN."

"March 5th, 1853, †

"My dear Grant, "Prospect Lodge.

"Larken has just written to me in confirmation of what I "yesterday read in the papers, and it is impossible I can hear of

*. The Register of the Court.

† It is only within the last few days that Mr. Warden has obtained *in print* what he supposes to be copy of this note.

" the termination, under such painful circumstances, of our offi-
" cial connexion of four years, passed without the exchange of
" one angry word, without deep feelings of regret and sympathy.
" With abilities second to those of no one in the Service, and
" with an earnest desire to do right and to get on harmoniously,
" you and I could have pulled well together for ever; but I could
" not help seeing, even if those most interested in me had not so
" constantly urged it on my attention, that, from whatever cause,
" I was losing credit, and when the crisis came I resolved to re-
" sign; meanwhile my own domestic storm broke over my head,
" and I told Bell (through Larken) to whom my resolve had been
" communicated, that the whole thing had become matter of moon-
" shine to me, as I had got away and would never return.

" LeGeyt fancies I wrote early to Lord Falkland, urging what
" has been done; he and I have never at any time exchanged one
" word about the Sudder.

" Believe me, &c.,

" JOHN WARDEN."

While, then, it will be seen Mr. Warden wrote words of sympathy and kindness, he did not omit to disclose to Mr. LeGeyt and Mr. Grant in the very same notes, what he had already told the Chief Judge, that, in spite of the harmony that had subsisted either officially or personally between them, " *he could not help seeing*" (quoting his language to Mr. Grant) "*even if those most interested in him had not so* " *constantly urged it on his attention, that, from whatever cause, he* " *was losing credit, and when the crisis came he resolved to resign;* " *but that as meanwhile his own domestic storm had broken over* " *his head, he told the Chief Judge, through the Register, that the* " *whole thing had become matter of moonshine to him as he had* " *got away and would never return.*"

It is painful to reflect that it has been by the miserable means of *mangling this letter, and suppressing the passage that has just been quoted,* while the remainder has been circulated throughout

India—the equally miserable end has been attained of creating a false impression that Mr. Warden "*secretly* recorded that which "*forced* upon Government the dismissal of the Judges, while, upon "the event occurring, he *publicly* smothered them with condo- "lence and laudation."

Mr. Warden now left the Suddur Court and the Presidency under circumstances which rendered it very improbable he would take any further part in so painful an affair—but *two* conditions were essential to the preservation of this his passive position.

First.—That as his colleagues considered his intended resignation as "withdrawn," it should be to the five persons (the four Judges and the Register) who alone were aware of its having been made,—*in other words, that it should be to* ALL who knew of it—EXACTLY AS IF IT HAD NEVER BEEN.

Second.—That Mr. Warden should not be misrepresented.

Both these conditions were broken in less than a month.

On the 5th of March Mr. Warden wrote to his ex-colleagues the Notes which have been given above.

Two days afterwards, *i. e.* on the 7th of March, the following announcement was made in a local paper, the "*Telegraph and Courier*," whose conductor is, by his marriage, closely connected with Mr. Grant, and remotely so with Mr. LeGeyt:—

"We understand that Mr. M. Larken, the Register of the "Suddur, is to act as Judge for Mr. J. Warden, who is about "to proceed on sick leave to the Hills, and who intends even- "tually to resign the service without again taking his seat on the "Bench. THIS GENTLEMAN IS SAID TO BE DEEPLY DISGUSTED "AT THE TREATMENT HIS LATE COLLEAGUES HAVE MET WITH "AT THE HANDS OF THE GOVERNMENT."

And before the month had expired, viz. on the 29th of March, it was said in the same paper:—

"We should not be surprised *if Mr. Warden, as is reported, retires from the service*, to see R. D. Luard in Council."

Mr. Warden was likewise soon after informed, that the Chief

Judge had mentioned the purport of Mr. Warden's letter to his Civil colleague in the Council, but not to the Governor, and had thus revived the letter which was understood by the ex-Judges to be "withdrawn." In this manner both conditions had been violated; and Mr. Warden had now to choose between being a party to a disclosure to one Member of the Government, and to the concealment from another—and that other the Head—of a fact equally important to both; or, to make the same disclosure to the Head of the Government, which had been made to its ordinary Members.

The Chief Judge should either have informed the Government that he had received from his senior brother Judge the communication which he would lay before them, *or*, as he told the Register he was seriously thinking of doing, he should have returned "it to Mr. Warden, and begged him to act with regard to the "annoyance under which he complained as he might think best "without his interference," when Mr. Warden would have carried his communication direct to the Head of the Government; but to keep the letter six days without acting at all, and until the occasion to meet which it had been written had passed and Mr. Warden had left the Court, and eventually to mention it to one Member of the Government and not to the rest, placed all parties in an embarrassing position, and obliged Mr. Warden to lay his letter before Lord Falkland, which when his Lordship repaired to the Hills he did, enclosed in the following letter.

"Mahableshwur, April 7, 1853.

"My dear Lord Falkland,

"I at one time thought of addressing your Lordship by post "on the subject of this letter, but did not like to trouble you; "as, however, you are now here, I am induced to do so. I had "long felt I was losing credit by being in the Suddur, and my "connexions and friends also urged this on my attention; and "when the publication appeared which led to the removal of my "colleagues, I ought to have sought an interview with you that I

"might have mentioned all I knew and felt, and what I intended "to do; but a distaste to appear meddling induced me to confine "my remarks to the Chief Judge, Mr. Bell—and I afterwards "sent him a letter, of which the enclosed is a copy. I considered "it was due to your Lordship as the Governor, and to the other "Members of the Government, that you should know, while "debating on the course to be followed, that I had resolved no "longer to sit on the Bench with Mr. LeGeyt and Mr. Grant.

"Meanwhile the storm of my domestic sorrows broke over "my head with crushing velocity, and I could think of nothing "else, but after some days Mr. Bell sent me a message through "Mr. Larken that he would rather have nothing to do with my "letter, and wished I would send it direct to you and express my "annoyances myself.

"I answered that God had then so ordered events that I had "escaped from the Suddur without the possibility of my motives "being misconstrued, and as I had unalterably determined never "to return to it as it was then constituted, I had no longer any "ground for annoyance, it being matter of moonshine to me per- "sonally, as matters had turned out for me, what the Government "decided. I heard no more, but I certainly think, if there were "any doubt in any one's mind as to how the case should have "been dealt with, that you should have known that the senior and "presiding Judge had determined to resign his seat unless his "colleagues were changed. Hoping you will pardon my troubling "you at such length about my affairs,

"Believe me, &c.

"JOHN WARDEN."

To this letter Lord Falkland sent the following answer* :—

"Bohemia, April 9th, 1853.

"My dear Warden,

"The arrival of the Mail prevented my thanking you yesterday "for your letter of the 7th instant.

* Published with His Lordship's permission.

"I never for a moment doubted that the necessity for the "changes I have lately made in the Suddur Court would have "been fully apparent to you, but I was totally unaware of your "having addressed my colleague Mr. Bell on the subject.

"What is contained in your letter to me and in its enclosure "would assuredly have greatly strengthened my hands had it "been communicated to me when the subject was under consi- "deration, and, even *now*, will be of great advantage if you will "allow me to make use of it; otherwise, although I may and do feel "gratified at your concurrence in my views, the value of your "communication will be in a great measure neutralized.

"I cannot but think it hard, that while Mr. Grant, supported "by the press, receives *public* addresses eulogizing his conduct "and implying strong censure on the Government, those who "deem me right in the course I have pursued should conceal "their opinions, and thus give room for their silence being mis- "interpreted.

"I am, &c.,

(Signed) "FALKLAND."

To this answer Mr. Warden replied as follows:—

"Mahableshwur, April 10th, 1853.

"My dear Lord Falkland,

"I beg your Lordship will make any use you think proper of "my letters. I wished that to Mr. Bell to be private at the mo- "ment, because with my opinion of the disqualification indebted- "ness offers to the holding of judicial office, more especially in "India where an indebted Judge is never believed to be indepen- "dent, I thought the exposé that had occurred, taken in con- "junction with the very severe rebuke Mr. LeGeyt received "last year when I was in Council for the part he took in regard "to the farm of Elephanta, left but one course open to the Go- "vernment in respect to either of my colleagues, and I did not "wish to appear as if I was boasting of what I was going to do "under circumstances of most improbable occurrence; but though

"I told Mr. Larken, after I had taken leave of absence, that Mr. "Bell, as far as I was concerned, might destroy my letter, I "thought, under any want of unanimity, he would, on public "grounds, mention what I contemplated. After the decision was "known, till I left Bombay I only saw Mr. Larken and Mr. Sim- "son, and to them I spoke openly, and I wrote to Mr. LeGeyt and "Mr. Grant what I had intended; and since I have been here I "have told the same thing to Colonel Melvill, Captain Wingate, "and Captain Furneaux. I did not notice the paragraph I saw "in the *Telegraph and Courier*, that I was so annoyed at the re- "moval of my colleagues, that I intended to return to England, "because it struck me that any thing so absurd as my resigning "my place because two fellow servants had lost theirs, carried its "own contradiction; and, in spite of all the outcry that has been "made, I consider that the position the Government has taken "up, if defended as it can be, is perfectly impregnable. Should "your Lordship desire to see me at any time, I shall be happy to "wait on you whenever you may desire it.

"Believe me, &c.

"JOHN WARDEN."

It may be said Mr. Warden was not warranted in identifying his late colleagues with the newspaper, but before another month had expired, he found that Mr. Grant had embodied in a Memorial to the Court of Directors, which was printed and sent to Delhi and even to Scinde, the eulogistic portion of Mr. Warden's farewell note, to the omission of the remainder which has been given above from a printed copy.

Mr. Warden requested the Register to make no secret of the manner in which he had met the attempt to misrepresent him; and that the Register did make it known, was testified by the early remonstrances he received from his late colleagues. They reproached him for injuring them by strengthening Lord Falkland's hands in the reviving that which had been withdrawn, and such, without a direct communication to themselves; but, as has been

shewn, it was the Chief Judge, not Mr. Warden, who had revived the letter by a partial communication of its existence, although in a note that has been preserved, Mr. Warden begged the Register to caution the Chief Judge against making any communication, otherwise than a general one; and, as regards Mr. Warden not writing direct to the ex-Judges what he had felt constrained to do, "the hawking about" of his private letters, which, says the *Friend of India*, "it is scarcely possible to notice without trenching on the sanctity of private life," incontestably proves that Mr. Warden exercised the soundest possible discretion in not again communicating direct with his late colleagues on the subject of their removal.

Moreover he had not, at that time, received from Mr. Grant even the most formal acknowledgment of the receipt of his farewell note, which was afterwards put before the world in a mangled condition.

To call Mr. Warden's letter to Mr. Bell a private one is absurd. It was necessary that it should be private till the Chief Judge had determined whether he would act as the organ of the communication (and in a place like Bombay, where, of late years, even *State* secrets have leaked out, it was well to repeat the caution in the body of the letter), because, on his declining, Mr. Warden intended to carry it to the Governor, who, in that case, should not have received it second-hand; but an unanswerable proof exists that Mr. Warden, at least, did not consider it in any other sense private, for the moment he found it had been acted on, he sent copy of it to the Head of the Government for whose consideration it was written, by whom it was placed on the public records; as well as to his late colleagues, and so it has been scattered to the winds, and placed on every breakfast table in India.

Mr. Warden might perhaps have rested content with the testimony in his favor afforded by the fact, that whatever impressions the Chief Judge might have received in the course of the discussion, he sent him, with a sincerity that seldom fails the dying, the

friendly communication which carried Mr. Warden to his side; but he may now with all safety leave Society to pronounce whether the stain of dishonour, double-dealing, and faithlessness is fixed on him, or upon those, who, by misrepresentation, suppression of one part and the publication of another part of his letters, and by the "violation of private confidence," have created a false impression which the slightest touch of truth will immediately dissolve.

It is unnecessary to suggest by whose agency these ends have been gained; but it is due to Mr. LeGeyt to say, that Mr. Warden has, within the last few days, received a letter from him, saying that "he had hitherto so far from publishing the correspondence, "done what was in his power to prevent its publication."

Mr. Grant's absence would alone prevent the receipt of any communication from him.

INDIA REFORM.

No. III.

NOTES ON INDIA,

BY DR. BUIST

OF BOMBAY.

LONDON:
SAUNDERS & STANFORD, 6, CHARING CROSS.
MANCHESTER:
SIMMS AND DINHAM.

Price Threepence.

INDIA REFORM.

No. I.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA SINCE 1834.

Price 3d.; per post 5d.

No. II.

THE FINANCES OF INDIA.

Price 3d.; per post, 5d.

Preparing for publication.

No IV.

THE NATIVE STATES OF INDIA.

No. V.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE EVIDENCE GIVEN BEFORE THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE:

By J. SULLIVAN, ESQ.

No. VI.

PUBLIC WORKS.

NOTES ON INDIA.

BY DR. BUIST OF BOMBAY.

From the reports of the Committees of April last it would appear that the Act of 1784 encumbered with the various deteriorations it has suffered by each successive enactment is about to be extended, with little alteration, to 1874.

For the next twenty years the natives of Hindostan are as heretofore to be in a great measure excluded from public employment in their own country, although pronounced by Act of Parliament equally eligible for this as Europeans, and proved by the testimony of the Duke of Wellington, Lord William Bentinck, the Earl of Ellenborough, Sir George Clarke, Mr. Sullivan, Mr. Holt Mackenzie, and all the ablest statesmen of the age, eminently qualified for office. We are to have, till the close of the present century, a constitution continued to us which was framed near the end of the last; we are to have three separate sets of government for India, the principal function of each of which seems to be, to thwart and retard the operations of the others; the Leadenhall Street division costing £130,000 a-year, being merely the minister of patronage, and place of record, without one atom of power beyond this, save that of suggesting, criticising, and obstructing; the Board of Control costing £25,000 a-year, managed by a chairman, appointed without any necessary qualification to the office, whose average tenure of service has, since 1820, fallen short of two years, void of all responsibility, endowed with absolute power, governing in secret, and presenting to Parliament, when asked for information, collections of papers so disgracefully vitiated and garbled as to mislead, in place of enlightening, and whose main contributions to the policy of India during the past twenty years have been wars, which have cost thirty millions sterling. With three governments in India, costing half a million sterling annually amongst them, so completely under

a parcel of clever clerks at home,* as to be compelled to send home particulars of every thing they say or do, to be commented on, checked, or controlled, by parties incapable, from position, of forming a correct opinion on what they decide; and finally, in India, we are to have Indian education neglected, improvement thrown aside, irrigation and the means of communication overlooked, though to neglect such as these we have, since the last Charter Act, been indebted for famines which have swept nearly two millions of human beings away, and caused a loss to the revenue of above eight millions sterling, a sum, if properly expended, sufficient to have averted for ever the calamities by which, in a few years, its loss has been occasioned. Against things so monstrous as these, in reference to which Parliament seems deaf or unheeding, it has been resolved to appeal through the Press to the people of England, in the firm belief that were they aware of the tremendous responsibilities they were incurring by the mismanagement, of which they are the authors, they would afford India such redress as she is entitled to seek from their hands, the refusal of which may yet be productive of such fearful consequences.

History contains no record of anything so strange, or so reprehensible, as the neglect with which Englishmen treat the interests of the British Empire in the East. The disfranchisement of Gatton or old Sarum occupied ten times the attention, and was listened to with a hundred times the anxiety, that is bestowed upon an empire which contains an area equal to half that of Europe.

WHAT IS INDIA?

India occupies from the 7th to the 32nd parallel, from the 67th to the 90th meridian. Its boundary line is 11,260 miles in length, or half the circumference of the globe. It comprises an area of 1,309,200 square miles, ten times that of France, of which 800,758 belong to England, 508,442 to native subsidiaries or allies. It extends from the sea level to an altitude of 27,000 feet, and its climate varies from that of the torrid zone to that of the arctic regions—where the huge Himalayas rise far within the line of perpetual snow. On its western marches along the Indus from the sea

* Lord Ellenborough's evidence.

to the borders of the Punjaub are regions where rain hardly ever falls, where the houses are built of unburnt bricks, and a shower once in five years is a rarity. On its eastern frontier, under the same parallel, in the Kassia Hills, and at a similar distance from the sea, the average fall is from 3 to 400 inches during the three summer months: as much is often measured in forty-eight hours as suffices England for a year. It has rivers, double the size of the Danube or the Rhine, shrunk up at one season of the year, so as to be almost unnavigable, swelled out at another season so as to become vast inland seas, the one shore hardly visible from the other, carrying as much solid matter annually to the ocean as would build up an English county from beneath low to above high water mark.

POPULATION.

The races by which these vast regions are occupied, are as strange and diversified in character as are the features of the country and the climate; they are of every form, hue, and faith, from the huge Patan or Beloochi, to the short but active Goorka, and diminutive man of Malabar; from the Todawars, who dwell on trees, and feed on reptiles and vermin,—the Khoonds, slaughtering their hecatombs of children,—the Arab, dark as the Ethiopian, and the Ethiopians themselves in abundance; the Parsee and the Mogul, scarcely distinguishable from the Englishman in point of hue—to the learned Brahmin, studying the stars, calculating eclipses, and constructing astronomical instruments, compared to which those of modern times are but toys in point of size. The distinguished astronomer Jayasinha, Rajah of Ambhere, nearly two centuries ago had observatories constructed at Delhi, Benares, Muttra, and Oujein, each possessed of equatorials of such size as to allow above three inches and a half to the degree, each degree being divided into minutes: the gnomons of the sun dials were from a hundred to a hundred and twenty feet in length. The bodily and the moral maladies which afflict a community of such mass and diversity of material, are almost equally frightful in point of character and magnitude. Famines occurring almost decennially, some of which within our time, have swept their millions away. In 1833, fifty thousand persons perished in the month of September in Lucknow; at Khanpoor twelve hundred died of want; and half a million sterling was subscribed by the

bountiful to relieve the destitute. In Guntoor two hundred and fifty thousand human beings, seventy-four thousand bullocks, a hundred and fifty-nine thousand milch cattle, and three hundred thousand sheep and goats, died of starvation. Fifty thousand people perished in Marwar; and in the North West Provinces, half a million of human lives are supposed to have been lost. The living preyed upon the dead; mothers devoured their children; and the human imagination could scarcely picture the scenes of horror that pervaded the land. In twenty months' time a million and a half of people must have died of hunger or of its immediate consequences. The direct pecuniary loss occasioned to government by this single visitation exceeded five millions sterling.—a sum which would have gone far to avert the calamity from which it arose, had it been expended in constructing thoroughfares to connect the interior with the sea coast or districts where scarcity prevailed, with those where human food was to be had in abundance; or on canals to bear forth to the soil, thirsty and barren for want of moisture, the unbounded supplies our rivers carry to the ocean. India has indeed been the birthplace or the cradle of the most frightful maladies that have ever visited the earth: a hundred and fifty thousand persons perished of cholera betwixt its appearance on the Ganges in 1816, and the time it reached Western India the year after. In 1820 it swept away one-fourth of the whole population of the Mauritius; before 1831, fifty millions of human beings are supposed to have been destroyed by it in various parts of the world. The plague of Marwar in 1837 carried off ten thousand, one-fourth of the population in a few months; and in 1849 the Mahamurree swept away one-fourth of the inhabitants where it prevailed, in Gurhwal 88 per cent died of those attacked.

The crimes of India are nearly as frightful as its maladies. The existence of Thuggee, the practice of which is represented in the frescoes of Ajunta as having prevailed above two thousand years ago, has become known to us within the present century, and is scarcely yet extinguished. Infanticide, by which tens and hundreds of thousands of female children must have perished since it first became known to us sixty years ago, has been extinguished barely two years since. The extinction of widow-burning, is of somewhat older date within our territories, but the practice still prevails upon our borders. Ten years ago the existence of a fraternity of plunderers, consisting of

nearly three hundred persons, was discovered in the populous city of Bombay. It had prevailed for a quarter of a century, netting a clear gain, as shewn by well kept books, of from fifty to eighty thousand pounds a-year, or above a million in all, in the course of the establishment of the confederation. Ship burning was a branch of business with them, and at Bombay and Calcutta together above three hundred vessels mostly of the largest size, worth close on nine millions sterling, had been destroyed by the incendiary since 1781. Within the last twelvemouth it has come to light that regular armies of depredators, recognized by native chiefs who share their spoils, exist in some of our oldest North West Provinces, who disperse themselves every autumn over the country in brigades and detachments, carrying their ravages into the hearts of our best-ordered cities, and returning in April with their plunder, to be divided over the country; these crimes having escaped detection from the sympathy of the Natives being with the criminals rather than with the Law, or from their natural timidity deterring them from making disclosures.

In governing India, England makes herself responsible for the welfare of an empire which contains a hundred and fifty millions of people, yields a gross revenue of about thirty millions sterling a year, maintains an army of nearly four hundred thousand men, of whom forty thousand are Europeans, at a charge of upwards of twelve millions a year, and affords appointments as covenanted servants or commissioned officers to ten thousand English gentlemen, who receive incomes from the age of eighteen to the end of their days, averaging in one case a thousand, and in the other four hundred pounds a year. The army of Bengal alone, comprising 23,247 Europeans, 138,255 native soldiers, with 3,405 British officers, or 164,908 in all, costs a third more than that of France, though less than half as numerous. France contains thirty millions of people, the Bengal presidency close on fifty. The sea-borne commerce of India is worth above thirty millions sterling. She draws seven and a half millions of imports from, and sends nearly a similar amount of exports to, England. Eight thousand square-rigged vessels reach and quit her three principal shipping ports annually, bringing or bearing with them above a million of tons of merchandize, and receiving above two millions sterling annually of freight; with

nearly 100,000 country craft of a burthen of about a million and a half tons.

NATURAL PRODUCTS AND MANUFACTURES.

This mighty country yields, or may be made to yield, every variety of produce made use of in manufactures. It rests on the East and West, on vast regions of volcanoes; on the North it is walled in by ridges of rock salt. Its soil abounds in Soda, and supplies Nitre for the world. The alum stones of Cutch, in the Punjab, are inexhaustible. Even minerals of the most trifling apparent value yield sums that are enormous; the Wells of Rangoon produce 90,000 tons of mineral oil annually, which at a shilling a hundred weight, realises £90,000: a single mountain in Bengal sends forth £80,000 worth of Mica every season, and the Chinese purchase £10,000 worth every year of the cut Agates and Jaspers of the Rajpeepla Hills, though the produce is now reduced to a fraction of what it was wont to be; so plentiful are the stones deemed precious in England, that the finest heliotropes unworked, are sold in the Bombay Bazaar for twenty shillings a hundred weight.

The Koh-i-noor, now allowed to be a fragment of a diamond still more magnificent and its sister in splendour, and almost its rival in size—the Darya-i-noor, each reckoned worth a king's ransom,—are the produce of its mines, which so far as we know may still contain gems as magnificent as any they have rendered up. Iron and coal, the more homely, but to man the much more valuable products of the earth, are abundant: the latter seems restricted to a limited locality, the former is universal. The vegetable and animal are still more magnificent than the mineral products of India. The Palm in all its glorious forms; the Teak, the Tamarind, the Banian, and a thousand other trees, fringe its sea-board; the Acassia covers the most rainless of its plains, and the magnificent Deodar, prince of pines, with a girth of from fifteen to twenty feet, and an altitude of two hundred, clothes, with its kindred, its mountain lands, from a height of six to twelve thousand feet. Its Indigo or Sapanwood, and our other dye-stuffs, supply the markets of the world. Not less famous are its gums and gum resins and its other drugs, than are its dyes; and most wonderful of all, from the white poppy alone a milky juice is drawn by manual labour, drop by drop, which yields

six and a half millions pound weight of opium, and produces a revenue to Government of upwards of three millions sterling a year. The animal creation presents representatives of every living thing moving on the earth or in the waters, from the huge leviathan found in multitudes in its seas, the elephant, the lion, the tiger, and the monkey, to the beetle and the ant levelling forests through which the strongest and most ferocious have failed to make their way. Whales abound on its shores, drawing after them fleets of American whalemen, and the fins of the sharks which pursue and destroy them, exported for the use of the gourmands of China, realize in their raw state from £30,000 to £40,000 a year.

Its indigenous manufactures, now fast hastening to decay, were once on a scale of magnificence worthy of its raw produce. The correct forms of ships—only elaborated within the past ten years by the science of Europe—have been familiar to India for ten centuries: and the vessels which carried peacocks to Ophir for king Solomon, were probably the same as the fishing craft of the present day, which furnish the models the American and English clipper and yacht builders are aspiring after. The carving of its woodwork, the patterns, colours, and texture of its carpets, shawls and scarfs, admired for centuries, have, since the Great Fair of the world been set forth as patterns for the most skilled artificers of Europe to imitate. From the looms of Dacca went forth those wonderful tissues that adorned the noblest beauties of the Court of Augustus Cæsar, bearing in the eternal city the same designation sixteen centuries ago as that by which cotton is still known in India; and the abundance of Roman coins and relics up to our time occasionally exhumed, yet preserve traces of the early commercial connection between the two most wonderful nations in the world—those of the Cæsars and the Moguls. The rarest gifts Bengal could offer its native princes or its foreign conquerors, were the muslins known as "the running water," or "the nightly dew,"—being when wet scarcely distinguishable from either; and since the advent of the English, a single piece, twenty yards in length, and one and a quarter in breadth, weighing no more than fourteen ounces, has been sold for twenty-five pounds,—a sum equal to the requital of three Dacca spinners and weavers for a twelvemonth.

The elaborate stone carving of Central India, Rajpootana and Goozerat; the embossed and enriched silver work of Cutch and Agra; the microscopic paintings of Delhi and Lahore; the carvings in sandal wood, and the filligree of Trichinopoly; the inlaid work of Mooltan and Bombay are up to this hour the marvels of the world.

The most singular monuments of Indian art can only be seen in the country; and amongst a people at once eminently devotional and martial, temples, tombs, fortresses, palaces, and weapons of war, supply subjects of special wonder. The Hills of Western India, over the space of five thousand square miles, are penetrated by hundreds of caves, approaching in size, in richness and beauty of architectural decoration, the finest cathedrals in Europe. These have been hewn out in absence of the aid of gunpowder, and fashioned without natural adjunct or addition of masonry, into their present form, covered with rich and elaborate sculptures by the hand of man. The caves are grouped together so as to furnish places of worship, halls of instruction, and domiciles for the professors and their pupils, exactly on the plan of the universities which came into existence in Europe two thousand years after those of India were forgotten; indicating an amount of civilization and demand for knowledge in the East twenty-four centuries ago, such as scarcely exists in these regions in modern times. Or passing down to a later age, there is the huge mountain of Aboo, 5000 feet high, covered and surmounted by one vast mass of temples, constructed from the seventh century of our era down to the present date. The hills of Paulitana, are literally crusted over with temples of the finest arabesque, cut in the hardest stone. The ruined city of Beejapoor contained sixteen hundred mosques. The dome of the Mausoleum of Ibrahim Adil Shah, is a third larger than that of St. Paul's: the mosque to which it belongs is 450 feet in length and 150 in breadth: while the Taj-Mahal of Agra, the monument erected by the Emperor Jehangeer over his wife, the "light of the harem," built of the purest white marble, and inlaid with the richest mosaic, stands unrivalled amongst the Mausoleums of the world.

As for weapons of war, the cannon of India could have taken in and discharged the largest sixty-eight pounders of modern warfare,

were the trunions knocked off. The gun at Moorshedabad is seventeen feet long, with a bore of eighteen inches ; that of Dacca twenty-two feet long, with a bore of fifteen inches.—it weighed twenty-one tons, and threw shot of four hundred weight. The great gun at Agra is a brass fifteen-hundred-pounder, twenty-three inches bore—it weighs eleven tons, and is worth five thousand pounds as old metal: while two out of half a dozen of large guns at Beejapoor threw shot of half a ton and a *ton and a quarter* respectively. The damask rifles and damask sword blades of Goozerat beat anything Europe can boast of; and the wootz steel, from which these are manufactured, is deemed so excellent in England as to be used mainly for surgical instruments. The ruins of desolate cities point to the greatness of the Empire before Europeans sought its shores as traders, and seized its soil as conquerors. Gour, the former capita of Bengal, covers an area of seventeen square miles, and once boasted of a population of above a million of inhabitants. Beejapoor while flourishing contained nearly a million of inhabited houses, occupied by more than three millions of people. Rajmahal, the city of a hundred Kings, is now a miserable village inhabited by a few paper-makers. Mandoo, the capital of the Patan sovereigns of Malwa, surrounded by a wall twenty-eight miles in circuit, occupies an area of twelve thousand English acres: the Jummah Musjid, built of white marble, is the finest specimen of Affghan architecture in existence: it now supplies the lair of the wolf and the tiger: Bhalibibura, in Kattiwar, Behut in the Northern Doab, Lamkassa at the base of the Himalayas, Palibothra near Patna on the Ganges, and Cannouj in the province of Agra, have scarce left sufficient traces behind them to mark their boundaries.

PUBLIC WORKS.

The irrigation of the country, so long neglected by the British Government, and from which such magnificent results have within the last twenty years been derived, was an object of anxiety to the rulers of India five centuries ago. The Emperor Feroze constructed about the year 1350 a magnificent canal, for the purposes of irrigation, from the base of the mountains to the neighbourhood of Delhi, two hundred miles in length, by means of which a vast tract of country was made fertile as a garden, and above a million of people provided

with bread. Two centuries after this, the illustrious Akbar devoted himself to the construction of new canals for the purpose of irrigation, and the clearing out of those formed by his predecessors, and which had fallen into decay. He made the subject a regular part of the system of government, and left a canal act behind him, which has come down to our times, providing for a complete series of arrangements and a large array of officers for their extension and management. The Shah Jehan, seventy years later, took up with enthusiasm the plans of his predecessor, and was nobly seconded in his efforts by Ali Murdan Khan, celebrated over the East for his skill and taste in architecture. The success of their labours was magnificent; tradition still enlarges on the vastness of the returns derived from the canals brought into existence by them, which were such as from a single canal to pay for the maintenance of twelve thousand horsemen. The permanent establishment maintained for police purposes, consisted of five hundred horsemen, and a thousand footmen, armed. It is mentioned by Ferishta that during the earlier of these excavations, vast collections of giants' bones were discovered, and in our time the extension of the canal system in the same quarter has disclosed in these, the skeletons of numberless extinct animals; the Mammoth and Mastodon, the Bramatherium, and Sevatherium, and the other kindred contributions, which Colvin, Durand, Cautley, and Falconer, have made to our Indian paleontology. Our first canal operations commenced little more than thirty years ago, and in 1821, the waters which had five centuries before been made to visit the city of Delhi, were after fifty years suspension re-introduced through their former channels.

From the Jumna canal, now in use, Government derives a revenue of £25,000 a year from a total investment of £90,000; from the Western Jumna canal an investment of £140,000, a direct revenue of £44,000 a year arises. Lands previously comparatively barren are maintained in a state of constant productiveness for a water rent of a shilling an acre. The population maintained in the irrigated districts is very nearly double, mile for mile, of that of those not irrigated. A careful computation made by authority shows, that in the famine year of 1837, the gross value of the saving effected by the eastern Jumna Canal, was half a million sterling; one tenth of this being revenue, or fifty thousand pounds, direct gain to the public treasury.

The united Jumna Canals saved at the same period, above two millions sterling to the Common-wealth. On the Canals in the North West Provinces, completed between 1821 and 1848, Government expended £557,000, and drew in direct Canal revenue £546,000. By this an area of nearly 1,300,000 acres of ground previously sterile, have been made to yield produce worth two and a half millions annually, and to support upwards of six hundred thousand human beings. The Sutledge Canal now in progress is expected to water 624,000 acres, and to yield government a revenue of £55,447, on an expenditure of a quarter of a million, or nearly twenty per cent. It has been estimated by the Bengal Engineers, that water and land available for the purpose of irrigation in these neighbourhoods would, on an expenditure of two millions, afford a permanent return of £578,150 annually, or close on thirty per cent., and that a surface of nearly nine millions of acres, or above ten thousand square miles, might thereby be brought into cultivation. The present Governor-General most strongly recommended the Court of Directors to borrow for such improvements as these, so long as money could be had at five per cent, and made to realise from fifteen to forty. *In place of acting on counsel so judicious, the Court have directed the most stringent retrenchments to be made; any surplus that may accrue to be applied to the liquidation of their debts—they have not even left the returns on existing canals to be expended on others; and the intervention of private enterprise is out of the question where nothing can be done without the sanction of government, and government takes five years to answer a letter.* The most magnificent of all the works of this sort is the Grand Ganges Canal, navigable for nearly 900 miles, and on which a million and a quarter is proposed to be sunk. It is expected to yield a return of £400,000 a year, of which £180,000 will be direct revenue: it will fertilise no less than five millions and a half of acres of land now in a state of comparative sterility—increase the gross produce by upwards of seven millions sterling annually in value, and relieve a population, of above six millions, of all fear of those frightful famines by which the country was wont to be decimated;—yet millions on millions might be expended on irrigation in India with assurances of profit equal to what they afford.

The principal canal for watering the Baree Doab will leave the Ravee some miles from Shahpore, following the line of the highest level, right through the centre of the Doab, and will rejoin the river about sixty miles above Mooltan, a little above its junction with the Chenaub. Two branches will flow off from the main trunk to the south, both limited by the Sutlej, one watering the country in the direction of the Sobraon, the other in that of Kussoor; one branch to the north irrigates the land around Lahore, and so along to the southward of the Ravee between the river and the main canal. The length of the trunk and its branches is no less than 450 miles, and it will serve the purposes both of navigation and irrigation. The work will cost, it is believed, half a million sterling: it will irrigate about 545,000 acres at present in a state of complete sterility. It will cost for its maintenance about £20,000 a year, and yield a free return of £120,000, or twenty-four per cent on outlay after meeting all charges,—thus repaying the cost within five years, and leaving us a clear increase of £120,000 on our revenue from this single department.

The Madras Government has within these six years spent thirteen lakhs of rupees (£130,000) on works of irrigation on the Godavery, and have already received twenty lakhs (£200,000) in direct return in the shape of increase of land revenue. Of course at the outset, while the works were in progress, the receipts were inconsiderable. The average revenue for a period of six years before the work began was nineteen lakhs—it is now thirty lakhs of rupees (£300,000): so that a third more than the entire original outlay having been already refunded to the treasury, Government will hereafter draw from the improved districts ten lakhs a year, or two-thirds of the whole sum originally expended, of net increase of revenue. The increase of the land tax is a small fraction of the actual gain: the native goods exported by sea from the irrigated districts sprung up at once from seven (£70,000) their previous average, to thirteen (£130,000) lakhs; and though the tremendous floods of 1849 reduced them, they now promise to maintain themselves at above fourteen lakhs (£140,000). Before this much could be contributed to the public purse, at least five times as much must have been taken out of the soil by the cultivators,—expended probably on their own sustenance

partly devoted to the purchase of such luxuries as they could not previously afford, and in part it is to be hoped set aside as accumulated capital, but all constituting the solid and substantial wealth of the State. We probably do not overrate the fruits of the expenditure of thirteen lakhs (£130,000) at a half million sterling annually in all—representing, at five per cent, a permanent capital of ten millions added to the value of our empire; or a return of four hundred per cent, annually on the adventure. Talk of improving a country by railways requiring a guarantee for their construction of five per cent, the longest of which will scarcely penetrate so far into the interior as the length of some of our arid river deltas!—where the productive lands, or lands capable of being rendered such, abut on the sea shore, or are penetrated by navigable streams, and which in either case provide water-carriage, so that the produce may be transported from the fields where it grows to a place of shipment. Talk of California—with its countless robberies and murders, its weekly conflagrations, its universal rapine and brutality—yielding wealth such as the diggings of a single delta supply, with twenty deltas on our hands yet unexplored.

This is no case of conquest or of rapine—of dominions ravished, through violence and deluges of blood, from the hands of their original possessors. No question of right can ever be raised—no claim of compensation or groan of grievance emitted. No people have been coerced or enslaved—no native nobility reduced or expatriated: our grounds of congratulation are genuine as they are unalloyed, the only thing we have to blush for is, that we should so long have neglected these, and still neglect seizing other, sources of wealth so enormous—of good so unalloyed.

Our wants at the outset are most moderate—all we desire is investigation: we have a noble corps of engineers to rely upon—we have scores and scores of other officers capable of acting as surveyors almost as efficiently as engineers; and hundreds on hundreds of European soldiers willing and able to share in the more laborious and less intellectual parts of the toil. All we want to begin with is a survey of, and report on, every river delta in India: for Madras this has been accomplished; in Bombay it yet requires to be begun. With estimates of the outlay and return once before us, Government

has only to select the improvement to be begun with,—or if too timid to attempt to improve the revenues of the country, to place their improvement within the reach of those willing to undertake it. Even in the midst of universal distrust, roguery, and mismanagement, it would not be a very difficult matter to induce capitalists at home to embark in enterprises assuring them of a twenty per cent return, and leaving about as much more to be acquired by the rulers of the land, who would in this case have so kindly and cordially at least consented to allow their dominions to be improved but that the interminable delays of correspondence intervene.

COST OF THE CHIEF GOVERNMENT FUNCTIONARIES OF INDIA.

The Government of India consists of two divisions, the Court of Directors and the Board of Control in England, and the Supreme and Local Governments, the India House and Board of Control in India: the principal part of it is at home, and this again is divided in two. In the hands of the Board of Control rests absolutely and entirely the administration of Indian affairs, it consists of a President and Secretaries, two members of the Administration,—the first receiving £3,500 a year, the others £1,500 each—all selected without the slightest consideration of their knowledge of the affairs of India; their average tenure of office for the last thirty years having been about twenty-seven months at a time, and some score of permanent irresponsible clerks, on whom they must be absolutely dependent for information and counsel. The cost of the establishment amounts to about £25,000 a year.

The Court of Directors, in whose name the country is governed, consists of twenty-four gentlemen—six of whom go out of office annually, to return to it next year. They exercise the entire initial patronage in sending out young men to India; in seniority services, mediocrity or dulness rising as rapidly as merit, or more so if they be helped by interest which the others are without. The patronage the Directors exercise in India is limited and, like that which they influence, which is extensive, is generally mis-used. The Court of Directors have not one particle of power in the administration of affairs conducted in their name, when they differ from the Board of Control, though the charges of the India

House amount to from a hundred to a hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year,—their dinner bills for the past eighteen years being set down in the accounts as an extra item of £53,000!

The Indian part of the administration is conducted by a Governor-General and Council, with Governors and Councils at Madras and Bombay; a Governor without a Council for Bengal, and another for the North West Provinces. The Punjaub is managed by a Board of Administration; Scinde, and British Burmah, by individual Commissioners. The Governors, supreme and subordinate, are appointed by the Chairman of the Board of Control or Ministers of the day, though the nomination *pretends* to emanate from the Court of Directors. The Governor-General has generally secured some distinction before his appointment, but this by no means invariably happens, and the most commonplace and mediocre men are occasionally deemed perfectly qualified for the most important and lucrative appointment under the Crown. For the Governors of the minor Presidencies, and for all the Commanders-in-Chief, no qualification whatever is deemed requisite—interest suffices for all, and industry and exertion on the spot are occasionally regarded by the nominees just as superfluous as previous qualification. The Governors without councils, and the Commissioners, are appointed by the Governments of India from distinguished members of the public service, and the country under them has been found well managed in proportion as they have been left unrestricted. The Councils—consisting in one case of five, and in the two others of three, members, of whom in all cases the Commander-in-Chief is one—are nominated by the Court of Directors, and being for the most part selected from the Secretariat, always filled with the *élite* of the service, are generally men of ability,—with the exception of the Commander-in-Chief, who may be so or not just as it happens. He is generally worn out with age, and almost always devoid of experience: fortunately he for the most part spends the bulk of his time at a distance from the Presidency—rarely entering the council-room.

The emoluments of these functionaries are as follows:—Governor-General £24,000 and five Councillors £9,600 each, (20) Secretariates, amongst them £73,068; Governor-General's office and establishment £15,231; expense of visiting the Upper Provinces £53,252;—making the general charge of the Supreme Govern-

ment £206,771. This takes no account of the Commander-in-Chief, except in his civil capacity of councillor. The Government of Bengal costs £432,970; and £103,715 is set down for public offices at the Presidency. Bombay charges, to which those of Madras closely correspond, consist of salaries to the Governor £12,000 and three Councillors £6,000 each; Governor's office establishment £9,977; Governor's tour in the Deccan £2,399. Public offices at the Presidency and in Scinde £70,124; Miscellaneous charges £15,265; so that the total charges of the Bombay Government and Secretariate establishment alone, exceed a hundred and thirty thousand pounds a year. The Governor of Bombay's pleasure tours to the Hill station of Mahabuleshwur, and his country residence at Dapoorie, courteously termed his visit to the Deccan, costs it would appear close on £2,400 a year; and the charges under this head during the present administration exceed £12,000—or about the sum assigned annually for the whole educational purposes of the Presidency.

Some idea of the cost of Governments without councils may be formed from that of the North West Provinces, set down at something under £10,000 a year. The Board of Administration for the Punjaub, including all expenses, costs under £54,000 a year; and the Commissioner and Assistant Commissioner of Scinde, including establishments and contingencies, manage that province for about £10,000 a year.

It was admitted by the majority of witnesses examined before the Parliamentary Committee last Session, that councils at the minor Presidencies were wholly superfluous, and that competent Governors, without Councils, would manage infinitely better than with them: and it was openly or tacitly allowed on nearly all hands, that they were maintained mainly to enable the Ministry of the day to confer from time to time a gift of £60,000, (the emoluments of a five years' administration) taken from the treasury of India, with a further sacrifice for councillorships—maintained to permit of the appointment of incompetent Governors of £36,000 a year,—on any of their personal or political friends.

But monstrous as is this piece of extravagance, it is exceeded by the lavishness by which Commanders-in-Chief are requited. These officers invariably belong to the Queen's service, and are in the

majority of cases *effete septuagenarians*, to whom no one would commit the drill of a militia corps. Sir Richard Armstrong, Commander-in-Chief at Madras, requires to be carried about in an easy chair. The faculties of Sir John Grey, late Commander-in-Chief of Bombay, were so far gone that he forgot the names of his own aides-de-camp, and never could be made to comprehend when he should write his name at length,—when only put his initials, to a document. The rule as to antiquity, is not however absolute; and the seniority system is made occasionally to bend in favour of a "pet officer." Sir William Gomm was at the bottom of the list of Lieutenants General when the baton of authority was conferred on him,—much junior to the Commanders-in-Chief of Bombay and Madras, the former of whom, Sir Willoughby Cotton, resigned his command in consequence. Sir Hugh Gough had not been two months Lieutenant-General at all when he was appointed to the Madras command in June 1841; and when he had held this two years and two months, he was in August 1843 raised to supreme authority, though junior to Sir Thomas MacMahon, the Bombay Commander-in-Chief, to make room for the Marquis of Tweeddale, on whom it had been determined to confer the office both of Governor and Commander-in-Chief. Not one of the present Commanders-in-Chief, of whom the youngest, however, is allowed to be a man of ability, when appointed to commands in India, had ever been in the country, or could know anything of its geography, its climate, its people, its languages, its religions, or its government; or had ever seen a native soldier when placed over sepoy armies numbering close on three hundred thousand men, with seven thousand English officers; many of the officers men of great experience and the highest talent, few of them beyond the prime of life, and possessed of all the qualifications for those highest commands they are prevented by the injustice of their country from filling, of which those placed over them are for the most part conspicuously devoid.

The Commander-in-Chief in India receives £8,000 a year as his military salary, and £10,000 as member of council: the Commanders-in-Chief at the minor Presidencies receive half these sums, in each of these capacities, besides having all their travelling, personal, and other charges defrayed by the state,—these amongst them amounting to about half their salaries; the three very old gentlemen costing

the country altogether somewhere about fifty thousand a year. The Commander-in-Chief of India, rarely crosses the threshold of the council room, unless when sworn in, and pockets in the course of his five years' administration £50,000 for his services as councillor, it not being *possible* for him, residing as he does a thousand miles from the council room, to perform one atom of councillor's service: and the Commanders-in-Chief at the minor presidencies are very nearly in the same position. If they do sometimes enter the Council Chamber when the agreeable nature of the weather induces them to remain at the seat of government, the value of their services is on these occasions quite on a par with those of the Commander-in-Chief of India.

Lord Keane proceeded for Affghanistan in November, 1838, and returned to the presidency in February 1840: during these sixteen months he received £8000 as member of council Bombay,—above £5000 as Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay Army, and £600 for house rent; besides his field allowances, prize money, and other contingencies, as Commander of the Armies of Affghanistan, and the reward afterwards of a Peerage and a Pension of £2000 a year for himself and his descendants for two generations. Sir Hugh Gough was about this time still more fortunate. He had just been relieved from the command of the forces at Madras, by the arrival of Sir Samuel Whittington in January 1841, when he was placed in charge of the expedition to China in the following March. By the demise of the officer just named he was appointed Commander-in-Chief and Member of Council for Madras in June, and from this time until September 1842 he received £8000 as Member of Council; having never during all this time been within two thousand miles of the Council Chamber. He drew besides £5000 as Commander-in-Chief, £600 as house rent, and the field and other allowances, the prize money, etcetera, as Commander of the Chinese expedition. He was subsequently rewarded by a baronetcy. In July 1843 the Marquis of Tweeddale was appointed Governor of Madras; and as his interest at the Horse Guards was unbounded, it was determined that he should have the appointment of Commander-in-Chief as well as that of Governor, an arrangement permitted by the retirement of Sir Jasper Nichols from sheer old age, from supreme command, to which Sir Hugh Gough was promoted. In the course of the present Charter

Act, close on half a million will have been expended,—£10,000 annually for twenty years, on the Commander-in-Chief of India, and half that sum for each of the other Commanders-in-Chief—or £400,000 in all, on civil services by Commanders-in-Chief which it was utterly impossible for them ever to have rendered.

Now the people of England have a perfect right to dispose of their own money as they think fit, and if they choose to bestow on any piece of antique military mediocrity with friends at Court, a yearly stipend double of the whole official allowances of the late Duke of Wellington, no one has any right to complain; but it is not very worthy conduct on the part of a great nation to waste in a pitiable fashion like this, taxes raised from the earnings of fifty millions of poor native wretches living in huts not fit for an English pigsty, and whose average income falls short of three pence a day.

With administrations costing such an enormous amount of money with which, even as matters now stand, men of experience and ability are in the majority of cases entrusted, and for which the first administrative talent in the country can always be secured, it might be supposed that the less interference there was allowed from home the better, and that the Governments of India might, like those of Her Majesty's Colonies, be left to do their own work in their own way. Nothing in the world can be more remote from fact, and a Governor-General who in salary, travelling charges, and office allowances, costs the country £70,000 a year, is treated exactly as if he were the head clerk over the old factory at Fort William, in charge of prints and piece goods, and not at all above cribbing a piece of calico from his employers should it fall in his way! Every step he takes must be explained to the people at home; a copy of every letter he writes or receives, or minute he makes, must be sent to London. A detailed narrative of everything that is said, written, or done, by the Supreme or Subordinate Governments, must be forwarded home to be commented on or criticised by "the clever Clerks" of Cannon Row or Leadenhall Street, who hold the nominal rulers of India in the most absolute subjection to their pens. So frightful is the minuteness insisted on that it becomes physically impossible for these gentlemen to peruse the documents on which they are supposed to decide. The papers sent by the Cape occupy close on 200 folio volumes annually of from 500 to 1000 pages: and a single revenue

despatch is quoted by a late President of the Board of Control as having 45,000 pages of accompaniments! The from-ship-to-ship despatches of the Bombay Government will annually print out to 60 volumes of 1,500 pages folio—or as much as would make 240 vols. 8vo. of ordinary sized print!

CHANGES IN THE STATE OF INDIA SINCE 1833.

A general view has been given at the outset of the countries and interests for which Parliament is about to legislate, by once more re-enacting the Bill of '33, which, in all its essential particulars was a repetition of that of 1784. Why, in the course of the last eighteen years the changes that have occurred in the East are so stupendous as of themselves to demand a total alteration of the law. Since 1834, we have added the Punjaub, Scinde, Sattara, and Pegu, to our dominions, and the addition of the rest of Burmah, if not of the whole Peninsula, is inevitable. We have ravaged Affghanistan, disarmed Gwalior, and made young Holkar half a British Prince; and seem likely to annex Oude, the Nizam's and the Guicowar's dominions, almost immediately.* The reigning sovereign of Travancore—a high caste and orthodox Hindoo—has the Bible read in all the schools in his dominions,—the liberality and enlightenment of his administration in this and other matters putting that of the British Government to shame. Steam communication has come into existence, and diminished the distance betwixt India and England to one-third of what it was in 1834, measuring the interval by time. Communications formerly conveyed, irregularly and uncertainly, on an average of about a hundred days, now pass with perfect punctuality once a fortnight in an average of twenty-eight days, which before five years are out will be reduced to twenty; and long before 1874 arrives we shall have the Electric Telegraph conveying intelligence instantly to all parts of India. Since 1834 the press has been liberated, and newspapers, till then in a state of most slavish degradation, now enjoy more freedom in India than in England: are conducted with as much pro-

* "I cannot conceive it possible for any one to dispute the policy of taking "advantage of any just opportunity for consolidating the territories that already "belong to us, by taking possession of States which may lapse in the midst of "them."—*The Marquis of Dalhousie in* 1848.

priety and independence; and would, but for the monstrous system prevailing around, have been productive of as great benefit to the state. The value of our commerce has been tripled, and the number of European merchants residing in India quadrupled; while a perfect net work of steam communication connects the chief ports of India with those of the whole South Eastern Ocean. Joint Stock Banks, deemed dangerous to the state twenty years ago, are now prevalent everywhere; and the education of the natives, the very idea of which filled Leadenhall Street with alarm, is now a recognized portion of our system. The Missionaries give the following abstract of the stupendous results of their labours accomplished within the past twenty years,—results destined to be immeasurably outdone in the twenty to which we now look forward:—

"At the commencement of the year 1852, there were labouring throughout India and Ceylon the agents of 22 Missionary Societies. These include 443 missionaries, of whom 48 are ordained natives; together with 698 native catechists. These agents reside at 313 missionary stations. There have been founded 331 native Churches, containing 18,410 communicants, in a community of 112,191 native Christians. Missionaries maintain 1,347 Vernacular Day Schools, containing 47,504 boys, together with 93 boarding schools, containing 2,414 Christian boys. They also superintend 126 superior English Day Schools, and instruct therein 14,562 boys and young men. Female education embraces 347 Day Schools for girls, containing 1,159 scholars; but hopes more from its 102 girls' boarding schools containing 2,779 Christian girls. For the good of Europeans 71 services are maintained. The entire *Bible* has been translated into *ten* languages, the New Testament into *five* others, and separate gospels into *four* others. Besides numerous works for Christians, 30, 48, and even 70 *Tracts* have been prepared in these different languages suitable for Hindus and Mussulmans. Missionaries maintain in India *twenty-five* printing establishments. This vast missionary agency costs £178,000 annually, of which one-sixth, or £33,500, is contributed by European Christians resident in the country. By far the greater part of this agency, it is stated, has been brought into operation during the last twenty years. Bengal Proper, has 89 missionary stations, 103 missionaries, 130 native catechists, and 14,775 native Protestant Christians, of whom 3,500 are communicants. It has 140 Vernacular schools containing 6,470 boys, and 22 boarding schools with 790 boys, and 22 English schools giving tuition to 6,005 boys. It has also 24 day schools for girls, containing 659 pupils, and 29 boarding schools with 830 girls. Madras is far in advance of Bengal, even when we include the North West provinces with the latter. There they have 121 missionary stations, 179 missionaries, 405 catechists, and 76,591 native Christians. In the educational branch they are just as far ahead, having

849 vernacular schools, with 24,445 boys and other seminaries in proportion."

The *Friend of India* thus sums up the prospects that await us :—

"No arrangement should be made by Parliament for the general or the subordinate Government without bearing distinctly in mind that within five years from the present time, the whole of India will be united by a net work of electric telegraphs, which will entirely alter the character and complexion and the exigencies of the administration. The government about to be conferred on India should be suited by anticipation to the coming age of electric speed. When there is a daily communication between the most distant provinces in the empire and the central authority, when throughout India, the references which are made in the morning will be answered before the evening, and the business of the day will be completed within the day, the Governor-General and his Council will be almost as intimately informed of all proceedings at the distant presidencies as they now are of those in Calcutta. The telegraph will communicate such an impulse to the movements of the whole machine of Government, and bring the minor presidencies so constantly under the eye of the head of the Government, that the old lumbering councils at Bombay and Madras, consisting of four members, will be altogether out of date. We vote the councils to the tomb of the Capulets. They keep up, it is said, the traditions of Government. They cannot too soon become traditions themselves. Of the three objections which were raised against the change, not one is insuperable; the first was, that there had always been a council, but this objection will cease as soon as the council is abolished; the second, that there was a Supreme Court at those presidencies, and it required a council to prevent its damaging the Company's Government, but the element of antagonism which is assumed to belong to a Crown Court may be neutralised by amalgamating it with the Sudder Court, and making the same judge preside in both. The third was, that there was a separate army, and that it was therefore necessary that there should be a council, and that the Commander-in-Chief should sit at it, though the Commander-in-Chief at these presidencies never does attend the council except to be sworn in and be enabled to sign a bill for £833 a month. We are not sufficiently acquainted with the organization of the army to be able to point out the mode in which this objection could be obviated, but we will engage to find a dozen able men in the army who could. But this difficulty should not be allowed to stand in the way of bestowing on the minor presidencies, the inestimable boon of an administration vested in the best man whom the public service can supply, and totally unfettered by venerable and traditionary councils whom the Governor may at any time overrule."—*Friend of India, December* 23.

ERRATUM.—In No. II. "Finances of India," page 14, line 10, *for* "are double," *read* "are equal to."

INDIA REFORM.

No. VII.

INDIA WRONGS WITHOUT A REMEDY:

ILLUSTRATED BY

1. THE CASE OF THE CARNATIC STIPENDIARIES.
2. THE CASE OF THE DEPOSED RAJAH OF SATTARAH'S PRIVATE PROPERTY.
3. THE CASE OF THE PARSEE MERCHANTS.
4. THE CASE OF THE EX-RAJAH OF COORG.

LONDON:
SAUNDERS & STANFORD, 6, CHARING CROSS.
MANCHESTER:
SIMMS AND DINHAM.

Price Threepence.

INDIA REFORM.

1.—GOVERNMENT OF INDIA SINCE 1834.

2.—THE FINANCES OF INDIA.

3.—NOTES ON INDIA,

By Dr. BUIST, OF BOMBAY.

4.—THE NATIVE STATES OF INDIA.

5.—AN EXTRACT FROM MILL'S HISTORY ON THE DOUBLE GOVERNMENT;

AND OBSERVATIONS ON THE EVIDENCE GIVEN BEFORE THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE, BY J. SULLIVAN, ESQ.

6.—INDIA UNDER A BUREAUCRACY.

By J. DICKINSON, Jun., M.R.A.S. F.R.G.S.

Preparing for publication.

8.—PUBLIC WORKS.

9.—MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

10.—NATURE OF THE INDIA QUESTION,

AND OF THE EVIDENCE UPON IT.

11.—CONDITION OF THE SUBJECTS OF THE NATIVE PRINCES

BEFORE THE PERIOD OF BRITISH SUPREMACY.

INDIA REFORM.

INDIA WRONGS WITHOUT A REMEDY.

THE object of this Tract is to give a few specimens of a large class of cases of Wrong and Injustice perpetrated, either directly and through its own acts, by the Indian Government, or indirectly and by its inactivity, for which neither the law of the Predominant Power nor the practice of its Administration as it now stands, has provided a remedy or a tribunal. The cases that follow have not, however, been selected because of their special gravity and scandal, but because they are instances in which the Claimants, either in person or by their agents, are now in England, soliciting and claiming that redress which they have long sought for in vain in India.

In the first case, the Wrong complained of is a violation of a Treaty to the ruin and starvation of the descendants of a Royal House, through which our own fortunes in Southern India were first advanced—a Treaty, too, of which we are still in full and profitable enjoyment. In the second, the injury done is the confiscation of private property to the extent of £300,000, the preservation of which was solemnly promised by the Bombay Government and its agents. In the third case, British subjects complain of their Government allowing a Native Prince to defraud them of large sums of money, of which it had the benefit. And in the fourth, a deposed Prince asserts that the Indian Government has repudiated, to his injury, that part of their public debt in which his private fortune was invested. Now in not one of these four cases is there at present any legal machinery by which the Indian Government can be made to entertain these complaints, by which the question of injury or no injury can be ascertained and decided, by which the amount of redress and compensation, if due, can be assessed. And this, it is submitted, is a state of things,

incompatible with the honour of the British Crown, inconsistent with the character of the British Nation, discreditable to the sacred cause of justice, and encouraging to that want of responsibility which is the vice of our Indian system.

That system is indeed the object of anticipatory and premature laudation by Lord John Russell.* Speaking of the opposition of Mr. Fox to Mr. Pitt's India Bill in 1783, his Lordship remarks, and the importance of Lord John's opinion at the present moment will justify and excuse the length of the quotation :—

"It was easy for Mr. Fox, with his vast powers of reasoning long exercised on this subject, to prove that these two authorities [the Court of Directors and the Board of Control] must be always in conflict; that, with two supreme heads confronted, confusion must ensue, and that the abuses of the Indian Government must be perpetuated under so strange and anomalous a system.

"The experience of seventy years, however, has blunted arguments which could not be logically refuted. The real supremacy of the Ministers of the Crown, usually kept in the background, but always ready to be exerted, has kept in check the administration of the Company, and placed the affairs of India under that guarantee of ministerial responsibility by which all things in Great Britain are ordered and controlled. The Directors of the East India Company have not ventured to connive at acts which a Minister of the Crown would not sanction; and a Minister of the Crown would not sanction acts which he could not defend in Parliament. Thus silently, but effectually, the spirit of the British Constitution has pervaded India, and the most absolute despotism has been qualified and tempered by the genius of representative government.

"In giving to the India Bill of Mr. Pitt, however, all the credit which can possibly be due to it, we must not lose sight of another and more powerful cause of the improvement which has taken place in the morality of our Governors of India. Lord Clive and Mr. Hastings, invested with an irregular power; contending every month for the existence of a British settlement, without any military means of adequate proportion; sought by complicated intrigue, by insincere alliances, by acts of violence at one moment, and of treachery at

* *Memorials and Correspondence of Charles James Fox. By Lord John Russell.*

another, to rear and consolidate a sovereignty of London merchants. In the words of Erskine they sought 'to support an empire, which Heaven never gave, by means which it never can sanction.'

"This course of cupidity and fraud, of robbery and oppression, was brought to a close by the impeachment of Warren Hastings. The mind of Mr. Burke comprehended the vast extent of the question, and his genius animated the heavy mass of materials which his industry had enabled him to master. He enlisted in this cause the powerful reasoning of Fox and the brilliant fancy of Sheridan. After a time he succeeded in gaining the support of Mr. Pitt, and armed against the former Governor of India the great battery of parliamentary impeachment. Whether the Minister was convinced by the evidence which threw so full a light on the misdeeds of Warren Hastings, or whether he was glad to protect himself from the ambition of a rival by acceding to a prosecution against him, the effect was no less certain. For years Mr. Burke persevered in his great task. Neither the dilatory plea of a dissolution of Parliament, nor the appalling earthquake of the French revolution (to none more appalling than to him), ever distracted his attention from his great Indian enterprise. The speeches delivered by him in Westminster-hall are great monuments of industry and eloquence: they surpass in power those of Cicero when denouncing the crimes of Verres. Finally, although the impeachment ended in an acquittal, its results were memorable and beneficial. Never has the great object of punishment, the prevention of crime, been attained more completely than by this trial. The Lords and Commons of England, assembled in Westminster-hall, in the presence of the judges, the bar, the aristocracy, and the public, heard the whole record of Indian transactions unrolled before them, and the acts of our agents brought to the test of English law and Christian morality. No palliation, no plea of necessity could alter the character of those acts; and no man who could aspire to civil or judicial authority in India would ever dare to repeat conduct which during seven years of a solemn process, before an august tribunal, had been denounced as wicked, oppressive, perfidious, rapacious, and cruel. The conscience of mankind was brought in presence of negotiations, treaties, usurpations, conquests, veiled in the haze of an obscure distance, and covered by a jungle of strange manners and uncouth phraseology. The sentence was pronounced, not by the Peers, but by the universal opinion of right and wrong. Mr. Hastings was acquitted, but tyranny, deceit, and injus-

tice were condemned. India was saved from abominations disgraceful to the English name, and the hands of Cornwallis, Minto, Bentinck, and Auckland, have swayed an empire where Cheyt Sing was despoiled and Nuncomar was executed."

How far "the most absolute despotism" has really and truly "been qualified and tempered by the genius of representative government" during the last twenty years, will, of course, be doubted by those who regard the Affghan war as a crime, the acquisition of Scinde as a stupid injustice, the conquest of the Punjaub as a doubtful policy, and the Burmese war as an abomination,—will be denied by those who have witnessed a gradual deterioration in the condition of the people of India, who know the actual state of the administration of justice in India, and who have seen the gentry disappear, and individual wealth diminish. The improved tone of morality in the English mind and character during the last seventy years, rather than "the genius of representative government," which, exhausted by the mighty efforts it made during Hastings' impeachment, has never been able since to rouse itself to continued and systematic attention to the affairs of India—this improved tone of morality at home and the more complete organization of the internal government of India itself have, no doubt, corrected to some extent the larger faults of the Indian Government. But even these influences and agencies have failed to prevent the Company's Government perpetrating acts of wrong which would not be endured here in England.

Sir Robert Peel's large and disinterested vision long ago saw that in this respect our Indian "despotism" required some better correctives than the mere "genius of representative government;" he saw that it needed the substance of law rather than the mere reflex of liberal institutions from home; and that power so great ought, in its application to individuals, to be made subject and responsible to the examination and controul of independent judicial authority. So long ago as 1833, that great man (whose loss India will now feel as England has felt it), advocated the establishment of some

tribunal to decide in those personal questions on which the Indian Government now does as it pleases, uncontrolled by Parliament.

In England there is, the law assures us, no Wrong without a Remedy; in India, the following examples will illustrate, there is a large class of Wrongs, for which there is not even the pretence of Remedy. Here, in extreme cases the subject can prosecute his claims on the Queen's Government by a Writ of Right. There the subject's only hope are letters and remonstrances, sometimes unanswered, almost universally unheeded. Redress in India for this class of Injustice is not, therefore, a right to which the subject is entitled, but a favour to be reached by influence and solicitation. Thus the "despotism" of the Government and the servility of the people are promoted; and the suitors tired and worn out by the fruitless prosecution of their cases in India, turn to England, where, believing Justice to be found, they only experience disappointment. With these remarks, the reader will be better able in 1853 to appreciate in the following instances the want of such a Tribunal as Sir Robert Peel deemed necessary in 1833.

HOW THE COMPANY'S GOVERNMENT USES NATIVE STIPENDIARIES.

Of all countries of Southern India, the Carnatic is most intimately connected with the early progress of our dominion and with the growth of our empire. The Company's earliest settlement, Fort St. David, was situated in this kingdom, and its position below the Ghauts, on the coast of Coromandel, brought us at once into connexion with its Mahomedan rulers. There we were met by, there we resisted, and thence we finally expelled French influence. It was our success in the Carnatic that cost Dupleix his fortune, and Lally his life. At its capital, Arcot, Clive won his youthful fame, and by Lawrence and him our adopted pretender

to its throne, Mahomed Ali, was established as Nabob. It was in the Carnatic, that Hyder Ali took such terrible vengeance on its unhappy people for our faithlessness—a vengeance that roused to its highest pitch the eloquence of Burke. It was in the Carnatic that our influence, as our arms, competed with enemies then more formidable to our power than even the French, Hyder and his son Tippoo. Gradually we acquired the supremacy we sought; as usual, however, it brought embarrassments and difficulties, other than political, on the Prince immeshed in it. Of the debts and loans of the Nabobs of Arcot, there is a parliamentary literature of their own. For many years a very costly commission and establishment were maintained at home to enquire into them, and large retiring pensions are still paid to its surviving members and officers. Of their legality, of their classification, of their liquidation, a volume of Oriental romance might be written. At last they were paid off, or their future payment secured by Carnatic Bonds; but long before their arrangement or discharge, the Carnatic had ceased to exist as a State, either in an independent or a dependent form; its Nabob had been removed from the capital, practically deposed, and consigned to a convenient prison, still mis-named *the Palace* of Chepank, situated under the guns of Fort St. George.

It was from no great belief in the goodness of his title, but from a very deep sense of the Company's reputed interests, that British valour made Mahomed Ali Nabob of the Carnatic. His elevation, however, realized its main design, the abatement of French, and the extension of British influence in Southern India. The Company guaranteed, of course, the dominion they had secured to him. They provided a military force for the defence of the Carnatic, and he bound himself to pay its cost. The result of this relation was the now familiar one; the Nabob undertook (by the Treaty of 1787) to pay an amount larger than either his revenue or his then acknowledged liabilities permitted him to discharge with regularity; and his want of punctuality was attributed to his misgovernment. The deeper and

deeper he sunk into debt, the more and more the Company insisted on ampler and better security. This, our first war with Tippoo furnished us with an opportunity of taking. In 1792, Lord Cornwallis imposed a new Treaty on the Nabob. There were, however, a sense of justice and a glow of generosity in Lord Cornwallis's mind, rarely found in Governors-General. He insisted on having full authority, to use when necessary, over the Carnatic; but he reduced the tribute of the Nabob from 15 to 9 lacs of Star Pagodas,* and he especially renounced all power over "the Jaghires or family estates belonging to the Prince's family, amounting to Star Pagodas 2,13,911, which, on condition of the good behaviour of their possessors, the Jagheerdars, and of their fidelity to the Nabob and the Company, shall (he engaged) be continued to them, subject to the pleasure of the said Nabob only." Thus, in extending the real power of the Company over the Carnatic, that great and successful statesman, improved the pecuniary position of the Nabob, and conciliated his Court. Three years afterwards—1795—Mahomed Ali died, and was succeeded by his son, Omdut ul Omrah.

Towards the close of the century, Lord Clive was the titular Governor of Madras; Mr. Webbe, chief Secretary of the Government, was, however, the real Governor. Of the latter, the Duke of Wellington pronounced an opinion that he was one of the ablest men the Duke ever knew. Lord Clive, a much inferior person, not unnaturally, was much influenced by Mr. Webbe, who to great abilities added what Lord Clive also wanted, large experience of India, and the unscrupulous rapacity which then accompanied it. On his way to Calcutta, Lord Wellesley, the next Governor-General, touched at Madras. There he discharged his mind of the resolution he had taken, whilst at the Cape of Good Hope, to punish Tippoo for his really childish, but, no doubt, in intention, dangerous philandering with the French Revolutionists of the Mauritius, whom Lord Wellesley hated

* One lac, or 100,000 Star Pagodas are £40,000. A Star Pagoda is eight shillings.—This coin has been superseded by the Company's Rupee.

with so fierce a hatred; there too he acquired—or, perhaps, propagated—suspicions against Omdut ul Omrah. Tippoo was quickly destroyed, and Mysore (a small part excepted), partitioned. Then Lord Wellesley and Lord Clive turned round upon the Nabob of the Carnatic. They charged him with sympathy for and secret intercourse with his co-religionist, Tippoo, with whom indeed Lord Cornwallis had advised him to keep up a friendly correspondence; though aid or assistance he had none to give to that Prince. Establishing their own charge by their own evidence and their own commission, Mr. Webbe being on it, they pronounced themselves released from the obligations of Lord Cornwallis's Treaty of 1792, and they were about to treat Omdut ul Omrah as a public enemy, when death terminated that unhappy Prince's troubles; but not their determination to annex the Carnatic. They denied that his son, Ali Hussein, inherited his throne; but they decided that though a boy, not of age, he had succeeded to the position of public enmity to British authority imputed to his father. The unhappy lad, like the late Rajah of Sattarah, had the spirit to refuse a nominal throne, and accept of a life of ease and infamy, on the condition of signing a Treaty handing over the Carnatic territorially, in vicarious liquidation of his father's alleged offences against the Company. There was no Benares 1000 miles off in those days, to receive and retain the Company's State prisoners. So he — the grandson of Mahomed Ali, the Company's own Nabob!—with whom on those terms of disgrace they were willing to treat as lawful heir, was declared to be an impostor. An heir more pliant, as well as more legitimate, was next sought and found in another grandson; and with this lay figure of a Sovereign, the Treaty of 1801 was made. By it, the Carnatic, its territories, its revenues, and rights, were vested in the Company; the Nabob receiving as his share of the spoil, one-fifth* of the net revenue of the State he surrendered up.

* It would appear, from the mode in which the Carnatic Finance Accounts are now made out and delivered to that Prince, that the present Nabob does not receive the one-fifth of the net revenues to which he is entitled under the Treaty of 1801.

Thus fell the Carnatic. All that now remains of its former native greatness is to be seen in the beggarly and ruinous palace of Chepank. There lives the nominal Nabob, still ludicrously treated with salvos of artillery in his visits to the Governor of Madras, still received and fraternally and publicly *hugged* as an anointed Prince on State occasions; still held sacred and exempt from the jurisdiction of British law; but not suffered to stir an inch from the bounds prescribed for his airings, without leave first asked and obtained *in writing* from his jailers: without occupation, without employment, without hope, without object in life, a miserable pensioned puppet; relieving the tedium of life by exhibitions of dancing girls and other such follies; his palace, a prison, girt by a tumble-down native town, where dwell in famine and filth the crowd descended from that Court and those servants of the State, whose career of activity, ambition, and honourable occupation finally and equally closed in 1801 with that of their Sovereign.

These men were the Jagheerdars for whom Lord Cornwallis so considerately and nobly provided in the Treaty of 1792. They held their Jaghires, or great fiefs, in what was called Altumgha Enaum, or as we would say in Fee Simple; and so complete and independent were their possession, that by the Treaty of 1801, the value (star pagodas 2,13,421) of these private estates had to be deducted from the gross revenue of the Carnatic, in estimating the fifth of the net revenue assigned to the Nabob. Their existence, as private property, was thus distinctly recognized. The Jaghires themselves were, however, for reasons of public safety, assumed by the Company. But by the ninth Article of the Treaty, the Company charged itself with a suitable provision for the families and the Courts of the two preceding Nabobs, and undertook to distribute it in such manner as the Nabob, then acknowledged, should judge proper. No sooner however was this Treaty signed, than the Company, by an explanatory article which they alone signed, shuffled out of the liability to the full extent of the annual value of the Jaghires they had just acquired, by declaring that they

were at liberty to exercise a discretion as to "the extent of the provision to be made for the support of the family and the principal officers of the two Nabobs, Mahomed Ali and Omdut ul Omrah."

This "discretion," they quickly did exercise. On the 29th Sept. 1801, Lord Clive fixed by a Minute of Council the amount of the pecuniary provision (which had to be provided under the ninth article of the Treaty of 31st July 1801) at rupees 6,98,473, or star pagodas 1,99,564. Thus was at once acquired for the Company a profit of star pagodas 13,857 on the Jaghires which, though granted in fee simple, the Company assumed: a proceeding, at which Lord Cornwallis's noble nature would have blushed. And this sum of rupees 6,98,473, (or about £70,000) had to be divided amongst men, who, in addition to these hereditary Jaghires, had enjoyed all the high offices of the Native Court which was extinguished, and to whom all other similar channels of employment were now closed. It had too to be divided amongst families accustomed to the comforts and luxuries of civilized life. It was not therefore a very magnificent fulfilment of the obligations imposed by the Treaty. But at all events it was then deemed a certainty and a permanence; and in that there was some comfort.

It has proved otherwise. The amount of these stipends was duly paid to the persons entitled to them as long as they lived; and, after their deaths, for some years their descendants succeeded to the stipends without question, and as a matter of right. Gradually, however, the Madras Government has gone on reducing them, until in 1851 their aggregate annual amount only reached star pagodas 85,714. To some persons and families, their allowances have been reduced one-third, to others one-half, in some cases by two-thirds. Concurrently, the families dependent on the stipend have gone on increasing. Nearly all the stipendiaries are consequently in debt and embarrassment; some of the descendants of the last Carnatic monarchs starving on one rupee, or two shillings a-month; others eking life out by netting and embroidering; one family, great-grandchildren

of Mahomed Ali, reduced from the position of stipendiaries, as was their father, are existing on charity; and the whole of these unfortunate people are now in the direst apprehension that, on the deaths of the present recipients, no further allowances will be made to their families. In short, the whole colony dependent on Chepank, composed of Mahomedan gentlemen of rank and condition, is at present living in a dread of future starvation.

Now these families either have, or have not, rights under the Treaty of 1801. There is nothing in the language of that Treaty which restricts the obligations of the ninth Article to the heirs of those then living, or their immediate descendants. The Jaghires were hereditary, and held in fee-simple; they were recognised by the Treaty of 1792; their annual value, as there settled, is deducted, under the Treaty of 1801, from the gross revenues of the Carnatic, as an amount the Company had no right to; and by every rule of justice, the money equivalent assigned for the Jaghires by the Company ought to be as lasting a tenure as the Jaghires themselves—that is perpetual. Of the Treaty of 1801, the Company has still the benefit; so ought the Nabob to have. It is in full force. Why, then, are not the meaner parties affected by it, as much entitled to its permanent advantages as the greater powers who contracted it?

If, however, in the opinion of the Indian Government, these persons have no permanent rights under the Treaty, it is the refinement of cruelty not to announce to them their actual position—not to warn them against the approaching termination of their allowances—not to define in the most accurate manner the legal duration of their stipends. At present, they are left in suspense; hung between heaven and earth; the victims of a policy which is not avowed. And why is it not avowed? Because it is too unjustifiable to avow. Turn to what account of the transactions of 1801 that you will, there you will find all, equally those who praise and those who condemn the acquisition of the Carnatic, uniting to laud the liberality which provided for the support of the families and courts of our own Nabobs. Yet, fifty

private, and not appertaining to the State, would, on his peaceable submission, not be interfered with." Thrice was this offer repeated to the Rajah and afterwards reduced to, and confirmed in, writing. He accepted it; peaceably submitted, surrendered all his property, public and private, into the hands of the Resident, left for Benares with only the jewels his two wives happened to wear at the time, regulating his suite, however, according to the large means he had thus secured.

Pertaub Shean was not a penniless Prince when the Company thus found and used him for its own purposes. Though holding them captives, the Peishwa had always respected the private landed estates of the House of Sevajee, and these he possessed when raised to the Raj. Following Mr. Elphinstone's good advice, he separated as a ruling Prince his public from his private treasury, and throughout his reign kept each quite distinct, and managed them by different officers. As in public, so in private affairs, he was prudent and economical; like our own most gracious Sovereign, he invested his personal savings principally in the purchase of land, bought his Osbornes and his Balmorals, and in the course of twenty years had added largely to his territorial property; he had also considerable wealth in jewels and other personalty, as well as a large sum in ready money, the value of the whole not being less than £300,000.

Relying on the promise that all this property would not be interfered with, he allowed not fewer than 1,200 attached friends and dependents to follow him into exile and confinement at Benares. But from the hour he left Sattarah to the day of his death, not one rupee was the Rajah permitted to receive from this guaranteed source. Every thing he left behind—jaghires, villages, houses, farms, gardens, jewels, money, clothes, all—were confiscated. In vain he demanded their restoration; in vain he quoted and appealed to the promise made to him,—in vain he prayed for justice. His complaints were unheeded; his supplications were turned aside. Baji Row, the Rajah's usurping minister, was surrounded in his exile by the riches Lord Hastings had permitted him

to carry away from Poonah. Pertaub Shean, the rightful Prince, was denied in his confinement the use of his own property. Wealth was showered on the usurper, who had resisted to the uttermost. Poverty was the doom of the legitimate heir, who had submitted in peace.

At Benares the deposed Rajah had, of course, an allowance, but so small in amount, that it proved wholly insufficient for the reasonable maintenance of his family. In consequence, the Prince was obliged to submit to great personal discomfort and deep humiliation; he continued throughout the remnant of his days to be hampered and embarrassed by debts and liabilities; and at last he died deeply involved, leaving his wives, his adopted son, and five hundred followers in the greatest poverty. So that by his deposition and the subsequent annexation of Sattarah has the Company's Government gained a territory, yielding a large public revenue (less, however, than the cost of its administration); but in violation of the most solemn promises, the Company confiscated £300,000 of this unhappy man's private fortune. And when lately appealed to by nine Proprietors of India Stock, on behalf of the creditors and the family of Pertaub Shean, all the answer those gentlemen—Mr. Hume at their head—got from the Directors was, that "the Court of Directors cannot consent to re-open a question long since decided." And for this wrong, also, there is no remedy.

HOW THE COMPANY'S GOVERNMENT TREATS NATIVE MERCHANTS.

When Mahomedan intolerance drove the last remnant of the old Fire Worshippers, or Parsees, from Persia, they found a home in Guzerat, where they soon became eminent in agricultural and commercial pursuits. Whilst Surat remained, under native rule, a great and flourishing city,

containing some 400,000 inhabitants, they were foremost amongst its merchants and bankers. On its decay and depopulation, under British dominion, they enriched, by transferring their enterprise and their capital to, Bombay; and there Parsee mercantile houses have continued to possess the greater part of the home, and no small share of the foreign trade.

Prominent amongst them was the family of Merjee; it consisted of two brothers, Pestonjee Merjee and Viccajee Merjee, trading under the designation of Pestonjee Viccajee. From small beginnings this firm rose to great importance; until the partners not only possessed the confidence, but were also employed by the Bombay Government. As far back as 1817, they were entrusted by Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone with the fiscal management of a great part of the Northern Konkan, then just conquered from the Peishwa. During our war with that Prince, they advanced large sums for the payment of our troops, and in this connexion won praises from all the British authorities. Throughout a great portion of our new acquisitions they constructed at their own expense bungalows for travellers; in Candeish they cleared a great jungle; in most of the new British towns they established banking establishments; but especially they devoted their attention to promote and increase the growth, cultivation and trade in cotton. In this enterprise, they opened up roads in that portion of Berar which belongs to the Nizam, supplied the peasantry with capital, furnished them with means of carriage, erected screws and presses; and with such effect, that between the years 1825 and 1836, they increased the production of Berar cotton from 120,000 lbs., worth £2,500, to 48,000,000 lbs. of the value of £600,000. The firm of Pestonjee Viccajee was, therefore, it will be seen, no ordinary commercial establishment; it had achieved great public results, and deserved well of the Company's Government, whose subjects its members were.

In prosecution of their cotton trade, Pestonjee Merjee went in 1835 to Hyderabad, the capital of the Deccan, carrying with him letters of recommendation from the Bombay Go-

vernment to the Resident at the Nizam's court; and there, in the British town which surrounds the Residency, he established himself. Actively engaged in promoting the cultivation of the Berar districts, the Nizam's Government availed itself of his abilities. It forced on the house the management of the revenue affairs of nearly the whole valley of Berar; and under their just and protecting influence, waste lands were brought under culture, the growth of cotton was still further extended, the revenues were regularly paid, and the condition of the country greatly improved. As was to be expected, the Native Government got gradually into the debt of Pestonjee Viccajee; still down to 1838, the account was not (in comparison with future advances) largely overdrawn; the balance against the Nizam being only £56,000.

In that year the Affghan war—the origin of so many ills and woes—was declared; and its enormous demands on the Indian Treasuries pressed heavily on the pecuniary means of the Company. Under the Treaty of 1802, (concluded after the destruction of Tippoo Sultan) the Nizam was obliged to keep up a contingent of 9,000 cavalry and 6,000 infantry for the use of the British Government. This force is,* substantially, part of the British army, disciplined in the same manner, commanded by British officers, paid through the British Resident. Of so little use is it to the Nizam, that to carry on the internal administration of his country, he is obliged to maintain a great army of Rohillas, Arabs, Affghans, and Sikhs of his own. Now in 1838, that prince had not sufficient available funds to keep up the pay of the contingent, which takes one-fifth of his whole revenue, without being of any service to him; and the Company, with the Affghan war to provide for, had, of course, no money to spare.

In this dilemma the firm of Pestonjee Viccajee was requested, with the full knowledge and approbation of the Resident, by the Nizam's Government, to stand between it and the British authorities. They did: they supplied funds to pay the Contingent, and by doing so, saved the Deccan from disorders, and the Company from embarrassment in Southern

* See *India Reform, No. IV. The Native States of India, pp.* 10 *and* 11.

India. The advances, once began, continued. The firm drew bills on their correspondents where the different brigades were stationed; these bills were handed by the Nizam's minister to the British officer in command; and by him, their proceeds were applied in payment of the Contingent. The amount so advanced had by June, 1843, reached the enormous sum of £687,000. Much of it was supplied to Pestonjee Viccajee by friends and correspondents who confided in them; and in 1841 the firm, urged by their creditors, very properly requested, as English bankers under the circumstances would long before have done, the Nizam's Government to give them a tangible security for these and future advances. The request was complied with: a mortgage of part of the Berar revenues was made to them; it was delivered to the British Resident; he placed it on the records of the Residency, and gave Pestonjee Viccajee an authenticated copy; for, (to use his own words), "the satisfaction of their creditors." The Resident was consequently a party to this mortgage; he retained the deed, avouched its sufficiency, and in effect, if not in form, guaranteed the transaction.

In 1845, though the debt had, by their excellent management of the mortgaged districts, been then reduced to some £300,000, Pestonjee Viccajee became desirous of drawing the account to a close, and resolved to make no further advances. This determination gave great umbrage to the Nizam's government, which was thus thrown on its own resources to provide directly and regularly, for the Contingent's pay. Nevertheless, applied to by the Nizam for a personal loan, they accommodated him. Scarcely, however, had they done so, when the possession of the mortgaged districts was demanded from them; and, that being refused, their agents and people were expelled by force, sixteen of them being killed and fifteen more wounded.

Against this injustice Pestonjee Viccajee appealed to the Resident. General Fraser forwarded the appeal to the Supreme Government; but, though the Company had in reality been the recipient of the sums advanced; and though its representative had officially registered and recognized the

mortgage, the Supreme Government, without assigning any reason, refused to interfere. The consequence was, that in 1848, this great House was obliged to stop payment, receiving, however, the utmost sympathy and consideration from its creditors. From that time Pestonjee Viccajee continued to prosecute their claims both at Hyderabad and at Calcutta; with no success, however. The Nizam's Government would not pay the settled and admitted balance of £260,000; and the Supreme Government, which had received the money and which was the only power to enforce justice, would not condescend to listen to their subjects' entreaties and reclamations.

In March 1851, the agents of the House sought in England the justice denied them in India. They waited on Mr. Herries, then President of the Board of Control, and on the Chairman, the Deputy-Chairman, and others of the East India Directors. At these interviews their claim was fully recognized, the utmost sympathy was expressed for their painful situation, and the impression produced was that their case would receive support. At last came the official reply to their Memorial; it simply stated that "the instructions of the Court would be communicated through the Governor of India." The agents again privately appealed to the Home authorities; were assured that letters would be written both by the President of the India Board and the Chairman of the Court of Directors to the Governor-General of India, in their favour, and that with the result they would have reason to be satisfied.

Thus inspired with hope, they hastened to Calcutta, there to receive this favourable answer. Instead of it, the Court of Directors had instructed the Governor-General, "not to interfere for the realization of any such claims!" By these instructions, Lord Dalhousie was of course bound. He, however, was equally full of verbal professions; he received the agents, voluntarily stated that he had no prejudice against them, and assured them that if he were to receive instructions from the Court of Directors, he would be ready to obey. So, again,

a second time, the agents (sons of Pestonjee and Viccajee) have come to England in search of justice.

In 1848, a single peremptory word from the British Resident at Hyderabad would have saved Pestonjee Viccajee from this ruin. That word was not uttered: they were allowed to be wrongfully ousted from the mortgages of which they were in lawful possession. For six years they appealed in vain for assistance and help in the recovery of their acknowledged claim from the Supreme Government. Then they extend their pursuit of justice to England. Here they are encouraged to expect it on a return to Calcutta. And there they find, instead of the promised support, the stereotyped refusal to enforce what is right, and remedy what is wrong.

Motives for the refusal to act, in 1845, it is needless to impute. But this is clear, that so long as Pestonjee Viccajee would supply funds to pay the Contingent, they were kept in possession of the districts: immediately they ceased their advances, they were allowed to be ejected. And this is how the Company's Government treats native merchants. The House of Pestonjee Viccajee was *rich*, almost "beyond the bounds of human avarice;"—its aged partners are now about to be turned out penniless on the streets of Bombay. Who is to blame? Can any one doubt that it is the Company's Government? Yet for the recovery of this debt, for the satisfaction of this wrong, the law has provided no remedy.

HOW THE COMPANY'S GOVERNMENT BEHAVES TO OLD ALLIES.

Coorg, nearly opposite Baicul and not far from Tellicherry, is, or rather was, a little Principality, perched on the range of mountains that look down upon Malabar and the western coast of India. Towards the close of the 18th century, it became a country of very considerable political importance; for it

alone, of its neighbours, maintained its complete independence against the victorious career of Hyder Ally, and from its position greatly impeded and obstructed his ambitious designs. A pass connecting the Coast Provinces with Mysore, runs through the Coorg Hills; and so long as this pass was in the possession of an adverse Prince and a brave independent people, Mysore might become assailable from the East India Company's Western Capital, Bombay. Hence Hyder and his still more implacable son, bent every effort to conquer Coorg; at times they were nearly successful; once they had captured and imprisoned the Rajah; but fortune more or less protected him, until Tippoo brought down on himself the just anger and the irresistible arms of Lord Cornwallis.

Of the Rajahs of Coorg, before they had thus acquired the enmity and persecution of Hyder Ally and Tippoo little is known, except that they had, for centuries, ruled over a brave mountainous people, whose attachment and fidelity to their sovereigns became conspicuous when those successful Mahomedan usurpers of Mysore attacked their little State. It was however against desperate odds that the Rajah of Coorg resisted assaults, in which religious fanaticism against a Hindoo Prince, joined with a strong desire to possess a country so important to the safety and defence of Mysore, redoubled the animosity against Coorg independence; and severe were the sufferings both of the Rajah and his people in their gallant and determined resistance. Their sovereign's cruel imprisonment at Seringapatam did not abate the ardour of his subjects; the mountaineers held out firmly and heroically, even when the Rajah was in their oppressor's hands; and the commencement of Lord Cornwallis' war against Tippoo found the Rajah still in possession of the greater part of his own country. He at once risked all the dangers of Tippoo's success, and boldly volunteered co-operation with the British. It was then—26th October, 1790—our first Treaty with Coorg was signed; and in it both parties "jointly call God, the Sun, the Moon, and the World" "to witness that pledge of their perpetual friendship." The Rajah entered heartily into the war; not only did he allow the Bombay army to pass through

his dominions, but, when distressed for provisions, he supplied it with grain and cattle, refusing all pecuniary compensation. He joined Lord Cornwallis before Seringapatam, shared in all the dangers of the campaign, was foremost in every fight, and almost worshipped the British soldiers for their indomitable courage in those desperate encounters. The preliminary articles of peace were nearly concluded when Tippoo's desire to reck his vengeance on the Rajah risked everything; Lord Cornwallis insisted on Tippoo recognising the complete independence of Coorg, for he was resolved to protect so faithful and useful an Ally. Irritated almost to madness by being thus disappointed of vengeance, Tippoo refused; and it was only when Lord Cornwallis had again pointed his guns against Seringapatam, that his obstinacy gave way. Grateful for these services, Lord Cornwallis undertook never to interfere in the internal affairs of Coorg, and commuted a large money payment, insisted on by the Bombay authorities, for an elephant which the Rajah was yearly to present to the East India Company.

Equally faithful to the English alliance, and equally useful in the campaign, was the Rajah of Coorg in our second and final war with Tippoo; and it is not too much to say that without his energetic co-operation, the Bombay army could not have reached Seringapatam in 1799. "The Rajah of Coorg," wrote Lord Wellesley, in 1799, "has seconded my views and the exertions of the Company's servants on this occasion, with a degree of spirit, energy, and fidelity, which confirm the high character he had justly obtained in the late war." He and his brother and successor were in fact our firm and steadfast friends—when their friendship was of value; and with their throne the son of the latter Prince inherited their feelings and policy.

In so remote and difficult a country as Coorg this youthful Rajah had but little intercourse with Europeans; his life was passed principally in its field and hill sports; and over subjects bold and hardy he ruled with all the fire and spirit of a mountain chief. Of what went on internally the British Au-

thorities outside knew little; but a succession of disputes occurred between the Rajah and the Resident of Mysore, in which the Prince spoke and wrote with a courage and fearlessness to which Residents in India are but little accustomed. The origin of these disputes was the marriage of one of the Rajah's sisters with a man of an inferior position. On the death of this man's first wife, to save the family from the supposed humiliation of his contracting an inferior marriage, a second sister was given him, and he was handsomely supported at the Rajah's expence. Dissatisfied, however, with his want of power, he committed a most barbarous murder, fled towards Mysore; and on the frontiers cut down two of the Coorg people who attempted to prevent his escape. In Mysore, unfortunately, he was received and protected by the British authorities, and into their ears he instilled the vilest calumnies against the Rajah. That Prince demanded the extradition of the murderer; the demand, being refused, was repeated more vehemently. Discussion with the Madras Government followed; it proposed to send a Commissioner to Coorg to arrange the dispute; but the Commissioner appointed never reached its capital, Maçara. One of his native suite, however, did; and was instantly arrested by the Rajah, who refused to surrender him unless his brother-in-law was first given up. To this request the British Government would not listen, and from it the Rajah would not recede. So in the beginning of 1834 a Proclamation was issued deposing the Rajah, and an army advanced into Coorg to carry out the Proclamation. This was done, though not without some little difficulty; in April 1834 the Rajah surrendered; all his treasures were seized, Coorg was annexed, and after some little delay he and his family were sent state prisoners to Benares.

At Benares the Rajah was at first placed upon a most inadequate allowance, but, on the representation of Colonel Carpenter, the British officer in charge of him, it was increased to £6,000 a-year; the Government of India having, of course, by his deposition, gained the whole revenues of Coorg. At Benares the Rajah supported his exile with dignity and firmness; for fourteen years he and his family

were in charge of Colonel Carpenter; and the result of their intercourse has been thus authoritatively recorded by that distinguished officer:

"*Minute recorded by Lieut.-Colonel Carpenter, Agent to the Governor-General of India, Benares, 1st January*, 1848.

"The period for my departure from Benares and return to Europe having arrived, I cannot part with his Highness the Rajah of Coorg, without giving him a testimonial of the sentiments with which he has inspired me.

"Since the Rajah quitted his palace at Coorg, in April, 1834, he has been under my charge, and I have infinite satisfaction in recording the quiet, peaceable, and exemplary behaviour of His Highness during the long period of nearly fourteen years that I have been a constant observer of his conduct, and which has been several times favourably noticed in my various reports to the Supreme Government.

"I am aware that *subsequent to the Rajah's deposal* numerous charges of cruelty and oppression, whilst he reigned in Coorg, have been brought against him; but I am bound in justice to declare, that during the whole time he has been under my care, no evidence of a cruel disposition has ever been exhibited; on the contrary, his manners and habits are mild and gentle in the extreme, and he has invariably won the regard and esteem of all parties with whom he came in contact since he quitted Coorg. Unfortunately, previous to that event, he had never seen more than half a dozen European officers in his life. The Rajah is a perfect specimen of an innate gentleman, though naturally reserved and shy, so that it becomes necessary to know him well to appreciate his many good and amiable qualities: he is particularly susceptible of attention and kindness.

"In conclusion, I earnestly recommend him and his family to consideration, and heartily and sincerely bid him farewell, with my best and warmest wishes that comfort and happiness may attend them in every situation, and under all circumstances. The Rajah's numerous children are especial objects of care and anxiety to him, owing to the extreme difficulty of providing for their future welfare, more particularly the little girl he is in the habit of dressing in the European style. Any kindness to her is peculiarly gratifying to the Rajah, and he is very desirous that she shall be educated and brought up as if she was an European: whatever arrangements he may wish

to make for the future provision of the child, will, I trust, receive the assistance and support of my successor, as far as it may be in his power to grant it."

In time the Rajah himself not only professed Christianity, but resolved to bring up his favourite daughter —the child thus referred to by Colonel Carpenter—in the faith and nurture of England. With this view, as also to prosecute claims about to be explained, he solicited and obtained permission from the Supreme Government of India to visit this country for twelve months; and, accompanied by the young lady, and a proper suite, he arrived in London in the beginning of 1852. On his arrival here, he unexpectedly found his chief design encouraged and promoted in the highest quarters. The Queen graciously condescended to become sponsor for the child; assigned her guardianship and education to a lady of rank and eminent fitness; and in due course of time the little girl was separated from the Rajah, for the purpose—to use his own language—of being "brought up with English habits and notions." Thus parted from his little favourite, the Rajah's attachment for her seems to have increased, and in dread of the approaching permanent separation, he requested an extension of his leave of absence from Benares. This request the Court stiffly and curtly refused.* The Rajah renewed his application with still greater warmth; first, on the ground of his unwillingness to leave his child, about whose position he laboured under some degree of uncertainty, and also for the purpose of arranging, if possible, his private affairs.

"My natural feelings as a father," he wrote to the Secretary of the East India Company, on the 17th January, 1853, "towards my daughter, lately become a Christian, whom I must leave behind me in England, when I return to India, induce me to wish to prolong my stay for a time, as the separation, when it takes place between me and my child will be, in all human probability, a separation for ever. And, although I would not give way to any anxiety on the subject of my daughter's future comfort and happiness, when Her

* *Secretary of the East India Company to the ex-Rajah of Coorg, 24th Dec.* 1852.

Majesty has so graciously condescended to care for both her spiritual and temporal concerns—for which I feel, and shall ever feel, most grateful—yet I may permit myself to indulge in some sorrow at the near prospect of taking leave of her.

"My visit to England was determined upon in order to bring my daughter to be baptized, educated in the Christian faith, and brought up with English habits and English notions; and was projected by me solely with the view of gratifying this, the earnest desire of my heart, without having any reason to hope for any distinguished patronage for myself or child. The spontaneous act of condescension on the part of Her Most Gracious Majesty was necessarily unlooked for by me, and was of a character to call forth, as it did, both my surprise and my gratitude. I do, therefore, earnestly desire to remain some time longer in the same country where my child is, and where I can still see her."

In this tender appeal to their sympathies, the Court however, could* "see no sufficient ground for any extension of leave of absence," and insisted that the afflicted father should "no longer delay to procure a passage to India." Becoming, however, more and more dissatisfied with the conduct of those in whose charge his daughter was placed, the Rajah did not obey this order to return to Benares, and the consequence is, that the Court of Directors have, at last, resolved to stop payment of his allowance—or, in other words, to starve both him here and his family at Benares, into compliance.

But for the Rajah's wish to remain longer in England, there is another and a more serious reason. The allowance he now receives from the Government of India may, we see, be stopped or diminished, whenever it pleases the Governor-General or the Court of Directors. Now, before her Majesty would assume the responsibility of the young Princess' education, it became, and very properly, necessary to provide a fund to defray its cost, and for the young lady's subsequent maintenance in England. The Rajah thereupon bound himself by deed with trustees—Lord Hardinge and Sir J. W. Hogg—to pay £400 a year on her account. Before leaving her, he is, however, desirous of securing this annuity to his child

* *The Secretary to the ex-Rajah, Feb.* 10, 1853.

for her own life, and not merely for such a length of time as he may live, or may possess his present allowance from the Government of India. He therefore, seeks to remain until he can give the Queen this additional guarantee for his daughter's independent support. But this he can only do by a settlement of his own pecuniary affairs; and these require some explanation to comprehend the full gravity of the conduct of the Court of Directors.

The uncle and father of the Prince now in London, were both prudent and economical Sovereigns; and so well did they rule their mountainous principality, that they were able to invest not less, we believe, than nearly ten lacs of rupees (or about £100,000) in the Company's Funds, all of which the Rajah inherited; receiving, through his Commercial Agents at Madras, the dividends thereon, regularly to the period when the disputes already referred to commenced.

The pecuniary claims of the Rajah are two—one derived from his father, the other from his uncle, the prior Rajah. His father, Rajah Ling Rajundur Wadeer, invested a large sum of money in the Madras 5 per cent loan, and on that Prince's death, the present Rajah inherited it, and received the dividends down to 1831, when it was converted into the Company's 4 per cent paper in his own name. His uncle had also invested a much larger sum in his only child, a daughter's name; but, on it, the dividends were paid first to his brother Rajah Ling, and then to his nephew the ex-Rajah, who, by his cousin's death unmarried, became her heir also. The dividends on both these sums continued to be paid to the ex-Rajah until the commencement of the disputes with the British authorities. Then their payment was suspended; and, after the unhappy Prince's deposition, it was absolutely refused. A prisoner and exile at Benares, dependent on the bounty of the Indian Government, the ex-Rajah was not, of course, in a position favourable to the prosecution of his claims; he made, however, several representations on the subject, but though he stands in their own books as a public creditor, to the extent of upwards of £90,000, he was informed the Indian Government did not recognise their liability to pay

their debts in his case; and from 1832 to 1853, this portion of their public debt has, in point of fact, been repudiated. Before leaving Benares the Rajah, however, informed the Governor-General that he would take active measures to bring the subject before the Home authorities; but here they refuse to listen to his case, and refer him back to India, where they will not "recognise" it.

The Rajah has a large family and being, as Colonel Carpenter states, a man of strong paternal affection, he desires to leave them a competence. For means to do so he has naturally turned to his private property vested in the territorial debt of India. There he stands as a public creditor; but from a period commencing two years' previous to his deposition, and while he was a reigning Prince and their Ally, down to this hour, the Indian Government have repudiated payment of the dividends thereon; and though for nineteen years he has addressed reclamation after reclamation against this injustice, his petitions, he says, "*have only been passed over in silence.*" He now asks the Court of Directors to restore this property to him, that he may make a permanent settlement on the Queen's *protegee*, and provide for his other children at Benares. And the Court refer him to that Local Government by which, for these nineteen years, his letters have remained unanswered!

Upon such conduct, the worst that can be said is, that it wants the boldness, the straightforwardness, and the formal honesty of Louis Napoleon in confiscating the Orleans property. The Indian Government deprive the unhappy Prince of the dividends on private savings invested in the Company's funds, and refuse him all explanation of this act of arbitrary power; and when he appeals to the Home Government, they will not listen to his complaint, because it is not transmitted through a Local Government that will not correspond with him on the subject! And for a Wrong like this, there is in our Indian System—in that "most absolute despotism," which, according to Lord John Russell, "is qualified and tempered by the genius of Representative Government"—no Remedy.

Note to Tract No. IV.

"THE NATIVE PRINCES OF INDIA."

In confirmation of the statement contained in this Tract as to the resumption proceedings of the British Authorities in Sattarah, we are now enabled to quote the following.

"Feb. 2, 1853.

"I have been informed from Bombay that the Company's Government have lately appointed an 'Enam Committee' to inquire into the tenure and nature of enams, [rent-free grants of land], jagheers, &c. Under this pretence the local authorities have extended their injustice in a measure which is not the less short of usurpation of the rights and enjoyments of private individuals, than the usurpation of sovereignties.

"The authorities have demanded the papers and sunnuds [grants], from all Enamdars [*rent-free holders*], jagheerdars, &c., upon which they hold and enjoy their enams [grants] and jagheers [estates]. The latter, however ready to produce their deeds, have been molested by an arbitrary search in their houses, in order to take away *all other papers, documents, &c.* appertaining to the Enam, or to whatever other matters there might be of private concern. To convince you of the fact, I will herein give you the instance of the shameful treatment met with by Khundeyrow and Rowbah at the hands of the authorities. Khundeyrow and Rowbah are in the possession and enjoyment of their Enam village, Boregaun. There they were called upon by the authorities to give up all the papers, records, documents, they may possess and lay them before the Enam Committee. This was an encroachment upon the concerns of private individuals, and, therefore, Khundeyrow and Rowbah of right remonstrated against the arbitrary demand, with the exception that they were ready to produce the Sunnuds and other documents appertaining to the same, by which they hold their Enams. Notwithstanding this offer, the authorities forcibly entered their houses, and took away to Poonah all the papers, records, &c. found therein, loaded in several carts. The ancient practice was to demand to see the sunnuds, take copies thereof, and return the originals to their holders. Among the papers were printed books and pamphlets which Rowbah had taken with him from Benares, and which related to the unfortunate case of His Highness the Rajah. In these books, there were copies or translations of certain papers which were proved to have been fabricated for the unjustifiable inculpation of his Highness. Upon this, the Mumlutdar [the paid local native authority], accused Khundeyrow and Rowbah of having kept papers in their houses relating to the transactions of Government, and even threatened to imprison them, which however the Mumlutdar did not do.

"This treatment of entering forcibly the houses of Enamdars, and searching and taking away all and every paper relating to whatever matters they may have, is not only suffered by Khundeyrow and

Rowbah, but by every Enamdar, in face of the integrity and paternal protection, avowed, of the British rule. If inquiry is to be made in respect to Enams only, nothing more could be wanted than a handful of papers including the sunnuds by which enams are held. If they are not produced, or if the right of holding the enams, is not established by the individuals, it is a matter of inquiry and investigation. But this arbitrary and unjustifiable treatment, as enforced by the Company's Government at present will no doubt teach the people to consider what they have to expect from the British rule.

"This is the case with those who hold sunnuds and other documents to prove the grant of the enams. But you must be well aware that there are several Zemindars, Enamdars, and Hukdars, [owners of dues], as well as Bara Bullottee, [the municipal village officers], who enjoy their rights, however trifling they may be, for one, two, and three hundred years, and who know very little of sunnuds or documents; or perhaps they may have lost them. These individuals are told they will be allowed to enjoy their Enams or rights, provided they produce their sunnuds; if not, such Enams will be seized, or permitted only for their lives. What would you think the condition of the people must be under this rule? Instead of confiding in the British Government for protection, such treatment must lead the people to open their eyes, and the result is not known at this time. The Company's Government, instead of giving protection, itself becomes the usurper of individual rights and property."

00106022

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 21 October, 2015